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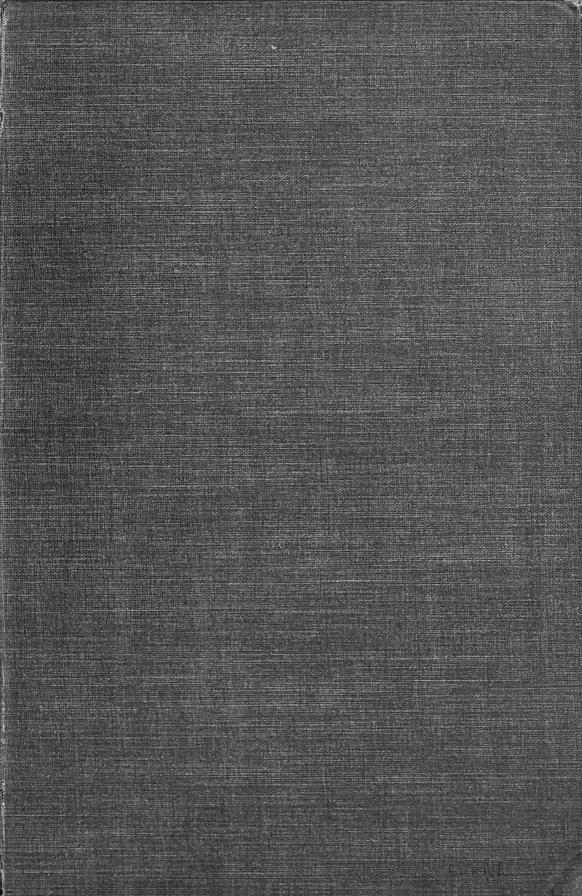


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The Journal

of

Theological Studies

VOLUME X

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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INDEX OF WRITERS

			PAGE
BARNES, Rev. W. E., D.D. The Background of the Gospels (W. Fairweather).			6 c9
BIRMINGHAM, The Bishop of THE HOMILIES OF MACARIUS			280
BISHOP, EDMUND LITURGICAL COMMENTS AND MEMORANDA. I-II.		446,	592
BISHOP, Rev. W. C. THE 'THREE WEEKS' ADVENT' of Liber Officiorum.	S. H	ilarii	127
BOX, Rev. G. H. ST LUKE xxii 15, 16	•	•	1 0 6
BRIGHTMAN, Rev. F. E. 'COMMON PRAYER'			497
BROOKS, E. W. Recherches sur le Manichéisme (F. Cumont)			147
BUCHANAN, Rev. E. S. THE Codex Veronensis			120
BÜCHLER, A. ST MATTHEW vi 1-6 AND OTHER ALLIED PASSAGE	s.		266
BURKITT, F. C.			
The Beginnings of Gospel Story (B. W. Bacon) .			604
THE LUCIANIC TEXT OF 1 KINGS viii 53b			439
Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels (J. DR CHARLES'S EDITION OF THE Testaments of the			281
Patriarchs			135
BURN, Rev. A. E., D.D. Der heilige Geist, sein Wesen und die Art seines Wirken des heiligen Geistes an den einzelnen und in der Kirche (K. F. Nösgen).			610
BURNEY, Rev. C. F., D.Litt. Critical Notes on Old Testament History (S. A. Co	ook)		134
OLD TESTAMENT NOTES			5 80
BURY, J. B. Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquis. (C. H. Turner)	sima	II I	216
,	•	• •	316
EUTLER, Rt. Rev. E. C. Les 'Tractatus' sur le Cantique (A. Wilmart)	•		450

CALDECOTT, Rev. A., D.D.	PAGE
Transactions of the Third International Congress for the	
History of Religions	613
CHAPMAN, Rev. J., O.S.B.	
HARNACK ON LUKE x 22: NO MAN KNOWETH THE SON .	552
COOK, S. A.	
CHRONICLE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT	620
Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale de l'Université Saint-Joseph	
de Beyrouth	628
CRAFER, Rev. T. W., B.D.	
APOLOGETICS (E. F. Scott, E. A. Edghill)	153
Neoplatonism in relation to Christianity (C. Elsee)	471
Zu den Schriften des Makarios von Magnesia (G. Schalk-	208
hausser)	308
CRUM, W. E. Acta Martyrum (I. Balestri, H. Hyvernat, F. Pereira)	450
Miscellen zu Romanos (K. Krumbacher)	459 465
DRIVER, Rev. S. R., D.D.	405
The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Second Millennium	
B. C. (S. A. Cook) ,	616
FELTOE, Rev. C. L., B.D.	
ST JOHN AND ST JAMES IN WESTERN 'NON-ROMAN'	
KALENDARS	5 89
FOTHERINGHAM, J. K., D.Litt.	•
THE STAR OF BETHLEHEM	116
GASELEE, S.	
A BOHAIRIC FRAGMENT OF THE 'MARTYRDOM OF ST LUKE'.	52
GRIFFITH, F. LL.	•
Some Old Nubian Christian Texts	545
HICKS, Rev. E. L.	
ΠΡΟΣΚΑΡΤΕΡΗΣΙΣ (EPHESIANS vi 18)	571
HORT, F. J. A., D.D., The late Rev.	•
Α NOTE ON THE WORDS κόφινος, σπυρίς, σαργάνη	567
HOWORTH, SIR H. H.	•
THE CANON OF THE BIBLE AMONG THE LATER REFORMERS	183
THE INFLUENCE OF ST JEROME ON THE CANON OF THE	
WESTERN CHURCH	481
INGE, Rev. W. R., D.D.	
CHARLES BIGG	I
JACKSON, Rev. H. LATIMER	
Les Procédés de Rédaction des Trois Premiers Évangélistes	
(F. Nicolardot)	607
JENKINS, Rev. C.	
NOTE ON A READING IN EUSEBIUS'S Ecclesiastical History I 2	277
Origen on a Corinthians, IV	20

INDEX OF WRITERS				v
• • • ·				PAGE
JONES, Rev. A. S. DUNCAN				`
A Handbook of Christian Ethics (J. C. Murray)	•	•	•	612
Die Tugendlehre des Christentums (O. Zockler)		•	•	312
LATTEY, Rev. C., S.J.				
THE APOSTOLIC GROUPS	•	•	•	107
LIBERTY, Rev. S.	_			
St Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians and to the	Cor	int hia	ns	
(W. G. Rutherford)	•	•	•	291
M°NEILE, Rev. A. H., B.D.				
A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Ecclesi	astes	s (G.	Α.	
Barton)	•,	•	•	304
MILLIGAN, Rev. G.				
Some Books on the New Testament (A. I	ر. V	Villian	īs,	
W. E. Chadwick, C. Guignebert)	•	•	•	297
La Religion des peuples non civilisés (A. Bros)	•	•	•	472
MOZLEY, J. K.				
What is Religion? (Bousset)	•	•	•	468
NAIRN, Rev. J. A., Litt.D.	••••			
S. Jean Chrysostome et ses œuvres dans l'histoire l	ittér	raire (C.	
Bauer)	•	•	•	311
NESTLE, E., D.D.				
On some Early Editions of Tindal's Trans	LATI	ION	•	129
RICHARDS, Rev. G. C.				
A Grammar of New Testament Greek (J. H. Mo	ulto	n) .	•	283
ROBINSON, Very Rev. J. A.				
DR HORT ON THE APOCALYPSE	•	•		3
Lanfranc's Monastic Constitutions	•	•	•	375
ROSS, J.				
АРПАГМОΣ : Phil. ii 6	•	•	•	5 73
RULE, M.				
THE LEONIAN SACRAMENTARY: AN ANALYTICAL			•	54
Das sogenannte Sacramentarium Leonianum (Buo	hwa	ıld)	•	467
SOUTER, A., D.Litt.				
CHRONICLE OF EUSEBIANA	•	•	•	631
SPENS, W.				
Modernism: a record and review (A. L. Lilley)	•	•	•	148
STEWART, Rev. H. F.				
The Legends of the Saints (H. Delehaye: V. M.	Cra	wford) .	472
TAYLOR, Rev. C., D.D.				
Facsimiles of the Athos Fragments of the Shephera	l of	Herm	as	
(K. Lake)	•	•	•	141
TENNANT, Rev. F. R., D.D.				
CHRONICLE OF PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION .	•	•	•	474
THACKERAY, H. ST J.	_			
The Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint (R.	R. 0	Ottley]) .	299

	AGE
TURNER, A. C.	
The Religious Teachers of Greece (J. Adam)	617
TURNER, C. H.	
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF	
THE NEW TESTAMENT. I-III 13, 161,	354
Notes on the Text of Origen's Commentary on	
I CORINTHIANS	270
ITER DUNELMENSE: DURHAM BIBLE MSS, WITH THE TEXT	
OF A LEAF IN THE POSSESSION OF CANON GREENWELL	
of Durham, now in the British Museum	52 9
VERRALL, A. W., Litt.D.	
	321
WALPOLE, Rev. A. S.	
LATIN HYMNOLOGY (Blume)	143
•	143
WATSON, Rev. C. WEST	
The Spirit of the New Testament (E. W. Winstanley)	298
The Reproach of the Gospel (J. H. F. Piele)	470
WHITNEY, Rev. J. P., B.D.	
HISTORY OF THE CHURCH (L. Bréhier, L. Saltet, A. Plummer)	305
WIENER, H. M.	
Some Reflexions on Dr Burney's View of the Religion	
OF ISRAEL	100
MILLIAMS Don A I DD	
WILLIAMS, Rev. A. L., B.D. THE CULT OF THE ANGELS AT COLOSSAE	472
	413
WILSON, Rev. A. J., D.D.	
Emphasis in the New Testament 255,	575
WINSTEDT, E. O., B.Litt.	
ADDENDA TO 'SOME COPTIC APOCRYPHAL LEGENDS'	389
SOME UNPUBLISHED SAHIDIC FRAGMENTS OF THE OLD	• •
TESTAMENT	233

Π

INDEX OF ARTICLES

	PAGE
APOCALYPSE, DR HORT ON THE. By the Very Rev. J. Armitage	
Robinson, D.D	3
BIGG, CHARLES. By the Rev. W. R. INGE, D.D	I
CANON OF THE BIBLE AMONG THE LATER REFORMERS, THE. By	- 0 -
Sir H. H. Howorth	183
CANON OF THE WESTERN CHURCH, THE INFLUENCE OF ST JEROME ON THE. By Sir H. H. Howorth	481
CHRIST BEFORE HEROD. By A. W. Verrall, Litt.D	321
CHRONICLE:	-
EUSEBIANA. By A. Souter, D.Litt	631
OLD TESTAMENT. By S. A. Cook	620
PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION. By the Rev. F. R. Tennant, D.D	474
'COMMON PRAYER.' By the Rev. F. E. Brightman	497
DOCUMENTS:	
COPTIC APOCRYPHAL LEGENDS, ADDENDA TO SOME. By E. O. Winstedt, B.Litt.	389
ITER DUNELMENSE: Durham Bible MSS, with the Text of a	
Leaf now in the British Museum. By C. H. Turner .	
'MARTYRDOM OF ST LUKE,' A BOHAIRIC FRAGMENT OF THE.	
By S. Gaselee	52
OLD NUBIAN CHRISTIAN TEXTS, SOME. By F. Ll. Griffith .	545
ORIGEN ON 1 CORINTHIANS. IV. By the Rev. Claude Jenkins	. 29
SAHIDIC FRAGMENTS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, SOME UN-	
PUBLISHED. By E. O. Winstedt, B.Litt	233
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE	
NEW TESTAMENT. By C. H. Turner 13, 16	
Lanfranc's Monastic Constitutions. By the Very Rev. J.	
Armitage Robinson, D.D	375
NOTES AND STUDIES:	
ADVENT,' THE 'THREE WEEKS', OF LIBER OFFICIORUM S.	
HILARII. By the Rev. W. C. Bishop	
ANGELS, THE CULT OF THE, AT COLOSSAE. By the Rev. A. L.	
Williams, B.D.	413
APOSTOLIC GROUPS, THE. By the Rev. C. Lattey, S.J.	107

PAG	E
NOTES AND STUDIES (continued):	
АРПАГМОΣ: PHIL. ii 6. By J. Ross	3
BURNEY'S VIEW OF THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL, SOME RE-	
FLEXIONS ON DR. By H. M. Wiener 10	
CODEX VERONENSIS, THE. By the Rev. E. S. Buchanan 12	0
EMPHASIS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. By the Rev. A. J.	_
Wilson, D.D	5
EUSEBIUS'S Ecclesiastical History I 2, NOTE ON A READING IN.	_
By the Rev. C. Jenkins	
HARNACK, DR, ON LUKE x 22. By the Rev. J. Chapman, O.S.B. 55	2
JOHN, ST, AND ST JAMES IN WESTERN 'NON-ROMAN'	_
KALENDARS. By the Rev. C. L. Feltoe, B.D 58	
1 Kings viii 53b, The Lucianic Text of. By F. C. Burkitt . 43	9
Κόφινος, σπυρίς, σαργάνη, Α ΝΟΊΕ ΒΥ ΤΗΕ LATE DR HORT ON	_
THE WORDS	7
LEONIAN SACRAMENTARY: AN ANALYTICAL STUDY, THE. By M. Rule	
M. Rule	4
LUKE xxii 15, 16. By the Rev. G. H. Box 10	
MACARIUS, THE HOMILIES OF. By the Bishop of Birmingham 28	0
MATTHEW, ST, vi 1-6, AND OTHER ALLIED PASSAGES. By	_
A. Büchler	
OLD TESTAMENT NOTES. By the Rev. C. F. BURNEY, D.Litt 58	O
ORIGEN'S COMMENTARY ON I CORINTHIANS, NOTES ON THE	_
TEXT OF. By C. H. Turner	
ΠΡΟΣΚΑΡΤΕΡΗΣΙΣ (EPH. vi 18). By the Rev. E. L. Hicks . 57	
STAR OF BETHLEHEM, THE. By J. K. Fotheringham, D.Litt 11 TINDAL'S TRANSLATION, ON SOME EARLY EDITIONS OF. BY	O
E. Nestle, D.D	0
REVIEWS:	7
APOLOGETICS (E. F. Scott, E. A. Edghill). By the Rev. T. W.	
Crafer, B.D	3
BYZANTINE HYMNS (K. Krumbacher). By W. E. Crum 46	
CANON LAW, THE (C. H. Turner). By J. B. Bury 31	_
CHRISTIAN ETHICS (O. Zockler, J. C. Murray). By the Rev.	
A. S. Duncan Jones	2
CHRISTIANITY AND OTHER RELIGIONS (W. Bousset, J. H. F.	
Peile, C. Elsee, H. Delehaye, A. Bros). By J. K. Mozley,	
and the Revs. C. W. Watson, T. W. Craser, H. F. Stewart,	
and G. Milligan 46	8
DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT, THE (K. F. Nösgen). By the	
Rev. A. E. Burn, D.D 610	Э
EGYPTIAN MARTYRS (I. Balestri, H. Hyvernat, F. M. E. Pereira).	
By W. E. Crum	Q

MDER OF ARTICLES	12
	PAGI
REVIEWS (continued):	
GRAMMAR OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, THE (J. H. Moulton).	-0.
By the Rev. G. C. Richards	2 83
Hermae Pastor, THE ATHOS (K. Lake). By the Rev. C.	
Taylor, D.D	141
By the Rev. J. P. Whitney, B.D	305
HISTORY, EARLY ISRAELITE (S. A. Cook). By the Rev. C. F.	J°.
Burney, D.Litt	134
HISTORY OF RELIGIONS (Transactions of the Third International	٠
Congress, S. A. Cook, J. Adam). By the Revs. A. Caldecott,	
D.D., S. R. Driver, D.D., and A. C. Turner	
HISTORY OF THE VULGATE, THE EARLY (J. Chapman). By	
F. C. Burkitt	281
LATIN HYMNOLOGY (C. Blume). By the Rev. A. S. Walpole .	143
LEONIAN SACRAMENTARY, THE (Buchwald). By M. Rule .	467
MANICHAEISM (F. Cumont). By E. W. Brooks	147
MODERNISM (A. L. Lilley). By W. Spens	148
NEW TESTAMENT, SOME BOOKS ON THE (A. L. Williams, W. E.	
Chadwick, C. Guignebert, E. W. Winstanley, B. W. Bacon,	
F. Nicolardot, W. Fairweather). By F. C. Burkitt, and the	_
Revs. G. Milligan, C. W. Watson, and H. L. Jackson . 297	, 604
OLD TESTAMENT, THE (R. R. Ottley, G. A. Barton). By H. St J.	
Thackeray and the Rev. A. H. MoNeile, B.D	2 99
PATRISTICS (G. Schalkhausser, C. Baur). By the Revs. T. W.	• • •
Crafer, B.D., and J. A. Nairn, Litt.D	308
Rev. S. Liberty	291
TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS, THE (R. H. Charles).	291
By F. C. Burkitt	135
Tractatus de Epitalamio AND Tractatus Origenis (Wilmart). By	• 33
the Right Rev. E. C. Butler, O.S.B	450
3	

III

INDEX OF AUTHORS AND BOOKS REVIEWED OR NOTICED

					PAGE
Acta Martyrum. See Balestri, Hyvernat, Pereira.					
Adam, J. The Religious Teachers of Greece	•	•	•	•	617
Aethiopici, Scriptores	•	•	•	•	459
Allo, E. B. Foi et Systèmes	•	•	•	•	474
Apocryphal Legends (Coptic)	•	•	•	•	389
ARCHER-SHEPHERD, E. H. The Ritual of the Tabernacle	•		•	•	620
BACON, B. W. The Beginnings of Gospel Story	•		•	•	604
BALESTRI, I. Acta Martyrum			•	•	459
BARTON, G. A. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary or					304
BAUR, C. S. Jean Chrysostome et ses œuvres dans l'histoi	re litte	raire	•	•	311
BERNARD, J. H. In Irish Church Quarterly	•	•	•	•	589
Blume, C. Der Cursus S. Benedicti Nursini und die litt	ergisch	hen I	Hymn	en	
des 6-9 Jahrhunderts		•	•		143
Gregor der Grosse als Hymnendichter	•				143
Bousset, W. What is Religion?					468
Box, G. H. A short Introduction to the Literature of the			ient		629
BRÉHIER, L. L'Église et l'Orient au Moyen Age : Les Ca	oisad	s			305
Bros, A. La Religion des peuples non civilisés			•		472
Buchwald. Das sogenannte Sacramentarium Leonianur					467
BUDGE, E. A. W. Texts relating to Saint Mêna of Egy	pt an	d Ca	nons	of	
Nicaea in a Nubian dialect			•	•	546
CHADWICK, W. E. The Social Teaching of St Paul .					297
CHAPMAN, J. Notes on the early history of the Vulgate Go.	spels				280
CHEYNE, T. K. The Decline and Fall of the Kingdom of	Judah				625
CHARLES, R. H. The Greek Versions of the Testamer	its of	the	Twe	lve	
Patriarchs	•				135
Chrysostom, St John			•		311
Colossians, Epistle to the				29	7, 413
COOK, S. A. Critical Notes on Old Testament History:	The	Trad	lition.		
Saul and David				•	134
The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the secon	ıd mil	lenni	unı B	. <i>C</i> .	616
Coptici, Scriptores					459
CORBET, R. W. Man's Relation to and Apprehension of	he U	ivers	se .	•	470
Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium					459
CRAWFORD, V. M. The legends of the Saints					47
CUMONT, F. Recherches sur le Manichéisme					147
Delehaye, H. Légendes hagiographiques					47
Dufourco. A. Histoire Comparée des Religions Paienn	es et a	le la	Relig	rion	
Juive			•		620
Edghill, E. A. Evidential Value of Prophecy					15
Elsee, C. Neoplatonism in relation to Christianity .					47
Foliacione vi 18					

-101	HORS	44411	50	J11.		v 11	J • • • 1	۱ کید		-101	LUL	,
Eusebius.	Hist. E		•	•	•	•	•	•	•.	•	•	•
	Werke		•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
AIRWEATH									•	•	•	•
ifford, E			amph	iili Et	vange	licae	Prae	parat	ionis	Libri	XV	•
iran, E.			•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
REGG, J.			dom o	of Sol	omon		•	•	•	•	•	•
REGORY O			•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
RESSMANN	, H. <i>D</i>)er Ur sp	rung	der is	sraelii	isch-	jüdis	chen .	Escha	tologi	ie.	•
		Eusebius							•	•	•	•
UIGNEBER	т, С.	Manuel	d'His	toire	ancies	nne d	lu Ch	ristia	nism	e.		•
[ALDIMANI	, H. <i>L</i>	le Fidéis	me		•	•	•		•	•	•	•
leikel, I.	A, Eus	sebius U	erke:	: Ban	d I		•	•			•	•
Iarnack.	Sprach	e und R	eden .	Jesu							•	
łeawood,	J. P.	A Laym	an's I	Notes	on O	ld Te	stan	ient C	ritici	sm		
IERMAS.	Pastor	•	•	•	•	•				•	•	
IILARY, St	. Liber	officion	um	•	•	•		•		•	•	•
І тснсоск	, M. S	uggestio	ns for	Bible	e Stu	dy				•	•	•
Iort, F. J	. A. T	he Apoc	alypse	٠.						•		
IYVERNAT,	H. A	cta Mar	tyrum									
SAIAH. S												
saiah vii 1.		· •							•			
erome, St	•	•										
LOSTERMA	NN, E.	Eusebi	us W	erke:	Band	VI E			•			
Kings viii										•		
Kings xi	• •	18.										
Nox, E. M			s for	Schoo	ols:	Exod	us					•
RÄUTLEIN								en He	xateu	chque	llen	
RUMBACH										•		
ARE, K.	Facsimi	les of the	e Ath	os Fr	agme	nts o	f the	Shep	herd	of Hc	rmas	
ANFRANC.					•			•		•		
EJAY in R												
conianu m		•					•				•.	• 54,
ILLEY, A.		dernism	: a r	ecord	and r	evieu	, .			•	•	- 541
UCIANIC to												•
.ukc, St, x		•							·	•		
.uke, St, x			•	•	•		•	· ·				
uke, Mart			:	•	•	•	•	•		·	•	•
lacarius's			:	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
IACARIUS I			•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Maccabees		: .	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
IARTIN, G.			• Faclas	iastes	· and	· Sauce	•	· Source	•	•	•	•
						_	5 07 5	Jongs	•	•	•	•
lartyrum, Luban S			•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
latthew, S			•	J. n.	• 7:		•		∡/. ⊅.	D	•	•
lelanges de									p n de	Беуг	ouin	•
loulton,									•	•	•	•
IURRAY, J								•	•	•	•	•
icolardo									٠.	•	•	•
		es Proc										les
ösgen, K												•
	Da	s Wirke	n des	heilig	en G	cistes	an	den e	ınzeli	ien G	läubig	cn

xii AUTHORS AND BOOKS REVIEWED OR NOTICED

_								PAGE
Origen in 1 Cor	•	•	•	•	•.	•	•	. 29, 270
OTTLEY, R. R. The Book of Isaiah a	ccordi	ng to	the S	septua	gint	•	•	299
PATON, L. B. The Book of Esther	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	. 624
Patriarchs, Testaments of the Twelve	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	. 135
Paul, St		•		•	•	•	•	. 291
Peile, J. H. F. The Reproach of the	Gosp	el	•	•	•		•	• 470
Pereira, F. M. E. Acta Martyrum	• •	•	•	•			•	• 459
Petrie, J. F. Egyptian Tales .					•			. 587
Phil. ii 6	•		•				•	• 573
Plummer, A. English Church Histo	ry fro	m th	e Dec	th of	Cha	rles I	to th	e
Death of William III .	•							. 308
RANDOLPH, B. W. Christ in the Old	Testa	ment						. 620
								. 589
Romanos								. 465
RUTHERFORD, W. G. St. Paul's E	bistles	to th	e Th	essalo	nians	and	to th	
Corinthians				•				. 291
SALTET, L. Les Réordinations, étude	surl	Sac	remen	t de I	Orde	,	•	. 306
Schäfer, H., and K. Schmidt, Die							• toratu	
	altnu						e, uin	
	altnub		•				La:Ga	• 545
	uunuo er Kön						nrijiei	
							•	. 546
SCHALKHAUSSER, G. Zu den Schrifte							•	308
Schliebitz, J. Isho dadh's Kommen	tar zu	m Bu	che I	1100	•	•	•	. 624
Schmidt, K. See Schäfer, H.								
Scott, E. F. The Apologetic of the N				•	•	•	•	153
SHARPE, S. The History of the Hebre	w Na	tion	•	•	•	•	•	. 625
Song of Songs, The	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	. 584
SWETE, H. B. The Apocalypse of St	-			•	•	•	•	• 4
STAERK, W. Ausgewählte poetische				cstam	ents	•	•	. 623
STERNBERG, G. Die Ethik des Deute					•	•	•	. 622
THAMIRY, E. Les deux aspects de l'Is	mman	ence e	t le p	roblèn	1e reli	gieux		• 475
TINDAL		•			•			. 129
Tonquédec, J. de. La Notion de Ve	rité do	ıns la	Philo	sophi	e nou	velle	•	• 474
Touzard. Le Livre d'Amos .				•		•		. 623
Tractatus de epithalamio	•							. 450
Tractatus Origenis								• 450
Transactions of the Third Internation	al Con	gress	for th	e His	tory o	f Rela	gions	
TURNER, C. H. Ecclesiae Occidental								. 316
Veronensis, Codex								. 120
Vulgate		•	•	•	•	•	•	281, 529
WESTPHAL, G. Jahwes Wohnstätt.	en na	ch di	, A	· uschai	· uun aa	n de	· v alta	u 201, 529
Hebrāer	,,,	<i>.,,</i>		· Scriw	minge	, uc		. 627
WILLIAMS, A. L. The Epistle of St.	Paul	the	1 host	la to t	ha Ca	• Ioccia	•	
to Philemon	1 uni	ine 2	1 posti	e 10 11	ne Co	103314	ns un	
	· 	•	•	•	•	•	•	297
WILMART, A. Les Tractatus sur le C			•		•	•	•	450
WINSTANLEY, E. W. The Spirit in t						•	•	. 298
Woods, F. H. The Hebrew Prophet	-					•	•	. 629
WRIGHT, C. H. H. Light from Egypte					istory	before	e Chris	
ZOCKIED O Die Turendlehre des (hnisto	ntum						212

The Journal of Theological Studies

OCTOBER, 1908

CHARLES BIGG.

THE death of Dr Bigg has removed from us a scholar, thinker, and preacher whose work was stamped with a strong individuality. There was the note of distinction in all that he said or wrote. His utterances were always carefully weighed, and he spared no pains in finding the right word or phrase to express each idea. He was often singularly happy in throwing light upon his subject by some neat epigram, which gained in pungency from the quiet, dry manner in which it was spoken. There was perhaps no preacher of our day whose sermons it was so difficult to forget, though he disdained all the arts of the pulpit demagogue. influence was deep rather than wide; he was content to be a teacher of teachers. Partisanship was quite foreign to his nature. His candour, large-minded tolerance, and sense of humour, alike forbade him to plunge into ecclesiastical politics, and it would be equally difficult for the High, the Low, and the Broad Church party to claim him as its own. This aloofness from the strife of tongues was not the result of academic indifference to the conflicts of the market-place, but to a just sense of proportion proceeding from the depth of his own spiritual life in the light of the eternal realities in which, a true disciple of Plato, he loved to His policy for the Church was one of comprehension. 'Unity in diversity' was his ideal. 'It takes many sorts of men', he would say, 'to make a world.' And, 'where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.'

His best literary work was probably the Bampton Lectures on 'The Christian Platonists of Alexandria', which first made his reputation. This book is frequently referred to in Harnack's VOL. X.

Dogmengeschichte, and always with marked deference and appre-No other English work, I think, is quoted by Harnack so often. But the less-known volume on 'Neoplatonism' is a worthy sequel to the lectures on Alexandrine Platonism. Dr Bigg had a happy faculty of seeing the human side of dogmatic and metaphysical controversy. No other writer on this period has imparted so much living interest to the great syncretistic movement of thought which culminated in Plotinus. His pictures of Clement, Origen, and Plotinus, as men and teachers, stand out He has been called a mystic; and doubtless from the canvas. his mind moved in sympathy with the contemplative Platonism which is the intellectual side of mysticism; but no one was more keenly alive to the dangers of extravagance in speculation and practice which have often brought discredit upon the name. charming Introductions to the Confessions of Augustine, Thomas à Kempis, and Law's Serious Call, shew how far he was willing to go with the mystics, and where he wished to stop.

Dr Bigg is also known as a New Testament critic. It may be that the courageous conservatism of his defence of 2 Peter and Jude fails to carry conviction. But his comments are always fresh, shrewd, and edifying.

His work was perhaps nearly done when he was called away; though it is sad to think that we shall have no more of the delightful Introductions which he contributed to the Library of Devotion. But he will live in many grateful hearts, not only by his contributions to scholarship and theology, but as an example of what a Christian student ought to be. It is a fine thing for a theologian to be able to say—and to say without danger of being misunderstood—'The most fatal mistake that a theologian can make is to set will above reason; the next worst is to set love above reason' (Law's Serious Call, p. 20). Those who had the privilege of knowing him in private life will feel that even a brief tribute ought not to appear without some mention of his singularly delightful qualities as a companion and a host. His stores of learning, and his shrewd, genial philosophy of life were always ready to be opened out to those who could profit by them. It was impossible to be in his company without being stimulated intellectually, morally, and spiritually.

W. R. INGE.

DR HORT ON THE APOCALYPSE

THOSE who revere the memory of a loved master turn with natural anxiety to the posthumous additions by which the affectionate zeal of their fellow pupils supplements his published work. The valuable fragment of Dr Hort's exposition of the First Epistle of St Peter has fully justified the care which rescued it from obscurity. It revealed to a wider circle than the little group of those who had intelligently followed his lectures what may perhaps be called the intensity of his scholarship. reader of those notes is impressed not merely with the extraordinary range from which the commentator draws his illustration of a text or of a single word, but yet more with the seriousness with which alternative explanations are suggested and investigated—alternatives often wholly unexpected, sometimes destined to be ultimately dismissed, but yet never failing to stimulate and to instruct, 'I wish he would give himself time,' Dr Hort one day remarked of a brilliant pioneer in biblical criticism, 'to consider possible alternatives.' It was his own method. result of it was that his work ripened very slowly, and whereas Lightfoot and Westcott each did his share, to a large measure at any rate, of the projected Commentary on the New Testament, Hort laboured at his task, but published not a word. fragment on St Peter disclosed for the first time his genius as a commentator; and this second fragment on the Apocalypse is worthy to take its place by the first. It is a solid contribution to the study of the New Testament, eminently characteristic, and therefore unique.

The Apocalypse, long neglected, has of late received much attention. The revival of interest in a book which had been discredited by fanciful exposition is due in part to the recovery of a considerable number of apocalyptical works, Jewish and Christian, leading to the scientific treatment of this class of literature, and suggesting a new handling of the canonical Apocalypse. At the same time interest was aroused by the

4 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

attractive theory which discovers a Jewish apocalypse embedded in the work of the Christian seer: and again quite recently new hope of an intelligent treatment of the book was given by the illustration which it receives from modern archaeological research in Asia Minor. But Dr Hort's lectures were written as early as 1879, before any of these special claims of interest had been developed. He approaches the book simply as a part of the sacred canon needing exposition, exceptionally difficult indeed, but certain to repay any labour devoted to it. The date at which he wrote (for the revision in 1889 hardly affects the remark) lends a peculiar interest to the comparison of the fragment now published with the corresponding portion of Dr Swete's complete commentary which has been written in the light of these newer considerations. Dr Swete's book must long remain the standard work upon the subject, and its value is in no wise diminished by the new publication, even for those chapters which both commentators have handled. The serious student will read both side by side, and the frequent contrariety of exposition will bring home to him at once the difficulty and the worth of the original text.

One or two examples may here be given of the surprises which Dr Hort's notes offer to the student. Commenting on the passage which is so familiar to us in the form, 'Every eye shall see him, and they also which pierced him; and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him,' Dr Hort writes:

 $i\pi'$ $a\dot{v}\tau\dot{o}\nu$] Cannot possibly mean 'because of him': doubtless as in Zechariah 'over him,' i. e. for him, the mourning as for a first-born. It is not, therefore, wailing because of punishment upon themselves that is meant, but the wailing of sorrowful repentance, the prophecy not being of vengeance but of conversion.

Dr Swete suggests 'at him' as the translation of the words, but he does not offer any further elucidation. Perhaps we now know why the Revised Version has 'over him'. This passage is immediately followed by the words Nal, $\partial \mu \dot{\eta} \nu$. Dr Swete interprets them as a double asseveration. Dr Hort is not content with this; he says:

xxii 20 [Ναί· ἔρχομαι ταχύ· ἀμήν· ἔρχου] clearly assigns the two words a separate force, Ναί the divine promise, ἀμήν the human acceptance

of it: and this is as clearly the sense in 2 Cor. i 20 q.v. Here, then, the two seem purposely brought together. Naí seems to express affirmation or reaffirmation, divine or human; $\partial_{\mu}\eta_{\nu}$ human response and humble acceptance; so that νai might be rendered 'It is so' (end of Browning's Saul, 'And the little brooks witnessing murmured, persistent and low,| With their obstinate, all-but hushed voices—" E'en so, it is so!"') $\partial_{\mu}\eta_{\nu}$ 'So be it.'

The extraordinary ambiguity of the apocalyptist's language finds an illustration in the different interpretations which his opening words suggest to qualified exponents. The first two verses occupy more than seven pages of Dr Hort's commentary. This is due in part to the necessity of discussing incidentally certain passages of the book which are outside the first three chapters, in part to the possible alternatives which rise for consideration. It must suffice to point to results, without indicating the reasons which commend them.

Our readers must have the Greek before their eyes, and for the first verse without punctuation:

'Αποκάλυψις 'Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει.

Dr Swete takes the words thus:

The revelation, or Apocalypse, of Jesus Christ, which God gave to him, in order that he might shew to his servants ['i. e. primarily the Christian prophets'] the things which must shortly come to pass.

Here Jesus Christ is regarded as the author of the Apocalypse: 'the title might have been ' $A\pi o\kappa \acute{a}\lambda v\psi \iota s$ ' $I\eta\sigma o\hat{v}$, though the instinct of the Church has rightly substituted the name of the disciple through whom the message was delivered.'

Dr Hort, on the other hand, interprets thus:

The revelation, or Unveiling, of Jesus Christ, which God gave [i. e. granted, caused or permitted] him to shew to his servants ['not the prophets'], even the things which must shortly come to pass.

Here Jesus Christ is regarded as Himself revealed or unveiled in the book: this revelation of Himself He is permitted by God to make to the servants of God: 'the primary Revealer is God, Christ being both that which is revealed and the supreme or immediate instrumental Revealer.' The second verse is the occasion of yet further divergence.

Καὶ ἐσήμανεν ἀποστείλας διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάνει, δς ἐμαρτύρησεν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅσα εἶδεν.

Dr Swete interprets:

And he sent by his angel and signified it [sc. the Apocalypse] to his servant John, who testified the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ ['i. e. the revelation imparted by God and attested by Christ'], even the things which he saw [i. e. in vision].

But Dr Hort takes it otherwise:

And he sent by his angel and signified them [i. e. indicated these events beforehand by signs, viz. by symbolic 'visions] to his servant John, who testified the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ [i. e. the full Christian confession], even the things which he saw [namely as an eyewitness of the Gospel—not the scenes of the Apocalypse].

To weigh these interpretations it would be necessary to examine the various passages of the book in which these expressions or the like recur, 'the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ,' and 'the things which he saw (or, thou sawest)'. It must suffice here to point out that the interpretation of the book depends from the very outset upon the view held as to its authorship and its date.

Of this question of date something must now be said. Dr Swete dates the Apocalypse in the last year of Domitian's reign (90-96), and he refuses to determine the question of its authorship. Dr Hort places it twenty-five or even thirty years earlier, between Nero's persecution and the fall of Jerusalem; and he attributes it to St John the Apostle and Evangelist. This primary difference is reflected again and again in the exposition of the text. The obvious difficulty which arises upon a comparison of the literary style of the Apocalypse with that of the Gospel is met by the two commentators in opposite ways. Dr Hort, having abandoned the early Christian tradition as to date, finds himself able, in view of the long interval between the two books, to maintain the tradition as to their common authorship. Dr Swete maintains the traditional date, and consequently hesitates—we may almost say refuses—to identify the writer of the Apocalypse with the writer of the Gospel and Epistles. We have the advantage of seeing each position defended with exceptional learning and skill by quite independent investigators.

A year ago in this JOURNAL Dr Sanday wrote an article of remarkable clearness and force, in which he called attention to recent work on this subject, marshalling and criticizing the arguments which were being used on either side of the debate. He inclined very distinctly towards the acceptance of the view advocated by Dr Swete; but he was aware that Dr Hort had left materials which might be published, and he expressed a desire that these might come to light before further judgement should be pronounced. He has now written a preface to Dr Hort's small volume, and he gives us to understand that his inclination to the later date is seriously modified.

In particular (he says) the old impression, of which I have never been able entirely to rid myself, resumes its force, that the historic background as Dr Hort so impressively paints it does suit the Apocalypse better than that of the time of Domitian. Can we not conceive the Apocalypse rising out of the whirling chaos of the years 68-69 A.D., when the solid fabric of the empire may well have seemed to be really breaking up, more easily than at any other period? And would not the supposition that it did so rise simplify the whole historical situation of the last five-and-thirty years of the first century as nothing else could simplify it?

Dr Sanday here seizes on the vital argument. It is worth while to transcribe Dr Hort's own statement of it (p. xxvi).

The book breathes the atmosphere of a time of wild commotion. To Jews and to Christians such a time might seem to have in part begun from the breaking out of the Jewish war in the summer of 66. Two summers later Nero committed suicide, and then followed more than a year of utter confusion till the accession of Vespasian, and one long year more brings us to the Fall of Jerusalem. To the whole Roman world the year of confusion, if not the early months of Vespasian's reign, must have seemed wholly a time of weltering chaos. For nearly a century the empire had seemed to bestow on civilized mankind at least a settled peace, whatever else it might take away. The order of the empire was the strongest and the stablest thing presented to the minds and imaginations of men. But now at last it had become suddenly broken up, and the earth seemed to reel beneath men's feet. Under Vespasian, however, the old stability seemed to return: it lasted on practically for above a century more. Nothing at all corresponding

to the tumultuous days after Nero is known in Domitian's reign, or the time which followed it. Domitian's proscriptions of Roman nobles and Roman philosophers and Roman Christians were not connected with any general upheaval of society. It is only in the anarchy of the earlier time that we can recognize a state of things that will account for the tone of the Apocalypse.

A broad consideration of this kind may rightly be set against a variety of allusions which appear to favour the later date. The question, which seemed to be almost closed, has certainly been reopened. My own particular studies give me no claim to interpose. Yet no one who has worked at the early Christian literature can have escaped the necessity of shaping at least some provisional opinion; and it may possibly be worth while, for the sake of other students, to record one or two impressions which are left by a review of the present situation of this controversy.

One great service which was rendered by the three Cambridge masters was the annihilation of what was known as the Tübingen position. Now whereas the Tübingen school depressed the date and disparaged the worth of many of the New Testament books, it somewhat surprisingly asserted the value of the Apocalypse, and assigned to it the earlier date. Westcott, Lightfoot, and Hort accepted this peculiarity of their opponents' scheme, refuted the conclusions sought to be drawn from it, and remained in possession of the field with a reasonable explanation of the marked difference in style between the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel. There must have been something of the joy of battle in this. The new position gained was of high strategical importance; and how powerfully it could be defended is shewn by Dr. Hort's arguments now published. But I have long felt, and I cannot get away from the feeling, that the adoption of the earlier date was primarily a result of apologetic controversy; and the question perpetually recurs whether we can properly acquiesce in the sacrifice of early tradition which it involves. The battle-smoke of the old controversy has passed away: both in Germany and here the outlook is clearer. Dr Harnack, for example, who has been carefully correcting several aberrations from tradition which were popular among his countrymen, has declared for the traditional date of the Apocalypse; and our own scholars have been recognizing more

fully the great difficulties of the whole Johannine problem. Dr Swete is undoubtedly right in seeking to separate as far as possible the critical discussion of the authorship and date of the Apocalypse from the question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel.

The second remark which I will venture to offer is of another kind. It arises out of the study of the first three chapters under Dr Hort's guidance. It is right to remember that difference of style may be partly accounted for by difference of subject, and there can hardly be a greater contrast in Christian literature than the contrast between a Gospel and an Apocalypse. These three chapters, however, include the least apocalyptic portion of the Apocalypse—the messages to the seven churches: and the language of these messages is, in spite of a few striking parallels, equally remote from the language of the Christ of the Synoptic Gospels and from the language of the Fourth Evangelist. Lofty and profound indeed it is; vigorous, searching, authoritative; but yet cast in quite another mould. Obscure, but not from Hebraism; subtly allusive and allegorical, but drawing its metaphors from a wider area than the Old Testament or the book of nature or of common human life. The white stone with the new name-to give one example only-must find its elucidation, it would seem, in some Greek custom of religion, not in any Jewish practice or metaphor. The writer of the Fourth Gospel has a very definite conception of how the Lord spoke on earth: it is difficult to think that the same writer at any period should have represented Him as speaking after the manner—the quite distinct and sustained manner—in which He speaks in the Apocalypse. The earlier date does not help us out of this difficulty.

Nor, I think, does it help us to account for difference of style, so far as that is a question of grammatical construction. If it could be maintained that the style of the Apocalypse was due to want of acquaintance with a foreign language, then twenty or thirty years of residence among Greeks might account for a vast change. But the chief faults in style of the Greek of the Apocalypse do not appear to me to be faults of the writer individually so much as faults of the language itself in its decay. The instrument, and not the workman, must take the

main share of blame. It is not that the writer is ignorant of Greek—his vocabulary, on the contrary, is abundant—but that the type of Greek with which he is familiar has lost the precision of the older tongue. Fairly correct and precise Greek could indeed still be written: happily St Paul could write it. Why the apocalyptist could not we do not know. The Greek in which he expressed himself was more like the Greek of the Egyptian papyri and of inscriptions found in various parts of the Graeco-Roman world.

We have already noted an example of one fault in his style its curious ambiguity; but I do not think this can be accounted a fault arising from unfamiliarity with the language: he writes easily, but without precision. A yet more obvious fault is his frequent neglect of what we regard as primary rules of grammar. Why does he often prefer to use the nominative in apposition to an oblique case which has immediately preceded, and sometimes even after a preposition? This is not ignorance in the ordinary sense: it is familiarity with a relaxed standard of speech, such as we find often enough in the professional letter-writers who indited the petitions and private correspondence of the peasants of the Fayûm. If this be so—and I would rather put it forward as a suggestion than assert it as a fact—then we are dealing with a writer who is quite familiar with one way of writing Greek, and would not be likely, say between his sixtieth and eightieth years, to acquire the power of writing it in a wholly different way. there is a profound chasm between this manner of writing and that of the Fourth Evangelist, whose style is simple, and generally correct according to the literary standard of the day, specially notable for its linking of sentence to sentence with a mere copula, as a Jew might write who had learned Greek well, but preferred the less elaborate constructions of his native speech.

Since writing these sentences I have seen to my satisfaction that Dr J. H. Moulton, who has a far more extensive acquaintance than I can claim with the diction of the *papyri*, corroborates my general impression. These words of his are quoted in a footnote by Dr Swete:

Apart from places where he [the writer of the Apocalypse] may be definitely translating from a Semitic document, there is no reason to believe that his grammar would have been materially different had he

been a native of Oxyrhynchus, assuming the extent of Greek education the same.

Dr Swete, it is true, utters a warning against prematurely concluding that what are commonly called 'Hebraisms' are not to be allowed as an element in the apocalyptist's style; but that is not the use which I wish to make of the parallel. What I am suggesting is that the faulty style is not due to a foreigner's imperfect acquaintance with Greek, but is, on the contrary, the result of his perfect familiarity with Greek of a debased type. I have indicated what seems to me the importance of the suggestion, if it can be justified; and I have hazarded it in the hope of stimulating further enquiry.

We may say, with little fear of contradiction, that no piece of literature in the world has gained so greatly by translation as the Book of the Revelation. Where can we find language so peculiarly fitted to the thoughts which it interprets, so rhythmical, so sublime, as (to give two examples from our unrivalled English version) in the description of the fall of Babylon and the judgement of quick and dead before the great white Throne? Yet no book of the New Testament is so painfully ungrammatical, so cramped and distorted in its original Greek. Generations of patient scribes sought to mend its most distressing breaches of grammar and syntax, and to make it more tolerable to educated ears while faithfully endeavouring to retain the true sense. Textual criticism has no less patiently laboured to undo their work, and to reproduce the irregularities of the writer's diction. It has been a necessary and a fruitful task: for at all cost of form we must seek to recover the exact original in order to probe to its depth the message of the book. But a kind providence allowed this inspiring prophecy to be rendered into the English tongue before it had been thus stripped bare again, and at a moment when our language was ready for its noblest effort. Probably no other language has shewn such a capacity for rendering Hebrew narrative and poetry as ours. Before the Semitic syntax Greek broke down sadly, as may be seen in the Greek version of the Old Testament, which is often grotesque where the English is majestic. The Apocalypse is Hebrew at heart, and full of phrases borrowed from the Hebrew prophets: the Greek which its writer employed was far more

debased from the literary standard than the Greek of the Septuagint: the underlying Semitic phraseology is better matched by its English equivalents; the ugliness of a decaying speech gives place to the beauty of a vigorous language making its first conquests in the domain of literature; and so the translation rises to a height loftier by far than the original.

This book, which has fascinated and perplexed so many generations of English readers, has at last received adequate treatment. We have a commentary and a fragment of a commentary which alike commend themselves as critical, devout, and wholly sane. The solutions which have in the past been offered of its unique problems have often been so contradictory or so whimsical that intelligent persons have abandoned all hope of gaining anything from its study. Yet all the while its picturelanguage has been the joy of the poor and simple, and the most cultivated have perhaps best learned its power when they have heard it read to a great congregation, and have shared the common inspiration of the moment. To many these commentaries will bring a surprise of new confidence. They may not care very greatly whether the John who wrote this book is also the writer of the Fourth Gospel. They will care to know that the book brought a living message from a Christian prophet to men who sorely needed it-a promise of supernatural aid in their overwhelming difficulties, an assurance of certain victory for the cause to which they had devoted themselves with a passion which we can hardly understand, a warning to some among them in whom that passion had cooled, a vision to all and for all time of an immediate Presence dominating and to dominate the whole of human history.

J. Armitage Robinson.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. I.

A CHURCH Historian may perhaps venture to think that something of the difficulties which repel so many students from the subject of textual criticism is due to the habit of treating it too much as a matter of the criticism and classification of documents, and too little as a branch of living history. After all, the New Testament was the possession of the Christian Society, and it is the experiences of the New Testament at the hands of Christian scribes and Christian scholars that form the subject-matter of our enquiry. Something, it seems, ought to be feasible in the way of approaching the textual criticism of the New Testament from a novel point of view, and of explaining its elements - 'making the salient things really salient'—just by looking at it as a branch of Church history. In lieu, then, of the time-honoured division under the three heads of Manuscripts, Versions, Fathers—though I hope we shall have learned something about all three before we have done—we will rather note what are the aspects and events in the development of the Christian Society which bear upon the preservation, the reproduction, the translation, the corruption and restoration, of the text of the Christian sacred books. And for the purposes of our enquiry the appropriate arrangement dictates itself; the divisions into which these lectures fall must be chronological. We shall not begin by isolating the MSS from the Versions, or the Versions from the Fathers, but we shall try to follow the fortunes of the New Testament through the successive generations of the earlier Christian centuries.

GROWTH OF THE IDEA OF A CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

If, then, we are to treat the textual criticism of the New Testament historically, it will be necessary to base the enquiry

on some general foundation of the conditions and circumstances under which the New Testament Canon came into being. In the present article we will go back to the beginnings of Church History, before ever there was a New Testament at all. is sometimes said, and an important truth lies concealed under the phrase, that the Church existed before the Bible. But a Christian of the earliest days, if you had used such words to him, would have stared at you in undisguised amazement. would have explained to you that in the Law and the Prophets and the Psalms the Christian possessed all the Scriptures he could want, for they all spoke of Christ. These were 'Holy Scriptures that could make a man wise unto salvation through the faith that is in Jesus Christ'. Out of these, both before and after His Passion, the Lord had built up the faith of the disciples in Himself: 'that all the things written about Him in the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms had to be fulfilled' had been the theme. He reminded them, of the words He had spoken to them while they were together²: 'beginning from Moses, through all the Prophets He interpreted to them' the Messianic meaning of all the Scriptures, and shewed how the Passion of the Christ was the condition precedent of His glory.³ On the same Scriptures He had based His appeal to his Jewish hearers: 'Ye search the Scriptures . . . but it is they that testify to Me.'4 It was natural, then, that the apostolic preaching, while it plants one foot on the fact of the Resurrection, of which the Apostles were the 'witnesses', rests the other on the Scriptures in which the Passion and Resurrection and Pentecostal outpouring are foretold: 'all the prophets that have spoken from Samuel onwards have announced these days.'5 Nor did the method of St Paul differ from that of the elder apostles. To the Jews of Pisidian Antioch he asserts that in the trial of Jesus the rulers and people of Jerusalem had fulfilled the prophecies which every sabbath day rang in their ears.6 Thessalonica 'according to his practice' he visited the synagogue, and for three sabbath days discussed and explained the Scriptures, citing proofs for Messiah's Passion and Resurrection, and working up to the conclusion that in Jesus all Messianic conditions were

fulfilled.¹ And the historian can find no higher praise for the apostle's hearers at Beroea than that they looked up the Scriptures for themselves, to verify 'whether these things were so'.²

The Old Testament Scriptures were the one common ground of Jew and Christian, and the controversy with Judaism continued naturally to be carried on over their interpretation. The various specimens of this branch of Christian propaganda which have come down to us in literary documents ³ are concerned, therefore, with the true meaning of the prophecies, and with the argument whether the events of the life of Jesus or the respective fortunes of Jews and Christians correspond with the conditions indicated in the Old Testament. And as long as the main conflict of the nascent community was with Judaism, there was no need to look further: the Old Testament Scriptures were all that the Church needed.

But the labours of St Paul and his fellow missionaries had very early carried the proclamation of the Gospel beyond the limits of Palestine, and though everywhere it was in the synagogue and to the Jews of the Dispersion that the message was first given, yet their rejection of it soon led the preachers to look to a wider horizon: 'Since ye judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, see, we turn to the Gentiles.' It can hardly have been much more than a generation after Pentecost before the vast field of labour thus opened up had begun to dwarf the Church's mission among the Jews as a very minor portion of her task. By the days of the Neronian persecution, in A.D. 64, she

¹ Acts xvii 2, 3.
² Acts xvii 11.

³ Curiously enough the Dialogue became very early, and long remained, the characteristic form in which the anti-Jewish literature of the Church clothed itself: witness the (lost) Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus; the Dialogue of Justin Martyr with Trypho; the Dialogue Christiani cum Iudaco de Trinitate, by Hieronymus Graecus; the Dialogue of Gregentius of Taphar with the Jew Herbanus; the Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila, published by Mr. Conybeare; the Dialogue of the Jews Papiscus and Philo with a certain monk, published by McGiffert; or the Latin Altercations, of Simon and Theophilus edited by Bratke, and of the Church and the Synagogue in the appendix to St Augustine. I cannot help thinking that this constant literary tradition had a direct historical origin from the days when such dialogues were being customarily held, in synagogues and elsewhere, between the adherents of the new movement and its opponents: cf. Acts is 22 (συμβιβάζων), xviii 4 (διελέγετο... ἐπειθίν τε), xix 8 (διαλεγύμενος καὶ πείθων), xix 9 (διαλεγύμενος ἐν τῆ σχολῆ Τυράννου).

Acts xiii 46.

was girding herself to the conversion, not of a single nation, but of an empire and a world to the Faith. And to the heathen any primary appeal to the Scriptures of the Jewish people would have been ineffective and out of place.

And in turn as the Christian community itself increased in numbers, and attracted new adherents from fresh strata in society and from different nationalities, the complexity of the problems which faced its daily life removed it ever further and further from the limited sphere within which the Scriptures written for a single race could remain the exclusive and authoritative standard.

Thus both in its internal and in its external relations—whether in view of its missionary enterprise to the heathen world, or of its own developement as a body recruited more and more largely from non-Jewish sources—the Church could not rest content with its original attitude towards the Jewish Scriptures. The new wine must burst the old bottles.

But this great revolution was not accomplished in a moment. The Christians struggled bravely to continue under the old conditions. Even in the second half of the second century Melito of Sardis and Irenaeus of Lyons were still issuing for the Christian public works of dogmatic instruction based entirely on the Old Testament. The Eclogae of Melito consisted of select passages from the Jewish canonical books 'concerning our Saviour and the whole of our faith'1; the work of Irenaeus, newly recovered in an Armenian version, is a book of elementary catechesis, giving a Christian interpretation to the Old Testament prophecies.² Two considerations made it possible to prolong this exclusive or at any rate predominant employment of the Jewish Scriptures. In the first place, the argument from the fulfilment of prophecy—the correspondence of fact between the life of Christ and of the Christian Society with predictions written down long before—could be made effective, either as in Justin Martyr's first Apology,3 for the controversy with intelligent pagans, or, as in Cyprian's book of Testimonies, for the confirmation of converts in In the second place (and this is much more important), the allegorical method of exposition lay ready to hand as an obvious instrument of extending the application of the ancient Scriptures to modern needs.



¹ Eus. H. E. iv 26.

² Ib. v 26.

³ Apol. i 31-53, 61.

It was in Alexandria and at the hands of Philo, an elder contemporary of our Lord and the apostles, that the allegorical method attained its full developement. Himself a Hellenized Jew, and keenly desirous to commend to Hellenic culture the Jewish religion and the Jewish Scriptures, Philo would have found alike the anthropomorphism and the legal and ceremonial detail of the Mosaic books an insuperable bar to the success of his propaganda among his Greek neighbours, if he had not been able, by a wealth of imagery and allegory, to represent the material sense of the letter as only the covering which concealed from any but a seeing eye a deeper spiritual meaning. By far the greater portion of his writings consists of an elaborate allegorical exegesis of sections of the books of Genesis and Exodus. His direct influence both on the Christian School of Alexandria and on some of the later Fathers, such as Ambrose, was very great; it is at least possible that the writers of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Fourth Gospel owed something to him: but it must not be supposed that an allegorizing exegesis of the Old Testament is confined to his direct imitators alone. St Paul himself, and in his earlier epistles, finds not only 'types' (τύποι, τυπικώς) but 'allegories' (ἀλληγορούμενα) in the histories of the Pentateuch 1: when he wrote of the precept, 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn,' Does God care for oxen, or is it of course on our account that He says it?'2and again, that the Rock of which the fathers drank in the wilderness was the Christ 3—he was allegorizing the Old Testanent every bit as much, though he did not do it so systematically, as Philo. We have seen what binding authority a Messianic interpretation of the Old Testament had for Christians; and though the allegorical and the Messianic interpretations are by no means the same thing, the passages just quoted will shew how easily they might slide into one another. As a matter of fact we find Theodore of Mopsuestia, the great opponent of the allegorizers, restricting, and indeed reducing to a minimum, the directly Messianic application of prophecy.4

Thus there was every inducement, in tradition and in circum-

^{1 1} Cor. x 6, 11: Gal. iv 24.
2 1 Cor. ix 9.
3 1 Cor. x 4.
4 For instance, the school of Theodore admitted only the four Psalms ii, viii, xliv[xlv], cix[cx], as properly Messianic.

VOL. X.

stances for the first generations of Christians to apply the Old Testament, as long and as far as they could, to contemporary and Christian purposes. The very early epistle known under the name of Barnabas represents, to a degree never equalled in patristic literature, the system of the more reckless allegorizers. Not only is the whole of Christian ethics and Christian theology to be found in the Law, but there was never really any other than the Christian meaning in it at all. It was pure misunderstanding on the part of carnally minded Jews if they thought that a literal circumcision and a literal Sabbath rest were ordained by Moses, rather than the rest from evil doing and the circumcision of the heart; while the supposed prohibition of particular animals for food was in fact the prohibition of the vices which those animals symbolized. This, however, was an extreme view: it was not necessary to deny the superficial and temporary meaning of the letter of the Scriptures in order to hold the superior validity of the underlying and remoter application: and indeed the pressure of the controversy with Gnosticism, and especially with Marcion, soon forced the Church to re-assert the truth and reality, within their own sphere, of the records of the Old Testament dispensation. Barnabas was more readily followed when he noted, for instance, that the 318 followers of Abraham-in Greek numerals TIH'-signified in mystery the Incarnation and Passion of the Saviour, for IH are the first letters of Ingoos, and T is itself in form a cross. In the same spirit it was possible to discover not only the life of the Lord but the life of the Church revealed, for those who looked long enough and deep enough, in the Old Testament Scriptures. Justin Martyr and Tertullian see the twelve apostles in the bells on the High Priest's robe and the jewels on his breast 1; Clement of Rome finds Christian bishops and deacons in the pages of Isaiah.2

It is very necessary to emphasize this continuance, in Christian circles, of the supreme and unique value, as a written standard, of the Jewish Scriptures. And yet it would of course be untrue to fact to conclude that Christians had no authority to depend on of a more direct and immediate nature; for in truth they

¹ Justin Dial. xlii: Tert. adv. Marcionem iv 13.

² Clem. ad Cor. xlii (Is. lx 17).

possessed such authority from the first in a twofold form, in the tradition of the words of the Lord and in the persons of His living representatives. These authorities were not in any sense inferior to the Scriptures—the Aóyia Kupiaká were necessarily final—but they were on a different plane: there could be no definite comparison or commensuration of the new authorities and the old, as long as the one was only written while the others were only oral. St Paul reminds his Ephesian converts of the appeal he had made to them in his teaching that they should keep before them the words of the Lord Jesus 1: and the words that he proceeds to quote are found in no written Nor in his letters to his converts does he shew any consciousness that there attached to his written message a greater authority than to his oral teaching; rather, the order in which he speaks of 'a revelation, a word, a letter', or again, 'my words and my letters,' 2 suggests if anything the contrary conclusion. His letters were in fact the substitute, imperfect but inevitable, for his presence. It is only our habitual use of the word 'epistle' which tends to obscure to us this truth; for 'epistle' has acquired something of a more formal character, and carries with it the reflection of the ecumenical authority implied by admission into the Canon. At the time of writing none of the epistles, except perhaps those addressed to Rome and Ephesus, had or were intended to have any validity apart from the immediate circle of their recipients.

Thus if the unique position of the Old Testament was from the very beginning unconsciously undermined in the Christian community, it was being undermined in a way which did not in the least suggest a collection of Christian Scriptures or New Testament. What the earliest evidence shews us—the evidence in fact contained in the writings which formed later on the New Testament of the Church—is, on the one hand, the appeal to the written Scriptures that were common to Jew and Christian, and, on the other hand, side by side with that another appeal to a body of tradition peculiar to the Christian Society, based on the teaching of the Lord, reinforced and completed by those who had received His commission and His promise to that end; and this tradition as orally conveyed assumed a definite and

¹ Acts xx 35. ² 2 Thess. ii 2; ii 15.

coherent, if still ductile, form, long before there was any idea on the part of the preacher of embodying it, or on the part of the disciple of looking for it, in written documents.

Two terms, or families of terms, are employed by St Paul to denote this body of Christian truth. Sometimes we find the term which remained fixed in later usage for the preliminary stage of instruction given to the postulant for Christian baptism: the 'catechumen' is one who is being taught the 'Word' ('let him that is being catechized in the Word share all his goods with his catechizer' 1) or 'the words' ('that thou mayest recognize the sure basis of the words in which thou wast catechized '2). But more frequently he speaks of the παράδοσις or παραδόσεις: to the conception of παραδιδόναι or παρατίθεσθαι on the part of the apostle answers a corresponding παραλαμβάνειν on the part of his disciples. 'Hold fast the traditions which I have taught you.'3 'I congratulate you on your accurate memory: you keep the traditions in the shape in which I gave them you.'4 And with the same expression, but with a forcible metaphor added, 'you have heartily obeyed that doctrine into the mould of which you were cast.' 5 These παραδόσεις are like the valuables which a man who had to make a journey, and had no banking account, deposited with his dearest and surest friend: 'O Timothy, keep the deposit safe.' But this deposit, unlike others, is one which never has to be handed back but always to be handed on.⁷ 'I gave over to you at the beginning what I in my turn had received's: 'I received from the Lord what I have already handed on to you'9: 'that which thou hast heard from me, guaranteed by many witnesses, do thou commit to such trustworthy men as will be competent in turn to teach others.'10

What then can we learn from the New Testament as to the content of these 'traditions'? It does not seem going beyond the evidence if we answer that it was twofold. That it was, on the one hand, a simple catena of the actual words, and (so far as was necessary to interpret the words) of the accompanying

¹ Gal. vi 6.
² Lk. i 4.
³ 2 Thess. ii 15.
⁴ 1 Cor. xi 2.

⁶ Rom. vi 17. ⁶ I Tim. vi 20.

⁷ And so perhaps the thought in Jude 3, 'the faith once delivered to the saints,' represents another and rather later stage than St. Paul.

^{8 1} Cor. xv 3. 9 1 Cor. xi 23. 10 2 Tim. ii 2.

actions, of the Lord, seems to be implied by the παράδοσις of the Institution of the Eucharist in I Corinthians xi1: and so St Luke's prologue speaks of Gospel narratives drawn up 'on the lines in which the story was given to us by those who were the original eyewitnesses and ministers of the Word'. That with the great facts of the Gospel history was interwoven something of a dogmatic interpretation of them on the part of the Apostle -in other words, something of the nature of a Creed-and something also of a Messianic application of the Old Testament, follows from the παράδοσις of the Passion and Resurrection in I Corinthians xv, 'that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and that He was buried, and that He was raised on the third day according to the Scriptures,' &c.3: and so the Apostle bids Timothy bear in mind the twin characteristics of his teaching, 'Jesus Christ raised from the dead, Jesus Christ of the seed of David, according to my Gospel.' 4

As early therefore as the first Christian generation we see emerge, side by side with the written authority of the Old Testament, the equal authority of the Lord's Words and the Apostolic Traditions. Let us illustrate this by seeing how in the phraseology of the second century the two Dispensations and their representatives are brought into practical, but still at first quite irregular, parallelism. At the beginning of the century Ignatius of Antioch writes to the Philadelphians that he takes refuge 'in the Gospel as the Flesh of Jesus, and in the Apostles as the council-board of the Church, and the Prophets too we love',5 or again in the same letter that 'there is one Door, through which enter in Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and the Prophets and the Apostles and the Church '6: while to the Smyrnaeans he speaks of those who were not persuaded by 'the Prophecies nor by the Law of Moses nor even now by the Gospel nor by our individual sufferings',7 and bids them 'take heed to the Prophets, but more particularly to the Gospel'.8 With the writers of

^{* 1}b. 7. Note particularly the singular εὐαγγέλιον, as in all the earliest references: the Gospel of good news is one, even if it reaches us through several channels. The plural is a sign of later date, as in the so-called Epistle to Diognetus (xi 6), 'Then the awe of the Law is hymned, and the grace of the Prophets is

the middle of the century the parallel takes more conventional shape: in the letter known as 2 Clement we have 'the Books [i. e. the Old Testament] and the Apostles'1: in Justin's Dialogue with Trypho 'the voice of God spoken to us by the Apostles of the Christ and proclaimed to us by the Prophets'2; and in Hegesippus 'the Law and the Prophets and the Lord'. And just as the embodiments of the two Dispensations are thus paralleled, so too are the Dispensations themselves. As there was a Law and a Covenant for Israel of old, there is now a new Law and a new Covenant 4: but while the Old Covenant is preserved in writing-St Paul speaks of its being read aloud,5 and Melito of Sardis makes definite mention of the 'Books of the Old Covenant'6—the New Law and New Covenant is spiritual and is not originally conceived of as a series of documents. The Cup of the Eucharist, in St Paul's 'tradition' of the Institution, is 'the New Covenant in the blood of Christ'7: the Apostle himself is a minister or deacon of a New Covenant.8 In Barnabas we find 'the New Law of our Lord Jesus Christ',9 in Justin 'the New Law and the New Covenant', 10 in Irenaeus 'the New Covenant and life-giving Law.'11 And both the lines of parallelism we have been following out are combined in Clement of Alexandria: 'the Rule of the Church is the concord and harmony of Law and Prophets with the Covenant entrusted to our keeping when the Lord was present with us.' 12

recognized, and the faith of the Gospels is stablished, and the tradition of the Apostles is guarded, and the grace of the Church bounds for joy.'

Even when τὰ εὐαγγέλια had come into common employment of the four written Gospels, the older usage perpetuated itself in two directions: (1) each individual Gospel was not the Gospel of, or by, Matthew or Mark, but the one only Gospel according to, in the shape given to it by, Matthew or Mark, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ κατὰ Μαθθαῖον: (2) the Gospel section in the Liturgy is still 'the Holy Gospel' as written in such and such a chapter of such and such an Evangelist.

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<sup>1</sup> 2 Clem. 14. <sup>2</sup> Justin Dial. 119. <sup>3</sup> ap. Eus. H. E. iv 22. <sup>4</sup> The word διαθήκη, which is now stereotyped in Latin and English as 'Testamentum' and 'Testament', in the LXX and for the most part in N. T. and early Christian writers meant 'Covenant': though of course the Greek word does properly mean not 'Covenant,' which should be συνθήκη, but 'Testament' in the sense of a will, and this sense is found—side by side with the other—both in Philo and in the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb. ix 16, 17: Philo de mutatione nominum 51 [ed. Cohn & Wendland, ii p. 166 l. 4]).
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      8 2 Cor. iii 14.
      6 ap. Eus. H. E. iv 26.
      7 1 Cor. xi 25.

      8 2 Cor. iii 6.
      9 Barnabas 2.
      10 Justin Dial. 12.

      J1 Iren. IV xxxiv 4.
      12 Clem. Strom. vi 15 § 125.
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It is clear, then, that the Church, at a very early stage of her history, definitely and consciously placed the New Covenant and its representatives on at least a level with the Scriptures of the Older Covenant and their authors: but it is equally clear that this did not necessarily mean in any sense or to any degree a parallelism of two collections of books. There were, in fact, at first no Christian books to collect, and those which ultimately made up the Canon of the New Testament were only being gradually written during a period of two generations. As long as the expectation of an immediate Return of the Lord was as vivid and overmastering as we see it in the earlier epistles of St Paul. there was no object in writing for any but an immediate and temporary purpose, still less in collecting what other people had written. Even apart from that special cause, it was the task of preaching which had been laid on the Apostles, and not the task of writing: their enthusiasm, as Eusebius 1 and St Chrysostom² put it almost in the same words, was not for τὸ λογογραφείν. Or again, if we look at things not from the standpoint of the Apostles but from that of their immediate disciples, oral or unwritten tradition has a special attractiveness of its own. is something which a tiny society separated from the world can guard as a sacred trust more jealously than the books which may by accident fall into the hands of the profane; it is something too which brings one indefinably nearer to those with whom it deals than do the books which, as it were, interpose a third personality between the reader and the subject. Of this preference for the unwritten over written tradition Papias has become through Eusebius the classical interpreter³: he had made it, he tells us, his special object to collect the sayings of the elders, because he conceived he would get less benefit out of books than from the living and abiding voice.

But the number of steps in the ladder which connected the Church of the second century with the lifetime of her Master was multiplying, and each step was less firmly fixed than the one which preceded it. Even at the time when Papias began to collect the traditions which he afterwards—and apparently long afterwards—set down in writing, two only of the Lord's

² Eus. H. E. iii 24.
² Chrys. in Act. Ap., praef.
³ ap. Eus. H. E. iii 39.

personal disciples, so far as we learn from him, survived, and it is not certain that he had come into personal contact with either of them 1 : and even Aristion and the presbyter John may probably have been long dead when Papias published—somewhere before the middle of the second century—the Expositions of Dominical Oracles, $\Lambda oyl \omega v K v \rho \iota a \kappa \hat{\omega} v \epsilon \xi \eta \gamma \dot{\eta} \sigma \epsilon \iota s$. As the second century after Christ waned, the only obvious chain of oral tradition remaining was that which bound the Church of Gaul through Irenaeus to Polycarp, and through Polycarp to John of Ephesus: but invaluable as this chain is for the purposes of the historian, it needed not one chain only, but the combined strength of many, to ensure the security of Apostolic tradition. Where the personal equation may be so disturbing, it is only the consensus of independent lines of witness which can have full validity.

This truth might not have been borne in so early to the minds of churchmen of that age, if it had not been for the pressure of the Gnostic movement. Whether without or within the Church, in the person of Clement of Alexandria as well as of Basilides or Valentinus, the Gnostic claimed to be the depository of a further and higher developement of Christianity than was open to the ordinary Christian; and the authoritative nature of the truths he represented was guaranteed by the secret channels of tradition which, as he claimed, connected him with the Apostles. What follows is taken wholly from Clement; and it may be judged how much further, in the case of the Gnostics proper, the Gnostic attitude departed in this respect from catholic churchmanship. Christ, then, revealed His mysteries only to a few 2: the Apostles-James, Peter, John, and the restwere the first Gnostics,3 and they in turn handed on the tradition orally to some few 4; and so by a sort of apostolic succession, 'son succeeding father, but few are the sons like to their fathers'.

¹ The words of Papias are: 'If any one came who had been a follower of the elders, I used to sift the sayings of the elders: what Andrew or Peter had said, or Philip or Thomas or James or John or Matthew or any other of the Lord's personal disciples; and what Aristion and the elder John were saying.' Eusebius indeed understood Papias to mean that he had himself been a hearer of John and Aristion; but the words appear to mean just the contrary, and Eusebius seems conscious that his interpretation is not the obvious one, for he goes on with the particle γοῦν, 'at any rate he names them often and gives traditions of theirs in his books.'

through God's Providence there survived even to Clement's time men qualified to 'deposit in congenial soil the fertile seeds of the true Apostolic tradition'.¹

It was over against these perversions of the use of oral tradition and of the appeal to the Apostles, as they were used to recommend the various forms of heretical Gnosis, that churchmen were thrown back upon their own existing belief and practice, and forced to cross-question them, to define them, to correlate them: and so came the assertion of the claim to possess in the Creed the one and only universally received summary of Apostolic doctrine, in the Episcopate the one and only authoritative succession of teachers from the Apostles, and in the Canon of the New Testament the one and only public collection of genuine Apostolic writings. But the Creed was not invented to counteract Docetism-or the Episcopate to outshine the succession of true 'gnostics'—or the New Testament to rival the apocryphal traditions of the heretics: they were there already to hand. The books which constitute the Christian Scriptures had been, with one or two insignificant exceptions, composed before the end of the first century; and during the first three quarters of the second century an instinctive and at first no doubt unconscious process had been gradually collecting, sifting, canonizing them, until the Church possessed a New Testament almost without being aware of it. As the bulb germinates beneath the ground, striking root slowly and deeply into the earth, and only then emerges above the surface and shoots up suddenly into foliage and flower, so the real and effective canonization of the Apostolic writings had been silently wrought in the inner chambers of the life of the Christian Society, before history can lay her finger upon any open proofs. But when once the evidence comes, it comes, in the last quarter of the second century, abundantly and with a rush.

There remain, however, two points of view from which we can watch indications of this gradual process, and anticipate to some extent its culmination.

1. Perhaps it had been first by means of the liturgical worship of the Church that the equation of the written documents of the two Dispensations became a familiar idea to the Christians of the second century. We know from numerous allusions in the

¹ Clem, Al. Strom, i 11.

New Testament that the services of the Synagogue included the reading of passages from both the Law and the Prophets. Moses was 'read aloud in the synagogues every sabbath day'1: 'every sabbath day the words of the Prophets are read aloud '2: it was 'after the reading of the Law and the Prophets's in the synagogue of Pisidian Antioch that St Paul was asked to speak a word of exhortation to the people. Christian worship was a continuation of Synagogue worship-of course with the 'Breaking of the Bread' for its differentia, and with the substitution of Sunday for the Sabbath—and therefore in Christian worship too the reading of the Old Testament Scriptures had its place: St Paul, in his injunctions to Timothy, 4 sets the duty of public reading, ανάγνωσις, before even those of preaching and teaching. But in the Christian meetings, at any rate, other things might be read besides the Old Testament Scriptures. When the Apostle wrote to his converts, his letter was not sent round, like the literature of a circulating bookclub, with an injunction to each Christian to pass it on, when he had done with it, to some one else: it was addressed to the Church, and it was doubtless read aloud at the Church's Sunday service. And in proportion as the letter was highly prized, would follow the desire both to hear the reading of it repeated and also to send copies of it to other neighbouring communities that they too might profit by it. So St Paul himself bids the Colossians arrange with the Laodicenes an exchange for this purpose of his letter to Colossae and his letter to Laodicea 5: and so Dionysius of Corinth, about 170 A.D., tells Soter of Rome that the letter sent by Clement from Rome to Corinth two generations earlier continued to be read in his Church every Sunday.6 The public reading of the written 'traditions' of the Lord's Words-it must be remembered that some Christians at least would be unable to read them for themselves—was doubtless even more universal: in the Roman Church, at any rate, by the time of Justin Martyr, we learn that at the commencement of the weekly worship as much was read as

¹ Acts xv 21, cf. 2 Cor. iii 15. ² Acts xiii 27, cf. Lk. iv 16, 17. ⁸ Acts xiii 15. ¹ Tim. iv 13. ⁵ Col. iv 16.

⁶ ap. Eus. H. E. iv 23. Compare Tertullian praescr. 36 'percurre ecclesias apostolicas... apud quas ipsae authenticae litterae eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem et repraesentantes faciem uniuscuiusque': and Jerome vir. illustr. 17 'Polycarpus... scripsit ad Philippenses valde utilem epistulam quae usque hodie in Asiae conventu legitur'.

time permitted of 'the memoirs of the Apostles and the writings of the Prophets'. 1

2. Not less instructive is it for our purpose to note the formulae with which the Apostolic writings are referred to in the Christian literature of the post-apostolic age. Whereas at first the Lord's Words are introduced with the past tense, as matter of history— 'the Lord commanded' 'the Lord said' 'the Lord said in His teaching '-, with the progress of time the present tense replaces the past, and instead of εἶπεν or ἐκέλευσεν we find λέγει or φησί,3 for the documents containing the Lord's Words have themselves become an authority, and Scripture is always present with us. Quite similarly the verb γέγραπται and the noun γραφή γραφαί are at the outset strictly reserved for the Old Testament. In the New Testament writings the solitary exception to this rule is the passage in 2 Peter,4 where the epistles of 'our beloved brother Paul' are compared to 'the rest of the Scriptures', τας λοιπας γραφάs; and though even this is not quite the same thing as calling the epistles themselves 'Scriptures', still the phrase is so unusual as to suggest the later origin of the document which contains it. In the sub-apostolic writers there are indeed several instances in which apocryphal writings are cited as Scripture⁶—in other words, a looser Alexandrine Canon was used in preference to the more rigid Palestinian-but of instances where the Apostolic writings are thus treated we have no more than one doubtful case in Polycarp, one rather more certain case in Barnabas, and one quite certain case in 2 Clement.6 When we come to Justin Martyr (150-160 A.D.) a process of transition is clearly at work: γέγραπται is used freely for Gospel citations-nine times, for instance, in ξδ 100-107 of the Dialogue with Trypho-but γραφή and γραφαί are still confined to the Old Testament. The last step was, however, soon to be taken, and what Papias called the λόγια κυριακά become in Dionysius of Corinth the κυριακαὶ γραφαί.7

Our enquiry up to this point has shewn us the growth and maturity during the second century—or, to be more accurate,

¹ Justin Apol. i 67. ² Didache: Clem. Rom.: Polyc. ii 3, vii 2.

³ 2 Clem. iii 2, iv 2, vi 1, viii 5, xiii 4.

⁴ 2 Pet. iii 15, 16.

⁵ Clem. Rom. xvii 3?, xxiii 3, xxvi 2, xxxiv 8, xlvi 2: Barnabas iv 1, vi 13, vii 4, 11?, xii 1, xvi 1: Hermas Vis. II iii 4.

⁶ Polyc. xii 1: Barn. iv 14: 2 Clem. ii 4. ⁷ ap. Eus. H. E. iv 23.

during the first three quarters of it—of the conception of a 'Canon' of the New Testament, of the separation of a group of Apostolic writings from the rest of Christian literature and their elevation to an equal authority with the Scriptures of the Old Testament. Of what books or classes of books this New Testament consisted is a further question, and one which must be left to another article.

C. H. TURNER.

DOCUMENTS

ORIGEN ON I CORINTHIANS.

IV.

&XLV.

x 5 ['Aλλ' οὐκ ἐν τοῖς πλείοσιν αὐτῶν εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεός, κατεςτρώθης αν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἐρήμο.]

['Ωριγένους]

186

Βούλεται παραστήσαι ἡμιν ὁ ἀπόστολος ὅτι οὐ τὸ τυχείν δωρεῶς θεοῦ σώζει τὸν τετυχηκότα αὐτής, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ τυχείν τῆς δωρεῶς ἐπιμεῖναι ἄξιον γενόμενον αὐτῆς. καὶ γὰρ οἱ νἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τοσαῦτα εὐεργετηθέντες, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἄξιοι γεγόνασιν τῆς εὐεργεσίας τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐκ ἐσώθησαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πλείοσιν 5 αὐτῶν εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεός κατεςτρώθησαν γὰρ ἐν τῆ ἐρήμω. καὶ γὰρ ἐπεὶ πλείονες ἦσαν οἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ ὁλιγώτεροι δὲ οἱ δίκαιοι, παρὰ τοῦτο (οὐκ) εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεὸς (ἐν) τοῖς πλείοσιν ἁμαρτωλοῖς παρὰ τοὺς ὀλίγους δικαίους.

§ XLVI.

x 6 [Ταῦτα δὲ τύποι ἡμῶν ἐγενήθησαν, εἰς τὸ μὴ είναι ἡμᾶς ἐπιθυμητὰς κακῶν, καθὼς κὰκείνοι ἐπεθύμησαν.]

['Ωριγένους]

188

Ταῦτα δέ φησιν τύποι ἡμῶν γεγόνασιν, εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἐπιθυμητὰς 189 κακῶν, καθὼς κἀκεῖνοι ἐπεθύμησαν. ἐκεῖνα γέγραπται τυπικῶς πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἔνα ἀναγινώσκοντες τὰς ἀμαρτίας, δι ἀς ἐκεῖνοι ταῦτα πεπόνθασιν, φυλαττώμεθα ταῖς αὐταῖς περιπεσεῖν ἐκείνοις ἐπιθυμίαις.

§ XLVII.

xii 3 [Διὸ γνωρίζω ύμιν ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ λαλῶν λέγει ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦν· καὶ οὐδεὶς δύναται εἰπεῖν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν εἰ μὴ ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ.]

['Ωριγένους]

Πολλαὶ διαφοραί είσι τῶν πνευμάτων ἄστινας οὐδεὶς εἴσεται ἀκριβῶς ἃν μὴ 226

XLV 6. Num. xiv 16

XLV 7. οπ. οὐκ MS 8. παρὰ τοῖς πλειοσιν MS XLVI 4. leg. fortasse φυλαττάμεθα μή cum MS Vat. gr. 692 (m. p. ut uid. s. l.)

ἔχη τὸ χάρισμα τῆς διακρίσεως τοῦ πνεύματος. καὶ ἴνα μὴ προπετέστερον ἢ ἀποδοκιμάζ(ω)μεν τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἐν τοῖς λέγουσιν ἢ δοκιμάζ(ω)μεν, 5 φησὶν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐν τῆ ἐπιστολῆ ἸΑραπητοί, κὰ παπτὶ πικέγκατι πιςτεγ(ε)τε, ἀλλὰ Δοκικάζετε τὰ πικέγκατα εἰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐςτιν: πῶν πικέγκα ὁ ὁκολογεῖ Ἰλικοῦν Χριςτόν ἐν καρκὶ ἐληλγθότα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐςτιν, καὶ πῶν πικέγκα ὁ κιὶ ὁκολογεῖ τὸν Ἰλικοῦν οἤκ ἔςτιν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ διδάσκει ἡμῶς ἐπὰν ἀκούσωμέν ποτε λεγόντων μηδὲ ὡς ἔτυχεν συγκατατίθεσθαι μήτε προπετῶς ἀρνεῖσθαι τὰ λεγόμενα ὡς 227 οὐκ ἀπὸ θείου ὄντα πνεύματος, ἀλλὶ ἴνα ἔκαστος τῶν ἀκουόντων εἰδὼς κινδυ11 νεύειν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δοκιμάζειν ἡ ἀποδοκιμάζειν ἐπιμελῶς προσέχη μήτε τῷ ψεύδει πιστεῦσαι μήτε τῷ ἀληθεῖ ἀπιστῆσαι.

Περί τούτου και έξης επιφέρει τούτοις ὁ απόστολος Εἴ τις εν ύμιν προφήτης Η πηεγματικός, επιγιηως κέτω ά γράφω ότι θεος έςτιη εί δε τις άγησεί, άγησεί (ται). 15 οὐ μόνον οὖ(ν) εἴ τις ἀγνοεῖ τὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου οὖτος ἀγνοεῖται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, άλλ' εἴ τις άγνοεῖ λέγων πνεύματι θείφ (καὶ) λέγοι ὅτι μὴ πνεύματι θείφ λέγει, άγνοείται ύπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔοικε δὲ διὰ τούτων διδάσκειν ὁ ἀπόστολος ὅτι οὐκ *ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος ὃς οὐκ ἔχει ἔτερον πνε*ῦμα ἐν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸ πιεγμα τογ άνθρώπος το εν αγτώ. εἴτε γαρ άλλοτριός έστι της πίστεως εἴτε οἰκεῖος έστιν 20 αὐτης, ἔχει πνεῦμα οἰκεῖον παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. πῶς δὲ χρήζομεν οἱ ἀκούοντες τοῦ λόγου τοῦ θείου μανθάνειν ότι οὐδεὶς ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ λαλῶν λέγει ἀνάθεμα Ίησοῦν, ἴδωμεν· τινὲς δύνανται είναι ἀμφίβολοι τοῖς μὴ ἀκριβῶς εἰδόσι τὰ πράγματα πότερον πνεύματι θεοῦ λαλοῦσιν ἢ μή, ἀναθεματίζοντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν. εἴ ποτέ τινα Ἰουδαῖον θεάση διηγούμενον τὰς θείας γραφὰς καὶ 25 οὖκ εὖκαταφρονήτως τοῖς πολλοῖς προφητικὰ ῥήματα τάχα ἀμφέβαλεν μήποτε πνεθμα θεοθ έστι καὶ έν έκείνω τνα οθν μη περισπασθης υπέρ τοθ τοιούτου πότερον πνεθμα αγιόν έστιν εν αθτώ η μή, διδάσκει ότι έπελ ανάθεμα λέγει τὸν Ἰησοῦν πᾶς Ἰουδαῖος οὐδείς δὲ ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ λαλῶν λέγει ἀνάθεμα Ίησοῦν, οὐκ ἔχει πνεῦμα θεοῦ ὁ λέγων τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας εἰδέναι 30 άναθεματίζων δε τον Ίησοῦν. έστι τις αιρεσις ήτις ου προσίεται τον προσιόντα εί μη άναθεματίση τὸν Ἰησοῦν. καὶ ή αἴρεσις ἐκείνη άξία ἐστὶ τοῦ ονόματος οδ ήγάπησεν έστι γὰρ ή αξρεσις των καλουμένων 'Οφιανων, οξτινες οὐ θεμιτὰ λέγουσιν εἰς ἐγκώμιον τοῦ ὄφεως, δς ἐπικατάρατός ἐστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ.

XLVII 3. Cf. 1 Cor. xii 10 5. 1 Io. iv 1-3 13-14. 1 Cor. xiv 37 18. 1 Cor. ii 11 33. Gen. iii 14

XLVII 4. ἀποδοκιμάζομεν . . . δοκιμάζομεν MS 5. πιστεύητε MS ΙΙ. προσέχει 14. θεοῦ 2/3 (uide infra ad xiv 31, xiv 37) άγνοείτω codd. : $MS: -\hat{\eta} \text{ corr. s. l.}$ leg. dyvoeirai (cf. Tischendorf ad I Cor. xiv 38, et infra LXXII 8) 15. ouv 16. Aliquid excidisse uidetur, nisi uelis uocem ἀγνοεί omittere : scripsi: où MS καὶ suppleui ante λέγοι: leg. potius ἀγνοῶν λέγων A. Nairne fortasse recte IQ. EGTL 22. Ἰησοῦν· της πίστεως αὐτης m. p.: της πίστεως punctis notauit corr. et leg. έστιν ίδωμεν τίνες MS 30. om. τὸν ante προσιόντα m. p., suppl. s. l. corr. 31. leg. fortasse ¿dv μή

& XLVIII.

χίι 8-10. [* Ω μέν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος δίδοται λόγος σοφίας, ἄλλῳ δὲ λόγος γνώσεως κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πνεῦμα, ἐτέρῳ πίστις ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πνεύματι, ἄλλῳ δὲ χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων ἐν τῷ ἐνὶ πνεύματι, ἄλλῳ δὲ ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων, ἄλλῳ δὲ ἀνεργήματα χλωσσῶν, ἄλλῳ δὲ ἐρμηνεία γλωσσῶν.]

xii 27-28. [Ύμεις δέ ἐστε σῶμα Χριστοῦ καὶ μέλη ἐκ μέρους. καὶ οὕς μὲν ἔθετο ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, δεύτερον προφήτας, τρίτον διδασκάλους, ἔπειτα δυνάμεις, εἶτα χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων, ἀντιλήψεις, κυβερνήσεις, γένη γλωσσῶν.]

['Ωριγένους]

Έκει μάλλον τὸν λόγον ἐν τάξει τετήρηκεν, ἐνταθθα δὲ ώσεὶ ἀποκληρω- 245 τικώς επέρχεται καὶ κατά τὸ επελθὸν αὐτῷ μνημονεύει τῶν χαρισμάτων πλὴν καὶ οὖτως ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου ῥητοῦ ἀναφωνεῖ ὅτι ἐλάττονα τὰ χαρίσματά ἐστι (τὰ) παρά τὰς δυνάμεις ἐνεργούμενα τοῦ χαρίσματος τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀποστολὴν καὶ 5 την προφητείαν καὶ την διδασκαλίαν εἰ μη ἄρα τις δύο εἴδη προφητείας δώσει, ΐνα καὶ ἐνθάδε τηρήση τὸ τὴν τάξιν σώζεσθαι, ὧστε εἶναι τινὰ μὲν προφητείαν ύπερβεβηκυΐαν τινά δε προφητείαν άναβεβηκυΐαν. την μεν γάρ καθολικωτέραν καὶ μιμουμένην τὰς προφητείας Ἡσαΐου καὶ Ἱερεμίου δευτέραν τάξιν μετὰ την άποστολην έρει, ταύτην δε την τελευταίαν τεταγμένην τάξιν μετά τὰ το είρημένα γαρίσματα τοιαύτην ουσαν ΕλΝ δε προφητεύητε, εἰκέλθη δέ τις απιστος Η ιδιώτης, ελέγχεται γπό πάντων, ανακρίνεται γπό πάντων, τα κργπτά της καρδίας αγτος φανερά γίνεται, και οξτως πεςών επί πρόςωπον προςκγνήςει τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἀπαρρέλλει ὅτι ὅντως θεός ἐν γμιν ἐςτιν. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ μακράν ἐστι τοῦ ἐνεργήματος τῶν Δγνάμεων καὶ χαρίςματος ἰαμάτων ἐπὶ ἐκπλήξει γινο- 15 μένων των δρώντων, ίνα δ προφητεύων είπη Τόδε έχεις έν τη καρδία σου Απὸ τοῦδε τοῦ άμαρτήματος ελήλυθας επὶ τὴν εκκλησίαν. δύναται δε καὶ αύτη ή προφητεία τάξει είναι ύστέρα παρά τὰ πρότερα, κάκείνη ή θειοτέρα καὶ μείζων δευτέρα είναι, περί ής λέγει Ο θεός έθετο ἐν τῆ ἐκκλησία πρώτον άποστόλους, δεύτερον προφήτας, τρίτον διδασκάλους. είς κατασκευήν του δύο 20

XLVIII 2. Cf. 1 Cor. xii 8 ff 11 ff. 1 Cor. xiv 24-5 (Is. xlv 14 Hebr.) 15. 1 Cor. xii 9

XLVIII This is the first section of the catena on I Cor. in the Athos MS Pantocrator 28 which contains a citation from Origen. Its readings are denoted in the apparatus criticus by A.

The passage clearly refers also to τ Cor. xii 8-10, though attached in the MSS to xii 27-8. ἐκεί= 1 Cor. xii 28, ἐνταῦθα= xii 10

XLVIII 4. οπ. τοῦ Α 4-5. Locus corruptus uidetur : τὰ suppleui post ἐστι : ἐστι παρὰ τὰ τὰς . . . Α. Nairne : ἐστι τὰ κατὰ τὰς . . . Armitage Robinson 5. τοῦ 2° : τὴν Α male 10. τεταμένην Α 12. praem. καὶ υὕτως ante τὰ κρυπτά Α 13. καὶ οὖτος 1° omissa suppl. s. l. Α m. p. ut uid. 14 ἀπαγγέλλει Α : ἀπαγγελεῖ MS 17. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Α male 18. πρότερα : προειρημένα Α fortasse recte 19. μείζω Α

σημαίνεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς προφητείας ὀνόματος τὰ προειρημένα προεθέμην ὰ προείπον. ὅρα εἰ δύναμαι ἔτι παραστῆσαι σαφέστερον τὸ λεγόμενον Ὁ θεὸς ἔθετο ἐν τῆ ἐκκλησία πρῶτον ἀποστόλους. ἀλλ' οὐ πάντες ἀπόστολοι, ἐὰν γὰρ πάντες ἀπόστολοι, τίσι διακονοῦνται τὴν ἀποστολήν; δεύτερον προφήτας οὐ 25 πάντες προφήται κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἄλλην προφητείαν ἐλη λὲ πίντες προφητεύητε, εἰς έλθη λὲ ἄπιστος ἢ ἰλιώτης, οὐχ ὡς ἀδυνάτου ἀλλ' ὡς δυνατοῦ ὄντος τοῦ πάντας οὖτως προφητεύειν. δύο οὖν σημαινόμενά ἐστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς προφητείας ὀνόματος. διὸ καὶ ἐνθάδε τετήρηται ἡ τάξις τῷ ἀποστόλοψ ἡ λέγουσα πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, δεύτερον προφήτας καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

248 - Ταῦτα μὲν ὡς περὶ τῆς τάξεως, ἐπειδ⟨ὴ⟩ ἔδοξεν ἡμᾶς θλίβειν τὸ Ἅλλφ Δεἰ 31 προφητεία, τελευταία τεταγμένη ἐν ἄλλη λέξει.

§ XLIX.

xiii 1-2 [καὶ ἔτι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὁδὸν ὑμῖν δείκνυμι. ἐὰν ταῖς γλώσσαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαλῶ καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, γέγονα χαλκὸς ἡχῶν ἢ κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον. (κἄν) ἔχω προφητείαν καὶ εἰδῶ τὰ μυστήρια πάντα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν (κἄν) ἔχω πᾶσαν τὴν πίστιν ὥστε ὅρη μεθιστάνειν, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, οὐθέν εἰμι.]

['Ωριγένους]

249 Ζητουμεν ένταυθα εί δύναταί τις έν τῷ βίφ τούτφ καὶ προφητείαν ἔχειν καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ἄπαντα γνῶναι χωρὶς ἀγάπης, καὶ ὅλως εἰ δίδοταί τινι τὰ μυστήρια πάντα γνωναι· φησί γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος Εἴ τις Δοκεῖ ἐΓνωκέναι τι, οξπω ἔΓνω καθώς 5 δεί Γνώναι και πάλιν Έκ μέρογο φησί Γινώσκομεν και έκ μέρογο προφητεγόμεν. όταν Δὲ ἔλθη τὸ τέλειον, τὸ ἐκ μέρογς καταργηθήςεται. τὸ δὲ ταῦτα λέγειν περὶ έαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων ἀποστόλων αὐτῷ δηλοῖ ὅτι οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν είδέναι πάντα τὰ μυστήρια καὶ πάσαν τὴν γνωσιν. πως οὖν ως δυνατοῦ όντος τοῦ είδέναι πάσαν τὴν γνῶσιν καὶ πάντα τὰ μυστήρια ἐπίστασθαι ταῦτα 10 φησίν; εὰν ἴδωμεν τὸ προοίμιον τῶν λόγων, εν (ῷ) φησὶ Καὶ ἔτι καθ' ὑπερβολην όδον ύμιν δείκνυμι, και νοήσωμεν τί έστιν ύπερβολή, ταθτα πάντα έσται σεσαφηνισμένα. ύπερβολή τοίνυν έστίν, ώς καὶ Έλληνες (ώ)ρίσαντο, λόγος εμφάσεως ενεκεν ύπεραίρων την αλήθειαν και χρώνται εκείνοι παραδείγματι, ότι λευκότεροι χιόνος λέγονταί τινες είναι ούχ ότι δυνατόν τι είναι 15 λευκότερον χιόνος, άλλα καθ' ύπερβολην λέλεκται. και έτι Τρέχουσί τινες ἵπποι ὡς ἄνεμος· οὐχ ὅτι δυνατόν ἐστι τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἐμφάσεως ἕνεκεν, ἵνα τὸ τάχος τῶν ἔππων παραστῆ, λέγεται τὸ τοιοῦτον περὶ αὐτῶν. Καὶ ἐν τῆ γραφή δε λέγεται των Ψαλμων περί τής θαλάσσης 'Αναβαίνογοι τὰ κήματα αὐτής εως των ογρανών και καταβαίνογςιν εως των άβγςςων ὅπερ ἀδύνατον, ἀλλ'

25. 1 Cor. xiv 24 30. 1 Cor. xii 10 XLIX 4. 1 Cor. viii 2 5. 1 Cor. xiii 9 14. Cf. Ps. 1 (li) 9 18. Ps. cvi (cvii) 26

21. τὰ εἰρημένα παρεθέμην Α
 26. ομ. ἡ Α
 δυτως A per incur.
 30. μὲν ὡς
 MS : δὲ Α
 ἐπεὶ δὲ MS : ἐπειδή scripsi cum A
 31. τεταγμένην A per incur.
 λέξει MS : τάξει A an recte?
 ΧLΙΧ. 10. ἐν οἶς MS
 12. ὁρίσαντο MS

ἐμφάσεως ἔνεκεν εἴρηται. καὶ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ δὲ εὖρήσεις γεγραμμένον τῆς 20 ὑπερβολῆς τὸν τρόπον ἔνθα γέγραπται Εἴδομεν πόλεις μεγλακ καὶ τειχήρεις εως τοῦ οἤρακοῦ, πῶς δὲ τοῦτο δύναται εἶναι; ἀλλ' ὑπερβολικῶς λέγεται, οὐ πάντως αὐτὸ τὸ δηλούμενον παριστῶντος τοῦ λόγου ἀλλ' ἴνα δηλώση τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κυμάτων ἢ τὴν ταπείνωσιν, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν τειχῶν, ἢ τι τούτοις παραπλήσιον. οὕτω καὶ ἐνθάδε ὑπόθεσιν λαμβάνει ὁ ἀπόστολος 25 ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐξετασθῆναι φύσιν χαρισμάτων, φύσιν ἀγάπης. οὐχ ὅτι δυνατόν 250 ἐστιν εἶναι χάρισμα, καὶ ταῦτα τηλικοῦτον, χωρὶς ἀγάπης. ἢ ὅτι δυνατὸν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ εἰδέναι τινὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γνῶσιν χωρὶς ἀγάπης, ἢ ἔχειν πίστιν τηλικαύτην ἄστε ὅρη μεθιστάνειν ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος παραστῆσαι ὅτι εὶ ἐν ζυγῷ τεθείη ἡ ἀγάπη, καθ' ὑπόθεσιν εἰρημένου τοῦ λόγου. δεῖ οὖν φησι μάλιστα 30 Ζηλοῦν τὴν ἀγάπην.

Αρα δὲ ἄγγελοι διαλεγόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ταύταις ταῖς γλώσσαις διαλέγονται αις και ανθρωποι, ωστε των αγγέλων τινας μεν Ελληνας είναι τυχον τινας δε Έβραίους και άλλους Αίγυπτίους; η τοῦτο άτοπον λέγειν περί των άνω άγγελικῶν ταγμάτων; μή ποτε οὖν ὧσπερ εἰσὶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις διάλεκτοι 35 πολλαί, οὖτως εἰσὶ καὶ ἐν ἀγγέλοις; καὶ ἐὰν ὁ θεὸς ἡμῖν χαρίσηται ἀπὸ τῆς άνθρωπίνης φύσεως έπὶ τὴν άγγελικὴν καταταγῆν(αι), τοῦ κυρίου μου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπαγγελίαν λέγοντος Ἰςάργελοι ἔσονται καὶ γίοὶ θεος τῆς ἀναςτάςεως γιοι όντες, οὐκέτι χρησόμεθα διαλέκτω άνθρώπων άλλα διαλέκτω τῆ άγγελικῆ; καὶ ὧσπερ ἄλλη διάλεκτος παιδίων καὶ ἄλλη τετρανωμένων τὴν φωνήν, οὖτως 40 πασα εν ανθρώποις διάλεκτος οίονεί παιδίων έστι διάλεκτος ή δε αγγελική οίονεὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐστι τελείων καὶ τετρανωμένων; ἴσως δὲ κάκεῖ κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν της καταστάσεως καὶ διάλεκτοί είσιν. ἐὰν οὖν ταις γλώσσαις τῶν άνθρώπων λαλώ καὶ τῶν ἀγγελων, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, γέγονα χαλκὸς ἡχῶν ἡ κύμβαλον άλαλάζον. ωσπερ ο χαλκός ήχων ασημον δίδωσι φωνήν, ωσπερ 45 τὸ κύμβαλον τὸ ἀλαλάζον οὐδὲν τρανόν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, χωρὶς μὲν ἀγάπης, γλώσσα καν άγγέλων εν ανθρώποις καθ υπόθεσιν ή, ατράνωτός έστιν ουδεν γὰρ ποιεῖ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ή τοι τῶν ἀγγέλων τρανή καὶ σαφή, ὡς ἡ ἀγάπη· άγάπης δὲ μὴ παρούσης τὸ λαλούμενον οὐδέν έστιν.

Τίς δὲ ἡ διαφορὰ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν μυστηρίων εἰδήσεως; περὶ δύο 50 γὰρ πραγμάτων ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει. ἡγοῦμαι τοίνυν τὸ μὲν περὶ τῶν φανερῶν εἰδέναι τὴν γνῶσιν εἶναι, γενικωτέραν οὖσαν τῶν μυστηρίων ἐν μέρει γὰρ τῆς γνώσεως ἡ τῶν μυστηρίων ἐστὶν ἐπιστήμη τὸ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀπορρητοτέρων καὶ θειστέρων εἰδέναι τοῦτ εἶναι τὸ μυστήριον γινώσκειν, ὡς εἶναι γενικὸν μὲν λόγον τῆς γνώσεως οὖκέτι δὲ πάσης τῆς γνώσεως εἶναι τὴν κατάληψιν 55 μυστηρίων περὶ ὧν λέλεκται ᾿Αλλὰ λαλοῆκεν θεος coφίαν ἐν κιττρίω, τὴν 251 ἀποκεκργωκένην, ἢν προώρισεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸ τῶν ἀιώνων εἰς δόξαν ἡκῶν. ὅταν γὰρ εἰδῶ ταῦτα, τότε ἔχω τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν μυστηρίων.

21. Cf. Deut. ix 1 31. Cf. 1 Cor. xii 31 38. Lc. xx 36 56. 1 Cor. ii 7 37. καταταγήν MS: καταταγήναι scripsi 43. αl διάλεκτοι m.p.: αl eras. corr.

VOL. X.

Καν ἔχω πασαν τὴν πίστιν ὥστε ὅρη μεθιστάνειν. γέγραπται ἐν τῷ εὐαγ-60 γελίῳ Ἐἀν ἔχ(ητε) πίστιν ὡς κόκκον ςινάπεως, ἐρεῖτε τῷ ὅρει τοἡτῷ Ἅρθητι καὶ Βλήθητι εἰς τὴν θάλαςςαν, καὶ мεταβήςεται, καὶ οἦΔὲν ἡκῶν ἀδγνατήςει. ὁ γὰρ ἔχων πίστιν ὡς κόκκον ςινάπεως ὅλην ἔχει τὴν πίστιν.

§ L.

xiii 3 [(καν) ψωμίσω πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μου, (καν) παραδώ τὸ σώμά μου ἴνα καυ(χ)ήσωμαι, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, οὐδὲν ὡφελοῦμαι.]

[Ωριγένους]

252 Κἃν ψωμίσω πάντα μου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα οὐ διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην· κᾶν παραδῶ τὸ σῶμά μου ἴνα καυ⟨χ⟩ήσωμαι, ὡς δυνατοῦ ὄντος ψωμίσαι τινὰ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα οὐ διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην ἀλλὰ διὰ κενοδοξίαν, καὶ ὡς δυνατοῦ ὄντος καὶ μαρτυ- 5 ρῆσαί τινα ἔνεκεν καυχήσεως καὶ δόξης ἦς δοξάζονται ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οἱ μάρτυρες.

§ LI.

xiii 4-5 [Ἡ ἀγάπη μακροθυμεῖ, χρηστεύεται, ἡ ἀγάπη οὐ ζηλοῖ, ἡ ἀγάπη οὐ περπερεύεται, οὐ φυσιοῦται, οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖ, οὐ ζητεῖ τὰ ἐαυτῆς.]

['Ωριγένους]

Τὰ ἐγκώμια τῆς ἀγάπης τῆς ὑπερεχούσης τὰ χαρίσματα διεξέρχεται. ἔδει γαρ αύτον διδάξαι και τί έστιν αγάπη και πως έστιν ο έχων την αγάπην. Ή αγάπη μακροθυμεί· εί έχεις μακροθγμίαν την ούσαν κάρπον τος πνεγματος 5 έχεις αὐτὴν διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην. Χρηστεύεται τί χρηστότητι έναντίον; ἡ πονηρία. εὶ πονηρεύη κατά τινος, οὐκ ἔχεις τὴν ἀγάπην. εἰ χρηστὸς εἶ καὶ γλυκὺς πρὸς πάντας τους ἀνθρώπους, ἔχεις ἀγάπην. Ἡ ἀγάπη οὐ ζηλοί· εἰ ζῆλός ἐστιν έν σοὶ ὁποῖος ἢν ἐν τῷ Κάϊν πρὸς τὸν Αβελ ἢ ὁποῖος ἢν ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς τοῦ 'Ιωσήφ πρὸς τὸν 'Ιωσήφ, οὖκ ἔχεις τὴν ἀγάπην. μαχόμενον πρᾶγμά ἐστι· 253 τὸ ἀγαπᾶν, τὸ ζηλοῦν. Ἡ ἀγάπη οὐ περπερεύεται ὅταν τις προπετής ἦ ΙΙ έπαγγελλόμενος είδέναι ή περί τέχνης ή περί έπιστήμης ή περί γνώσεως, οῦτός ἐστιν ὁ περπερευόμενος παρὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν τὴν ἀγάπην. Οὐκ ἀσχημονεί· οὐδεὶς τὴν ἀγάπην ἔχων ἄσχημόν τι πράττει ἐὰν οὖν ποτε ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν ἄρρ(H) Ν καὶ θήλεια φάσκοντες κατὰ θεὸν ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶν δι' ἀσθένειαν πέσωσι 15 προφάσει αγάπης, λέγωμεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὐκ ἔχουσι τὴν αγάπην ἡ γὰρ αγάπη οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖ. Οὐ ζητεῖ τὰ ἐαυτῆς· οὐδεὶς ἀγάπην ἔχων ζητεῖ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ· οδον μήτηρ τὸ ἀγαπῶν τὸν υἱὸν ἢ πατὴρ οὐ ζητεῖ τὰ ἴδια ὡς τὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ· τὸ γαρ έχειν αγάπην ου φίλαυτον. ει εζήτει τα έαυτου ο Σωτήρ εν μορφή θεογ

60 f. Matt. xvii 20, xxi 21 LI 4. Gal. v 22 14. Cf. Gen. i 27 18 ff. Phil. ii 6-8

59. κὰν MS sed in lemmate καὶ ἐὰν (bis)

MS sed καὶ ἐὰν . . καὶ ἐὰν in lemmate

3. καυθήσωμαι MS hic et supra in lemmate: καυ(χ)ήσωμαι scripsi ex διὰ κενοδορίαν (l. 4) et ἔνεκεν καυχήσεως καὶ δόξης (l. 5)

LI 3. οπ. καὶ 1° m. p.: suppl, corr.

scripsi, nisi uelis θῆλυ cum Gen. i 27

Ϋπάρχων καὶ ὢν ἴςα θεῷ, ἔμενεν ἄν ἐν τἢ μορφἢ ἐκείνη· νῦν δὲ σῶσαι κόσμον ἀπολλύμενον θελήσας ἐαγτὸν ἐκένως εκ μορφὴ ἀκείνη· νῦν δὲ σῶσαι κόσμον ἀπολλύμενον θελήσας ἐαγτὸν ἐκένως εκ μορφὴν Δογλογ λαβών· καὶ σχήματι 20 εγρεθεῖς ώς ἄνθρωπος ἐταπείνως εκ ἐαγτὸν Γενόμενος ἡπόκοος μέχρι θανάτογ, θανάτογ δὲ σταγρογ. ἐλθὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγίους· ἴδε τὴν ἀγάπην Μωϋσέως· Εἰ μέν ὰφεῖς αγτοῖς τὴν ἀμαστίαν, ἄφες· εἰ δὲ μή, κἀμὲ ἐξάλειψον ἐκ τῆς Βίβλογ ςογ ῆς ἔγραγας. καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος δὲ φησὶ Καθώς κὰς ὑπάντα πᾶςιν ἀρέςκω, μὰ ἐττῶν τὸ ἐμαγτογ ςγμφέρον ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἵνα ςωθῶςιν, καὶ Εγχόμην αγτός 25 ἀνάθεμα εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ χριστοῦ ἡπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μον τῶν συτηρίας.

& LII.

χίιι 8 [Εἴτε γλώσσαι, παύσονται.]

['Ωριγένους]

Γλώσσαι παύσονται, ότε νῷ ὁμιλήσω ῷ βούλομαι διαλεχθηναι.

255

& LIII.

χίϊί 9-12 [Έκ μέρους δὲ γινώσκομεν καὶ ἐκ μέρους προφητεύομεν ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ τὸ τέλειον, τότε τὸ ἐκ μέρους καταργηθήσεται. ὅτε ἤμην νήπιος, ὡς νήπιος ἐλάλουν, ὡς νήπιος ἐφρόνουν, ὡς νήπιος ἐλογιζόμην ὅτε δὲ γέγονα ἀνήρ, κατήργηκα τὰ τοῦ νηπίου. βλέπομεν γὰρ ἄρτι δι ἐσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι, τότε δὲ πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον.]

['Ωριγένους]

Ο δοκῶν προκόπτειν ἐνθάδε ὡς ἐν παιδίοις προκόπτει· ἐὰν δὲ ἔλθη τὸ τέλειον 257 καὶ καταντήςωμεν εἰς ἄνΔρα τέλειον, τότε τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν χωρήσομεν καὶ γνῶσιν καὶ προφητείαν καὶ ὄψιν θεοῦ ἢν ὄψονται οἱ μακάριοι οἱ διὰ τὴν καθαρότητα τῆς καρδίας.

& LIV*.

xiv 5 [Μείζων γὰρ ὁ προφητεύων ἢ ὁ λαλῶν γλώσσαις, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ διερμηνεύει, ἴνα ἡ ἐκκλησία οἰκοδομὴν λάβη.]

22. Ex. xxxii 32 24 f. 1 Cor. x 33 25 ff. Rom. ix 3 LIII 2. Cf. 1 Cor. xiv 20 3. Eph. iv 13 4. Matt. v 8

LII The remainder of the passage assigned in Cramer to Origen (p. 255, l. 27-p. 256, l. 12) belongs to John (sc. Chrysostom).

LIV*-LXXII*. These nineteen sections marked with an asterisk are supplied from the Athos MS Pantocrator 28, and have not, so far as we are aware, been published hitherto. The readings of the MS are denoted by A. It has seemed best to print them consecutively in the order in which they stand in the MS since they are followed there by the Origen citation printed below as § LXXIV [$\dot{\omega}_{S}$ $\gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho$ $\pi \dot{\alpha} \nu \tau \alpha \nu \dots \tau \alpha \dot{\nu}_{S}$ Koriv blove kathurthard ν ;]. Unless the Catenist has altered the order of the passages, for which there is no obvious motive as the citations are written round the margin of the text of 1 Cor., not under lemmata, the overlapping suggests that the extracts are from homilies rather than from a commentary.

27. ἀνάθεμα τοῦ χριστοῦ MS: supplendum fortasse ἀπὸ, sed haesito

[Ωριγένους]

Ό τὸ οἰκοδομοῦν ἔχων χάρισμα μείζων ἐστὶν τοῦ μὴ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔχοντος, ἄτε κοιν(ω)φ(ε)λέστερος ὢν ὁ τὸ οἰκοδομοῦν ἔχων χάρισμα· ἐὰν δὲ γλώσσαις λαλῶν ἔχη καὶ τὸ διερμηνεύειν ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οἰκοδομεῖν οὐκέτι μείζων 5 ὁ προφητεύων. ἔστι γὰρ ὅτε ὑψηλὰ λαλεῖ, ἐαυτῷ λαλεῖ καὶ τῷ θεῷ ὡς μὴ δύνασθαι ἀκογειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

§ LV*.

xiv 6 [Νυνὶ δέ, ἀδελφοί, ἐὰν ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς γλώσσαις λαλῶν, τί ὑμᾶς ὑφελήσω, ἐὰν μὴ ὑμῖν λαλήσω ἢ ἐν ἀποκαλύψει ἢ ἐν προφητείᾳ ἢ ἐν γνώσει ἢ ἐν διδαχ $\hat{\eta}$;]

[Ωριγένους]

Προφητεία ἐστὶν ἡ διὰ λόγου τῶν ἀφανῶν σημαντικὴ γνῶσις, ἡ εἴδησις τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συστάσεως καὶ ἐνεργείας στοιχείων καὶ χρόνων. διδαχὴ ἐστὶν ὁ εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς διανεμόμενος διδασκαλικὸς λόγος. ἀποκάλυψίς ἐστιν ὅταν 5 ὁ νοῦς ἔξω γίν⟨η⟩ται τῶν γηἱνων καὶ ἀποθ⟨ῆ⟩ται πᾶσαν πρᾶξιν σαρκικὴν δυνάμει θεοῦ· ὁ τούτου τυχὼν γέγονεν ἐν ἀποκαλύψει. τάχα δὲ καὶ ἡ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων γνῶσις δύναται ἀποκάλυψις λέγεσθαι, ἔξεστιν δὲ καταχρηστικώτερον τοῖς ὀνόμασιν χρῆσθαι τὸν νοήσαντα τὴν ἑκάστου κυριολεξίαν.

§ LVI*.

xiv 7-9 a [Ομως τὰ ἄψυχα φωνὴν διδόντα, εἴτε αὐλὸς εἴτε κιθάρα, ἐἀν διαστολὴν τοῖς φθόγγοις μὴ διδῷ, πῶς γνωσθήσεται τὸ αὐλούμενον ἢ τὸ κιθαριζόμενον; καὶ γὰρ ἐἀν ἄδηλον φωνὴν σάλπιγξ δῷ, τίς παρασκευάσεται εἰς πόλεμον; οὔτως καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῆς γλώσσης ἐὰν μὴ εὔσημον λόγον δῶτε, πῶς γνωσθήσεται τὸ λαλούμενον;

$\left[{}^{\prime}\Omega\rho\iota\gamma\acute{\epsilon}vo\upsilon\varsigma\right]$

Δυσωπήσαι βούλεται τοὺς γλώσση λαλοῦντας ειςῶν ἐν ἐκκλικίᾳ, εὼν κιὶ ἢ
Διερκικεττίς, καὶ φησὶ Τὰ ἄψυχα, αὐλὸς καὶ κιθάρα, τοῖς μουσικοῖς καὶ
φθόγγοις διαστολὴν μὴ διδόντα οὐ γιγνώσκεται ποίφ ρυθμῷ ηὔλησε· καὶ
5 ὁ στρατιώτης οὐχ ὁπλίζεται εἰς πόλεμον, ἐὰν μὴ τὴν διεγερτικὴν εἰς πόλεμον
προῆται φωνὴν ἡ σάλπιγξ· καὶ οἱ λαλοῦντες γλώσση καὶ μὴ διερμηνεύοντες
οὐκ ὀφείλουσι λαλεῖν, ὡς μὴ διδόντες διαστολὴν τοῖς λόγοις εἰς τὸ νοηθῆναι·
τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς θεωρίας δόγματα αὐλὸν καὶ κιθάραν εἶπεν ὡς μηδὲν ἐμφαίνοντα
ἤθικόν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' ἀρετὴν προτρεπομένους σάλπιγγζα⟩· διὰ τοῦδε ζἔστιν
10 εἰπεῖν ὅτι τὰ ἀσαφῆ τῆς γραφῆς, οἷον τὰ περὶ θυσιῶν ἐν Λευιτικῷ καὶ τῆς
σκηνῆς ἐν Ἐξόδῳ, οὐ δεῖ ἀναγιγνώσκειν, εἰ μή τις αὐτῶν σαφηνίζει τὸν νοῦν
τῆ διηγήσει.

LIV 5. 1 Cor. xiv 2 LV 6. Cf. 2 Cor. xii 2-4, Apoc. i 10 6-7. Cf. Apoc. i 19 LVI 2. 1 Cor. xiv 28

LIV 3. κοινοφιλέστεροs hic et alibi A LV 5. γίνηται . . . ἀποθῆται scripsi : γίνεται . . . ἀποθεῖται A LVI 3. δι' ξρμηνευτης A 9. σάλπιγγα scripsi : σάλπιγγι A διὰ τοῦ δὲ εἰπεῖν A. Deest aliquid ut uidetur : ἔστιν suppleui

§ LVII*.

xiv 9 b ["Εσεσθε γάρ εἰς ἀέρα λαλοῦντες.]

['Ωριγένους]

Ο λαλων γλώσση εν τῷ θεῷ λαλεῖ· εἰ καὶ μὴ νοοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἀλλ' οὖν αἱ περὶ τὸν ἀέρα δυνάμεις ἀκούουσιν.

§ LVIII*.

xiv 10 [Τοσαῦτα εἰ τύχοι γένη φωνῶν ἐστιν ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἄφωνον.]

['Ωριγένους]

Καὶ τὰ ἄψτχα οὖν φωνιὰν Δίδωςιν, τινὰ μὲν αὐτῶν μετὰ ζταύζτης τῶν φθόγγων διαστολῆς, τινὰ δὲ αὖ ταύτης πᾶν γὰρ σῶμα ἰδιότητα ἔχει φωκῆς, συγκροῦον ἔτέρω σώματι.

§ LIX*.

xiv II [Εάν οὖν μὴ εἰδῶ τὴν δύναμιν τῆς φωνῆς, ἔσομαι τῷ λαλοῦντι βάρβαρος καὶ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν ἐμοὶ βάρβαρος.]

['Ωριγένους]

Πας δ λαλων τινι α μη νοεί, δ ακούων δοκεί αὐτῷ βάρβαρος εἶναι, κἀκείνος τούτφ.

& LX*.

xiv 12 [Ουτως καὶ υμεῖς, ἐπεὶ ζηλωταί ἐστε πνευμάτων, πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ζητεῖτε ἵνα περισσεύητε.]

['Ωριγένους]

Τὸ περισσεύειν γίνεται τῆ τῶν χαρισμάτων ὑπεροχῆ ἐκ τοῦ τὰ πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ζητεῖν, ὡς ὅτι οὐ περισσεύει ἐν τοῖς χαρίσμασιν ὁ μὴ ζητῶν τὸ κοιν⟨ω⟩φ⟨ε⟩λές. εἰκὸς γὰρ ὅτι ἀργεῖ ἡ ἐνέργεια τοῦ χαρίσματος ὅταν μὴ λάμπḥ ἔμπροςθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. διό, εἰ θέλομεν αὕξειν τὰ χαρίσματα, 5 τῆ ἀφελεία τῶν πλειόνων ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδώσομεν.

δ LXI*.

xiv 13-14 [Διόπερ ὁ λαλῶν γλώσση προσευχέσθω ΐνα διερμηνεύη. ἐὰν γὰρ προσεύχωμαι γλώσση, τὸ πνεῦμά μου προσεύχεται, ὁ δὲ νοῦς μου ἄκαρπός ἐστιν.]

['Ωριγένους]

Έαν μὴ ἔχη τὸ χάρισμα τοῦ διερμηνεύειν ὁ γλώσση λαλῶν, καν μὴ οἱ ἄλλοι το (ῶ) σιν άλλ' αὐτὸς νοεῖ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος αὐτῷ ἐμβαλλόμενα εἰς τὸ

LVII 2. Cf. 1 Cor. xiv 2, 28 3. Cf. Eph. ii 2 LVIII 2. 1 Cor. xiv 7 LX 5. Matt. v 16

LVIII 2. μετὰ ταύτης scripsi: μετὰ τῆς A 3. ταύτης A: suppl. fortasse μετὰ LX 4. κοινοφιλές hic et alibi A LXI 3. νοῶσιν scripsi: νοοῦσι A

κινεῖσθαι λαλεῖν. ὅταν δὲ τὸ λαλούμενον νοηθείη παρ' ἄλλοις, τότε καρπὸς 5 δοκεῖ οὖτος εἶναι τοῦ λαλοῦντος πρὸς τοὺς νοοῦντας.

§ LXII*.

χίν 15-17 [Τί οὖν ἐστιν; προσεύξωμαι τῷ πνεύματι, προσεύξωμαι δὲ καὶ τῷ νοτ. ἐπεὶ ἐὰν εὐλογήσης τῷ πνεύματι, ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου πῶς ἐρεῖ τὸ ᾿Αμήν ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ; ἐπειδὴ τί λέγεις οὐκ οίδεν· σὺ μὲν γὰρ καλῶς εὐχαριστεῖς, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ ἔτερος οὐκ οἰκοδομεῖται.]

['Ωριγένους]

Καὶ διὰ τούτων τὸ κοινωφελές τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδασκόμεθα ζητεῖν.

& LXIII*.

xiv 18-9 [Εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου, πάντων ὑμῶν μᾶλλον γλώσσαις λαλῶν. ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ θέλω πέντε λόγους διὰ τοῦ νοός μου λαλῆσαι, ἴνα καὶ ἄλλους κατηχήσω, ἢ μυρίους λόγους ἐν γλώσση.]

['Ωριγένους]

Καὶ τὸ πνευματικῶς λαλεῖν τοὺς αἰσθητοὺς λόγους τὰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις τὸ κοινωφελές ἐστιν ζητεῖν· ὁ δὲ τῆς κατηχήσεως λόγος ὁ διὰ τῶν πέντε αἰσθήσεων ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκουόντων ἐν ἐκκλησία τέτακται, ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν 5 πέντε λόγων κατηχουμένων. οἱ γὰρ μὴ εἰδότες τὴν τῶν λεγομένων τρανότητα, ἀλλὰ μόνη τῆ ψιλῆ τῶν γραφῶν περιηχήσει προσέχοντες, κατηχούμενοι χρηματίζουσιν· οἱ δὲ τῆς τῶν φθόρτων δικοτολῆς ἀκούοντες ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς οὖτοι οὐ κατηχούμενοι ἀλλὰ πιστοί.

& LXIV*.

xiv 20 ['Αδελφοί, μὴ παιδία γίνεσθε ταῖς φρεσίν, ἀλλὰ τῇ κακία νηπιάζετε, ταῖς δὲ φρεσὶν τέλειοι γίνεσθε.]

['Ωριγένους]

Ἐπειδὴ ἃ προστάσσει δυνατά ἐστιν, δυνατὸν ἡμᾶς τελείους γενέσθαι ταῖς φρεσίν. τοῦτο δὲ σχεδὸν ἐρμηνεύει τὸ Ἐλη μὰ ττραφίτε καὶ Γένης θε ὡς τὰ παιδία στραφεὶς γὰρ γίνεται ὡς παιδίον ὁ τῆ κακία νηπιάζων.

§ LXV*.

χίν 21 [Έν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται ὅτι Ἐν ἐτερογλώς τοις καὶ ἐν χείλες ιν ἐτέροις λαλής ω τῷ λαῷ τογτῳ, καὶ ογά ουτως εἰς ακογς ονταί μου, λέγει Κύριος.]

['Ωριγένους]

Καὶ τὸν προφητικὸν λόγον νόμον ἐκάλεσεν· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ῥήματα εὖρομεν παρὰ ᾿Ακύλα καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐκδόσεσιν, οὐ μὴν παρὰ τοῖς ἐβδομήκοντα.

LXIII 7. 1 Cor, xiv 7 LXIV 3. Matt. xviii 3 LXV 2-3. Cf. Is. xxviii 11 LXV. Cf. Origen Philocalia εὖρον γὰρ τὰ ἰσοδυναμοῦντα τῆ λέξει ταὐτη ἐν τῆ τοῦ ᾿Ακύλου ἐρμηνείᾳ κείμενα and Field Hexapla ii 479 (ad Is. xxviii 11)

LXIII 2. τὰς πέντε αἰσθήσεις: glossa uidetur, A. Nairne 8. ἀλλ' ἄπιστοι ut uid. A per incur.

§ LXVI*.

χίν 24-5 [Εἀν δὲ πάντες προφητεύωσιν, εἰσέλθη δέ τις ἄπιστος ἡ ἰδιώτης, ἐλέγχεται ὑπὸ πάντων, ἀνακρίνεται ὑπὸ πάντων, καὶ οὕτως τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ φανερὰ γίνεται· καὶ οὕτως πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσκγνήσει τῷ θεῷ, ἀπαγγέλλων ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ὅντως ἐν ἡμῶν ἐστικ.]

['Ωριγένους]

Ἐπειδὴ τὸ προφητικὸν χάρισμα ποιεῖ Γινώς κειν τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας του ἀπίστου καὶ ἰδιώτου καὶ πλησιάζοντος αὐτοῖς, δῆλον ὅτι ὅταν ἔλθη τὸ τέλειον, τελείως γιγνώσκουσιν παντὸς ἰδιώτου καὶ ἀπίστου τὰ κρυπτά, εἰκὸς δὲ ὅτι τότε καὶ τοῦ ἀγίου ἀνθρώπου τὰ κρυπτὰ φανερὰ γίνεται τοῖς προφήταις, τάχα τοῖς 5 μείζοσιν τὰ τῶν καταδεεστέρων. (καὶ) ὁ ἀφελούμενος εγλαβεῖται ἐμβλέψαι εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἀρνταζόμενος τὸν θεὸν πίπτει ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν καὶ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῷ διδούς, καὶ οὕτως προςκγιεῖ τῷ θεῷ. τὸ δὲ ἐλέγξαι καὶ ἀνακρῖναι τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας, ὅ ἐστι φανερὰ ποιῆσαι, χαρακτηρίζει ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῷ πνεύματί ἐστι τῶν τοιούτων. εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ 10 χαρίσματα σημεῖά ἐστι τοῦ ὅντως εῖναι θεόν, ἐν τίνι ζητητέον;

§ LXVII*.

χίν 26-27 [Τί οὖν ἐστιν, ἀδελφοί; ὅταν συνέρχησθε, ἔκαστος ὑμῶν ψαλμὸν ἔχει, διδαχὴν ἔχει, γλῶσσαν ἔχει, ἀποκάλυψιν ἔχει, ἐρμηνείαν ἔχει· πάντα πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν γινέσθω. εἴτε γλώσσῃ τις λαλεῖ, κατὰ δύο ἢ τὸ πλεῖστον τρεῖς, καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος, καὶ εῖς διερμηνευέτω.]

['Ωριγένους]

"Όταν συνέλθωμεν, πᾶσι τοῖς ἔχουσι χαρίσματα ἐπιτρεπτέον λαλεῖν τοῖς δυναμένοις διδάσκειν.

§ LXVIII*.

xiv 29 [Προφήται δὲ δύο ή τρεῖς λαλείτωσαν, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι διακρινέτωσαν.]

['Ωριγένους]

"Αλλους λέγει τοὺς ἔχοντας χάρισμα διασαφεῖν τοὺς πνευματικοὺς τῶν προφητῶν λόγους, εἴ γε αὐτοὶ οἱ προφητεύοντες οὐκ ἔσχον τῆς διακρίσεως τὸ χάρισμα· ἐν ῷ γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσι τοῦτο εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπό τινος πονηροῦ πνεύματος ἡπατῆσθαι τοῦ μεταςχηματιζομένος εἰς ἄργελον φωτός, ὡς προφητικοῦ τυχόντας 5 ἀξιώματος.

§ LXIX*.

xiv 30-31 ['Εὰν δὲ ἄλλῳ ἀποκαλυφθη καθημένω, ὁ πρῶτος σιγάτω. δύνασθε γὰρ καθ' ἔνα πάντες προφητεύειν.]

LXVI 2. 1 Cor. xiii 9 3. 1 Cor. xiii 10 6. Cf. Ex. iii 6 8, 11. Is. xlv 14 Hebr. LXVIII 3. Cf. 1 Cor. xii 10 5. 2 Cor. xi 14

LXVI 6. καὶ suppleui : προφήταις. τάχα τοῖς μείζοσιν τὰ τῶν καταδεεστέρων ὁ Α

['Ωριγένους]

Οὐκοῦν οὐκ ἐξίσταντο οἱ προφῆται· ἐν αὐτοῖς γὰρ ἦν τὸ σιωπῆσαι καὶ ἐπισχεῖν τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα.

§ LXX*.

χίν 32 [Καὶ πνεύματα προφητών προφήταις ὑποτάσσεται.]

['Ωριγένους]

Διὰ τοῦτο τὸ τῆς ὑποταγῆς εὐγνωμόνως ἐν σιώπη δηλοῦ· ὅτι τὰ πνεύματα δὲ τοῖς προφήταις ὑποτάσσεται, ἀλλ' αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν προφητῶν προφητεύουσιν.

& LXXI*.

xiv 34-35 [Αἱ γυναῖκες ὑμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σιγάτωσαν, οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται λαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑποτάσσεσθαι, καθὼς καὶ ὁ νόμος λέγει. εἰ δέ τι μαθεῖν θέλουσιν, ἐν οἴκῳ τοὺς ἰδίους ἄνδρας ἐπερωτάτωσαν.]

['Ωριγένους]

Έπειδη οἱ ἄνδρες κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐξουσίαν εἶχον λαλεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἀφελεῖν, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες περὶ ὧν ἐπηπόρουν ἠρώτ(ω)ν. νόμον δὲ λέγει τὸ ἐν τῆ Γενέσει εἰρημένον Πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τος Η ἀποττροφή τος.

xiv 37–38 [Εἴ τις δοκεῖ προφήτης εἶναι ἢ πνευματικός, ἐπιγινωσκέτω ἃ γράφω ὑμῖν ὅτι τοῦ κυρίου εἰσὶν ἐντολαί· εἰ δέ τις ἀγνοεῖ, ἀγνοείτω.]

['Ωριγένους]

Πνευματικός ἐστιν ὁ πάντα λόγον καὶ πάντα νοῦν δυνάμενος βασανίζειν, καὶ διὰ πολλὴν βαθύτητα νοῦ δυσδιάγνωστον ὅντα ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι ἀνακρίνεσθαι. οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος δέ ἐστιν εἰδέναι ὅτι τὰ γραφόμενα ὑπὸ Παύλου τοῦ κυρίου ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ προφήτου ζὴ) πνευματικοῦ οὐκοῦν ὁ μὴ εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῦ κυρίου ἐζστ)ίν, οὕτε προφήτης ἐστὶν οὕτε πνευματικός. ἄλλο δέ ἐστιν πιστεύειν καὶ ἄλλο γινώσκειν οὐκοῦν ὁ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τοῦ κυρίου ἐζστ)ίν, ἀγνοεὶ μήπω φθάσας εἰς τὸ κυρίως εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ· ὁ γὰρ γινωσκόμενος ἀνακιρνᾶται τρόπον τινὰ τῷ γιγνώσκοντι αὐτόν.

& LXXIII.

Xiv 31 [Δύνασθε γάρ καθ' ενα πάντες προφητεύειν, ενα πάντες μανθάνωσιν καὶ πάντες παρακαλώνται.]

LXXI 4. Gen. iii 16 LXXII 3-4. Cf. 1 Cor. ii 14-15

LXX 2 Incertum utrum ὅτι an οὐ scripserit A LXXI 3. ἡρώτουν A per incur. LXXII 5. ἡ suppleui: προφήτου πνευματικοῦ A 6, 7. ἐστίν (bis) scripsi: εἰσίν (bis) A 8-9. ὁ γὰρ γινωσκόμενος . . . τῷ γινώσκοντι αὐτόν. Ex hac clausula auctorem nostrum in codicibus eius ἀγνοεῖται inuenisse optime colligit A. Nairne. Uide quae adnotaui ad XLVII 14

[Ωριγένους]

Κίνδυνός έστι τοις αναγινώσκουσιν απλώς αποφαίνεσθαι, δμοίως δε καί 277 τοις ακούουσιν. ακουε γουν Παύλου λέγοντος Εί τις δοκεί έν ύμιν προφήτης είναι ή πνεγματικός, επιγινωςκέτω ά γράφω ότι θεος έςτιν ώς ου παντός επιγινώσκοντος τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐὰν μὴ ἢ προφήτης ἢ πηεγματικός. διέγραψεν δὲ τὸν 5 πνευματικόν ὁ ἀπόστολος εἰπων 'Ο Δὲ πικεγματικός ἀνακρίνει τὰ πάντα, αγτός Δὲ ἡπ΄ ογλενος ανακρίνεται. τίς δέ έστιν ὁ διακρίνων τὰ πάντα ἢ ὁ δυνάμενος πάντα λόγον έξετάζειν καὶ κρίνειν; οὖτος δὲ γπ ογλενός ἀνακρίνεται, διὰ τὸ βάθος τῶν 278 νοημάτων αὐτοῦ μὴ καταλαμβανόμενος. ὁ γὰρ πνευματικὸς κοῆκ ἔχει κγρίογ. ωσπερ οὖν παιδίον οὖ δύναται ἀνακρίναι νοῦν ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἐξετάσαι τὰ νοήματα 10 αύτοῦ· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρακολουθεῖ τοῖς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς νοήμασιν ὁ βραχὺς παίς τον αὐτον τρόπον οὐδὲ ψηχικός Δήναται εἰδέναι ποῖα τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ποῖα οὐχί, μόνου δὲ πνευματικοῦ ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον. Ἐγὼ πολλάκις ἐζήτουν κατ' έμαυτον τί δήποτε ότε οἱ προφήται ήσαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ οἱ ψευδοπροφήται, οί ψευδοπροφήται εὐδοκίμουν παρά τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν αὐτῶν παρά τοὺς προφήτας. 15 καὶ τὰ μὲν βιβλία τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν οὐκ ἐγράφη οὐδὲ ἐσώθη ἐν τῷ λαῷ, τὰ δὲ τῶν προφητῶν καταδικασθέντων, μισηθέντων, πεπονθότων ἃ ἴσμεν, ἦλθεν είς μέσον καὶ τετίμηται. τίς γέγονεν ή τούτων άρχή, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου άφορμας λαβων λέγω. ὅτι ἢν χάρισμα ἐν τῷ λαῷ ώσπερ προφητεύειν, οὖτω διακρίνειν προφήτας. δύνασθε γάρ καθ' ένα πάντες προφητεύειν άφθονία ην 20 τότε των λεγόντων καὶ των επιτρεπομένων λέγειν. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο επέτρεψεν ό ἀπόστολος πασι λέγειν ἐν ἐκκλησία· μικροῦ δεῖν καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐπέτρεψε λαλείν, εί μη είρηκει τὸ έξης.

§ LXXIV.

xiv 34-35 [Αἱ γυναῖκες ὑμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σιγάτωσαν, οὐ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται αὐταῖς λαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑποτάσσεσθαι, καθὼς καὶ ὁ νόμος λέγει. εἰ δέ τι μαθεῖν θέλουσιν, ἐν οἴκῳ τοὺς ἰδίους ἄνδρας ἐπερωτάτωσαν, αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστι γυναιξὶ ἐν ἐκκλησία λαλεῖν.]

['Ωριγένους]

'Ως γὰρ πάντων λεγόντων καὶ δύναμενων λέγειν, ἐὰν ἀποκάλυψις αὐτοῖς 279 γένηται, φησὶν Αἰ γυναίκες ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σιγάτωσαν. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἐιτολῆς οὐκ ἦσαν οἱ τῶν γυναικῶν μαθηταί, οἱ μαθητευθέντες Πρισκίλλη καὶ Μαξιμίλλη, οὐ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τῆς νύμφης. ἀλλ' ὅμως εὐγνωμονῶμεν 5 καὶ πρὸς τὰ πιθανὰ ἐκείνων ἀπαντῶντες. τέσσαρές φασι θυγατέρες ἦσαν Φιλίππου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ καὶ προεφήτευον. εἰ δὲ προεφήτευον, τί ἄτοπόν ἐστι καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας, ὡς φασὶν ἐκεῖνοι, προφήτιδας προφητεύειν; ταῦτα δὲ

LXXIII 3-4. 1 Cor. xiv 37 6-7. 1 Cor. ii 15 9. Cf. Is. xl 13, 1 Cor. ii 16 12. 1 Cor. ii 14 LXXIV 2-3. Cf. 1 Cor. xiv 30

LXXIII 16. βυβλία MS per incur.
4. ἐντολῆς: leg. fortasse ἐντολῆς ἀκροαταί
6. πειθανά Α φησι Α male

LXXIV 2. οπ. λεγύντων per incur. Α
5. leg. fortasse Χριστῷ τῷ ἀνδρί

λύσομεν. πρῶτον μὲν λέγοντες ὅτι Αἱ ἡμέτεραι προεφήτευον, δείξατε τὰ 10 σημεῖα τῆς προφητείας ἐν αὐταῖς· δεύτερον δὲ Εἰ καὶ προεφήτευον αὶ θυγατέρες Φιλίππου, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἔλεγον· οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσι τῶν ᾿Αποστόλων. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῆ παλαιᾳ· Δεββῶρα μεμαρτύρηται προφῆτις εἶναι, λαβογ̂ια δὲ Μαριὰκ Η ἀδελφὶ ᾿Ααρῶκ τὸ τήκπακοκ ἐξθρχε τῶν γυναικῶν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄν εὖροις ὅτι Δεββῶρα ἐδημηγόρησεν εἰς τὸν λαὸν 15 ὥσπερ Ἱερεμίας καὶ Ἡσαίας· οὐκ ἄν εὖροις ὅτι Ἰολδὰ προφῆτις οὖσα ἐλάλησε τῷ λαῷ ἀλλ' ἐνί τινι ἐλθόντι πρὸς αὐτήν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἀναγέγραπται Ἅκκα προφῆτις, θγράτηρ Φακογήλ, ἐκ φγλῆις ᾿Ακὶνοῦ εἶναι προφῆτις γυνή, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ἐκκλησία ἐλάλησεν. ἵνα οὖν καὶ δοθῆ ἐκ σημείου προφητικοῦ εἶναι προφῆτις γυνή, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπιτρέπεται ταύτη λαλεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησία. ὅτε ἐλάλησε Μαριὰμ ἡ προφῆτις ἄρχουσα ἦν τινων γυναικῶν· αἰσχρὸν γὰρ γυναικὶ λαλεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησία, καὶ διδάςκεικ δὲ Γγκαικὶ οἤκ ἐπιτρέπο ἀπλῶς ἀλλ' οἤς ἐ ἀβθεκτεῖκ ἀκδρος.

Καὶ ἄλλοθεν δὲ τοῦτο παραστήσω, εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἀσφαλέστερον εἴρηται περὶ τοῦ μὴ τὴν γυναῖκα ἡγεμόνα γίνεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ ἀνδρός· πρεςΒήτιδας ἐκ καταςτήματι ἱεροπρεπεῖς, καλοδιδαςκάλογς, ἵκα ςωφροκίζωςι τὰς κέας, οὐχ ἀπλῶς 25 ἴνα διδάσκωσιν. καλοδιδάςκαλοι μὲν γὰρ ἔστωσαν καὶ γυναῖκες, οὐχ ἴνα ἄνδρες καθήμενοι ἀκούωσι γυναικῶν, ὡς ἐκλειπόντων ἀνδρῶν τῶν δυναμένων πρεσβεύειν τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον.

Εὶ δέ τι μαθείν ἐθέλουσιν, ἐν οἴκῳ τοὺς ἰδίους ἄνδρας ἐπερωτάτωσαν αἰσχρὸν γάρ ἐστι γυναιξὶν ἐν ἐκκλησία λαλείν. δοκεῖ μοι τὸ τοὺς ἰδίους ἄνδρας οὐκ 280 ἐπὶ τοὺς γαμετοὺς ἀναφέρεσθαι μόνον αὶ παρθένοι γὰρ ἢ λαλήσουσιν ἐν 31 ἐκκλησία ἢ οὐχ ἔξουσι τοὺς διδάσκοντας, καὶ αὶ χηρεύουσαι ὁμοίως ἀλλὰ μήποτε τοὺς ἰδίους ἄνδρας οἷον καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον καὶ τὸν υἰόν; ἄπαξ ἀπλῶς ἀνδρὸς πυνθανέσθω γυνὴ τοῦ ἰδίου κατὰ τὸ γενικὸν ὄνομα ἀνδρὸς πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν γυναικός αἰσχρὸν γὰρ γυναικὶ λαλεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησία, ὁποῖα 35 ἐὰν λαλῆ, κὰν θαυμαστὰ λαλῆ, κὰν ἄγια, μόνον δὲ ἀπὸ στόματος γυναικείου ἐξέρχηται. Γυνὴ ἐν ἐκκλησία δηλονότι κατὰ τὸ αἰσχρὸν λέγεται ἐπὶ κατηγορία τῆς ὅλης ἐκκλησίας.

xiv 36 ["Η ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξῆλθεν, ἡ εἰς ὑμᾶς μόνους κατήντησεν;]

40 'Ως της ἀταξίας ταύτης οὖσης ἐν Κορίνθω μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁμαρτημάτων. τοῦτο οὖν λέγει ὅτι ἀπέστειλεν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸν κόσμον. ἄρ' οὖν ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ὁ κανὼν ὁ ἐκκλησιαστικὸς εἰς ὑμᾶς μόνους τοὺς Κορινθίους κατήντησεν;

10 f. Cf. Act. Ap. xxi 9 13. Ex. xv 20, 21 17. Lc. ii 36 21. 1 Tim. ii 12 23 ff. Tit. ii 3

9. λύσωμεν Α 10 καὶ εl A 11. οπ. έλεγον Α 12, 14. Δεβόρρα Α 13. 'Aaρών MS: Μωσέως A fortasse recte ήρεμίας Α 24. διδασκάλους Α 29. leg. fortasse γυναικί ut supra 25. yuvaîkes MS: pr. ai A 28. θέλουσιν Α 30 λαλήσουσιν MS: λαλοῦσιν per incur. A (habet εξουσιν) om. où per incur. A 34. γυναικί MS: γυναιξί Α 38-9. κατήν-32-3. υίθν απαξ άπλως άνδρός A male τηκεν A, sed infra (l. 43) κατήντησεν 41. om, őti A

§ LXXV.

χίν 37-38 [Εἴ τις δοκεί προφήτης εἶναι ἢ πνευματικός, ἐπιγινωσκέτω χράφω ὑμίν ὅτι κυρίου εἰσὶν ἐντολαί· εἰ δέ τις ἀγνοεί, ἀγνοείτω.]

['Ωριγένους]

Τν' οὖν ἐπιγινώσκωμεν τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, παρακαλέσωμεν τὸν διδόντα χαρίσματα, 280 ἔνα δώη ἡμῖν χάρισμα προφητικὸν καὶ ποιήση ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος πνεύματος πνευματικούς· καὶ οὖτως ἐπὶ τοῦ κρίνειν ποῖα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν ἢ ποῖα οὖκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ. ὁ γὰρ τῆς χάριτος ταύτης ἐστερημένος συνεῖναι οὐ δύναται· 5 ὅθεν ἐπήγαγεν Εἰ δέ τις ἀγνοεῖ, ἀγνοείτω.

§ LXXVI.

XV I-2 [Γνωρίζω δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ὁ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν, ὁ καὶ παρελάβετε, ἐν ῷ καὶ ἐστήκατε, δι' οῦ καὶ σώζεσθε, τίνι λόγῳ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν, εἰ κατέχετε, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ εἰκῆ ἐπιστεύσατε.]

['Ωριγένους]

Εὐαγγέλιον καλεῖ δ εὐαγγελίζεται, τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ παρέδωκεν οῦτος δὲ ἔστηκεν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ὁ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐαυτοῦ ἔχων ἐπιβεβηκυῖαν, ὡς ἐπὶ σκάφει, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δι' οῦ καὶ σώζεται. εἰκῆ δὲ λέγει πεπιστευκέναι τὸν μὴ κατέχοντα τὸν λόγον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ἀλλ' ἀλόγως καὶ συντυχικῶς καὶ οὐκ 5 ἐξητασμένως ἀκούσαντα.

['Ωριγένους]

Ἰουδαῖοι οὐχ ἐστήκασιν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, τὸν Ἰησοῦν μὴ παραδεξάμενοι 283 οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰρέσεων κακῶς ἐστήκασι, μὴ νοοῦντες τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀλλ' ἰδίως αἰτὸ ἐκδεχόμενοι οἱ ἀμαρτάνοντες οὐχ ἐστήκασι, μὴ βιοῦντες κατὰ τὸ εὐ- 10 αγγέλιον. τίνες οὖν ἐστήκασιν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ ἡ οἱ παραλαβόντες αὐτὸ καὶ παραδεξάμενοι καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ βιοῦντες; ἐὰν δὲ νοηθῆ Τίνι λόγῳ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῶν, εἰ κατέχετε, καὶ νοηθῆ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον εὐλόγως (τού)τοις τὸ Ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ εἰκῆ ἐπιστεύσατε, εἰσόμεθα ὅτι ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὸν εἰκῆ πεπιστευκότα οὔτω πεπιστευκέναι ψευδεῦ ἀλλὰ τὸ πεπιστευκέναι μέν, ἀληθεῦ δέ, ἔργον οὐκ ἔστιν 15 (ἐν) κρίσει (δὲ) πιστεύειν οἱ πρὸς καιρὸν πιστεύροντες καὶ ἐν καιρῷ πειραςμοῦ ἀφιστάμενοι, εἰκῆ πιστεύουσι καίτοιγε οὐ ψευδῆ πεπιστεύκασιν ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀληθεῦ μέν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ βεβαίως πεπιστεύκασιν, διὰ τοῦτο ἐν καιρῷ πειραςμοῦ Αφίστανται. καλῶς γὰρ πιστεύων τις οὐ πεσεῦται.

LXXVI 5. Cf. Lc. viii 15 11-12. Cf. Mc. iv 20

LXXVI. The first (Εὐαγγέλιον... ἀκούσαντα) of the two extracts in this section is taken from A and is therefore hitherto unpublished. The second extract is found in both MSS.

LXXV 6. ἀγνοείτω A. Uide tamen quae adnotaui ad XLVII 14 et LXXII 8-9. LXXVI 13. τούτοις scripsi: τοῖς MS, A 14. εἶναι MS, A: leg. fortasse ἐστι 15. τὸ MS: τῷ Α πεπιστευκέναι 2°: πιστευκέναι MS, corr. s.l. m. p. ut uid. 16. (ἐν) κρίσει (δὲ) scripsi: ἀλλὰ κρίσει A. Nairne 17. leg. fortasse ψευδεῖ cum A

& LXXVII*.

χν 5 [Καὶ ὅτι ἄφθη Κηφᾳ, εἶτα τοῖς δώδεκα.]

['Ωριγένους]

'Ωφθή (ναι) τοις δώδεκα λέγει τὸν κύριον μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν· εἰκὸς γὰρ ἦν ὅτι παρῆν καὶ ὁ Ματθίας ὁς ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα κατέστη ἀπόστολος.

§ LXXVIII*.

xv 9 [Έγω γάρ εἰμι ὁ ἐλάχιστος των ἀποστόλων, δς οὐκ εἰμὶ ἰκανὸς καλεῖσθαι ἀπόστολος, διότι ἐδίωξα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ.]

['Ωριγένους]

Συνειδως έαυτῷ ὧν ήλευθερώθη άμαρτιων φησὶν Οὐκ εἰμὶ ἰκανός καλεῖσθαι ἀπόστολος.

§ LXXIX*.

XV 10 [Χάριτι δὲ θεοῦ εἰμὶ ὅ εἰμι, καὶ ἡ χάρις αὐτοῦ ἡ εἰς ἐμὲ οὐ κενὴ ἐγενήθη, ἀλλὰ περισσότερον αὐτῶν πάντων ἐκοπίασα, οὐκ ἐγὼ δὲ ἀλλ' ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ σὺν ἐμοί.]

['Ωριγένους]

Εἰπὼν ὅτι ἡ χάρις αὐτοῦ οὐ κενὴ ἐγενήθη εἰς ἐμέ, ἐδίδαξεν ὅτι οἱ ἀναξίως ζῶντες τῆς χάριτος κενὴν αὐτὴν ἔλαχον. οὐχ ἡ χάρις δὲ κοπιᾳ, ἀλλ' οὖτως νοητέον. Οὐκ ἐγὼ τάδε πεποίηκα, ἀλλ' ἡ χάρις ἡ σὺν ἐμοί.

§ LXXX*.

XV II [Εἴτε οὖν ἐγὼ εἴτε ἐκεῖνοι, οὕτως κηρύσσομεν καὶ οὕτως ἐπιστεύσατε.]

['Ωριγένους]

Πάντων τῶν ἀποστόλων πληρ(ο)φορηθέντων περὶ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως τοῦ χριστοῦ βεβαία ἡ ἀπόδειξις, διὸ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγομεν καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς οὕτως ἐπιστεύσατε.

§ LXXXI*.

XV 12-13 [Εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς κηρύσσεται ὅτι ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγήγερται, πῶς λέγουσίν τινες ἐν ὑμῖν ὅτι ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν; εἰ δὲ ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται.]

['Ωριγένους]

Σαφής έστιν ή τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνάστασις μεθ' ής εἶχε σαρκὸς γεγονυῖα ἐκ τοῦ προκειμένου ἡητοῦ, οἱ δέ, οἱ ἐτερόδοξοι, ἀλληγοροῦν θέλουσιν τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων

LXXVII-LXXXIII. These seven unpublished extracts marked with an asterisk are taken from A.

LXXVII 2. $\dot{\omega}\phi\theta\hat{\eta}\nu\alpha_i$ scripsi : $\dot{\omega}\phi\theta\eta$ A per incur. 3. Ma $^{\theta}$ A LXXIX 2. οὐκ $\dot{\epsilon}\nu\hat{\eta}$ A per incur. LXXX 2. πληρωφορηθέντων A male LXXXI 2. γεγονυῖα scripsi : γεγονυῖαs ut videtur A

ἀνάστασιν· ἀλληγορήτωσαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος κακῶς τῷ ἑαυτῶν ἀθετοῦντες τὸ ἡητόν. [[Μανιχαίους λέγει τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι ὁ ἀπαλλασσόμενος 5 ἀμαρτιῶν οὖτως ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν.]]

§LXXXII*.

XV 14 [Εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, κενὸν ἄρα καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, κενὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν.]

['Ωριγένους]

Έπειδη οὖτε κ(ε)νὸν τὸ κήρυγμα οὖτε κ(ε)νη ή πίστις δῆλον ὅτι Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται. ταῦτα δὲ ἐσημειωσάμεθα ὑποδεικνύντες ὅτι εἰ καὶ ἤδει τοὺς διαλεκτικοὺς λόγους ὁ Παῦλος, ἀλλὰ φυσικῶς αὐτοῖς ἐχρήσατο· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς φύσεως καὶ συνηθείας ἡ διαλεκτικὴ τέχνη ἐσωματοποιήθη ὑπὸ τῶν 5 φιλοσοφούντων.

§ LXXXIII*.

XV 15-16 [Εύρισκόμεθα δὲ καὶ ψευδομάρτυρες τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι ἐμαρτυρήσαμεν κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι ἢγειρεν τὸν Χριστόν, ὃν οὐκ ἢγειρεν εἴπερ ἄρα νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται. (εἰ γὰρ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται), οὐδὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται.]

['Ωριγένους]

Εἰ κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ψευδομαρτυρεῖ ὁ λέγων ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀνέστη, οὐκοῦν καὶ πᾶς ὁ λέγων ὅτι ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν· εἰ δὲ ἀπαρχὰ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἀνέστη Χριστός, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ νεκροὶ ἐγείρονται.

§ LXXXIV.

XV 20-23 [Νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι' ἀνθρώπου ὁ θάνατος, καὶ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν· ὧσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ᾿Αδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν, οὖτως καὶ ἐν τῷ χριστῷ πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται. Εκαστος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι.]

['Ωριγένους]

Έπεὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰρέσεων λέγοντες τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν πίστιν καὶ μυκτη- 204 ρίζοντες ὡς ἀνοήτων πίστιν ἀθετοῦσιν τῷ ἔργῳ, εἰ καὶ μὴ τῷ λόγῳ, μὴ γίνεσθαι ἀνάστασιν λέγοντες ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία πιστεύει: ὅρα πῶς αὐτοῖς ἀπαντητέον ἐκ 205 τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ταύτης λέξεως καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων δὲ μυρίων. ᾿Ανέστη Χριστὸς 5 ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἡ οὐ; ἀλλὰ περὶ τούτου πᾶσα αἴρεσις συγκατέθετο. εἰ ἀνέστη

4. ἀλλ' ἡγορήτωσαν Α κακῶς τῷ scripsi: καῖ τ Α 6. οὕτως A: leg. fortasse οὖτος LXXXII 2. κενόν, κενή scripsi: καινόν, καινή A per incur. LXXXIII εἰ γὰρ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται suppleui in lemmate: οπ. A

LXXXI 5-6. These words seem like a gloss upon Origen incorporated in the text LXXXIII 3. 1 Cor. xv 20

LXXXIV. This section attached with other extracts in the MS to 1 Cor. xv 20-3 has the appearance of a homily rather than a commentary, unless indeed it be derived from the lost treatise *De Resurrectione*.

Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν, πρωτότοκος δὲ ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ἐκ κεκρῶκ, οὐδεὶς δὲ πρωτότοκός ἐστιν ἐτερογενῶς, ἀνάγκη ὁμογενῆ εἶναι τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀναστάσει τῶν ἀνισταμένων. οἶον πρωτότοκός ἐστι 'Ρουβίμ, νίὸς ὧν τοῦ Ἰακώβ, ὁμο10 γενῶν τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὄντων οὐ γὰρ ἄλλης φύσεως ὁ 'Ρουβὶμ καὶ ἄλλης φύσεως ὁ Συμεὼν ἢ ὁ Λευὶ καὶ οἱ ἑξῆς. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων πρωτοτόκων τὸ αὐτό. εἰ τοίνυν καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς πρωτότοκός ἐστιν ἐκ κεκρῶκ, ἀνάγκη ὁμογενῆ εἶναι τὴν ἀνάστασιν τῶν ἀνισταμένων. εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐφόρεσε σῶμα, καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις αὐτοῦ μετὰ σώματος ἢν ὧστε αὐτὸν καὶ φαγεῖν ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ κατὰ
15 Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίῳ. ἄλλως δὲ ἀνίστανται, ὡς οἴονται οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰρέσεων, οἱ ἀνιστάμενοι τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς τὸν χριστόν. οὐ δύνανται παραστῆσαι πῶς Ἰησοῦς πρωτότοκός ἐστιν ἐκ τῶκ κεκρῶκ. εἰ γὰρ ςγκκορφοι γεγόκακεν τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ χριστοῦ, καὶ τὰς ἀναστάς αὐτοῦ σύμμορφοι ἐςόκεθα καὶ πῶς διδάσκει λέγων ὁ Παῦλος "Ος κεταςχηματίςει τὸ ςῶκα τῆς ταπεικώςεως ἡκῶκος ςίκκορφον τῷ ςώκατι τῆς δόξης τοῦ χριστοῦ.

'Αναιδῶς τοίνυν τινὲς παραδέχονται μὲν ὅτι ἐςμίτερται Χριστός ἐκ κεκρῶκ, λέγογςι δὲ ὅτι ἀκάστας κεκρῶκ οἡκ ἔστικ. διὸ φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος Εἰ Δε Χριστός
κκρήςς εται ἐκ κεκρῶκ ὅτι ἔςμίτερται, πῶς λέγογς κε ἀκρικικο ὅτι ἀκάστας κεκρῶκ οἡκ ἔστικ; κὰν μὴ τῷ στόματι λέγῃ τις, τἢ δὲ καρδία λέγει ἀκάστας κεκρῶκ
25 οἡκ ἔστικ, δυνάμει ἀθετεῖ καὶ τὴν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνάστασιν. εἰ γὰρ τὸ καθολικὸν ψεῦδος, δῆλον ὅτι περιέχεται ἐν τῷ καθολικῷ καὶ ὁ εἶς ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν. εἰ γὰρ οἡκ ἐςείροκται οἱ κεκροῖ, γέγονε δὲ καὶ ἐν νεκροῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς, οἡκ ἐςμίτερται
οἡλὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· εἰ δὲ ἐκεῦνος ἐγήγερται, δι' ἐκείνου δηλοῦται ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν
νεκρῶν· εἰ μὴ τῷ ἀδυνάτῳ τοῦ πράγματος καθ' αὐτὸ ἀπιστῶμεν, ἐπιλανθανό30 μενοι τίς ὁ ἐπαγγειλάμενος. τί γὰρ ὡς ἐν ἀδυνάτοις, ἴν' οὕτως εἴπω, ἀδυνατώτερον τὸ ζωοποιηθῆναι τὸ σῶμα ἡ οὐρανὸν ἐξ οὐκ ὅντων γενέσθαι ἡ ἤλιον ἡ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κτισμάτων;

296 Έλθε δε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀρχήν· ἀναπόλ⟨η⟩σον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχήν. δείκνυταί σοι σπέρμα ἀνθρώπου· εἰ ἔλεγέν τις Τοῦτο τὸ σπέρμα 35 ἄνθρωπος ἔσται, μορφωθήσεται, ὀστᾶ ἔσται, ἀπὸ τούτου σάρκες, νεῦρα, φλέβες· περιπατήσει· ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ σπέρματος τοῦ βραχέος, τοῦ εὐτελοῦς, ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ γῆς διεγηγερμένος χρήσεται ἀργάνοις· οὐκ ἃν ἐλέγομεν ἀνόητον εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἡμῖν κηρύσσοντα, εἰ μὴ πεῖραν εἰλήφαμεν τούτου; ἴν' οῦν τολμήσω καὶ παραστήσω σοι τὴν ἀνάστασιν, καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτὴν παραδέξη 40 πιστεύσας τῆ τελειότητι τοῦ θεοῦ. ὅπερ ἐκεῖνο τὸ σπέρμα ἢν πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἐνεστηκός, νῦν τὸ παρεστηκός, τὸ γενικόν, τὸ σπεῖρον, τὸ ὅργανον γενόμενον λόγων καὶ ἔργων τῶν κατὰ δικαιοσύνην, τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα πρὸς ἐκεῖνο γίνεται· Ὁ κόκκος τοῦ ciτογ ἐὰν κὰτὰ δικαιοσύνην, τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα πρὸς ἐκεῖνο γίνεται· Ὁ κόκκος τοῦ ciτογ ἐὰν κὰτὰ διασαπῆ, ἐκ τῆς διασήψεως τοῦ

LXXXIV 7. Col. i 18 14. Cf. Io. xxi 9 ff. 17 f. Rom. vi 5 19 f. Phil. iii 21 21 ff. 1 Cor. xv 12 27 f. 1 Cor. xv 16 30. Cf. Hebr. x 23, xi 11 43 f. Io. xii 24

LXXXIV 24. λέγει MS: leg. fortasse λέγη 33. ἀναπόλεσον MS

κόκκου τοῦ σίτου στάχυς έκατοντ (άκι)ς γίνεται. ὅτι γὰρ τὸ σῶμά σου 45 σπέρμα έστὶ τοῦ ἀναστησομένου, ἄκουε Παύλου λέγοντος. Σπείρεται ἐν φθορά, ερείρεται εν άφθαροία. επείρεται εν άτιμία, ερείρεται εν δόξη. επείρεται εν άσθενεία, έγείρεται έν Δγκάμει επείρεται εώμα ψγκικόν, έγείρεται εώμα πιεγματικόν. δράς ως έκει έπι του σπέρματος ευτελές (τι) και ουδενός λόγου άξιον έσπάρη, και έγήγερται ἄνθρωπος ώραιος και καλός τον αὐτον τρόπον τοῦτο το νεκρον 50 κόκκος έστὶ σίτου τῷ θεῷ ὡς τὸ προαναστησόμενον. ὧσπερ οὖν εὐπόρησεν δ θεὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ κόκκου τοῦ σίτου στάχυν ποιῆσαι—οὖκ ἔξωθεν τῶν ἀφορμῶν των έν τῷ σπέρματι τῷ βραχεί· ἀπὸ γὰρ ἐκείνου ἤγειρεν τὸν στάχυν, καὶ ἀφὸ έκάστου σπέρματος έγείρει τὸ δυνάμει ένυπάρχον τῷ σπέρματι-οὕτως ἀπὸ σπέρματος μεν ανθρώπου κατά την αρχήν γέγονεν ούτος ὁ ανθρωπος. ἐὰν 55 δὲ ἀποθάνη τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, σπέρμα γίνεται τοῦ ἀναστησομένου ἐκ νεκρῶν εν δόξη εν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. τὸ ἄπιστον δὲ τῆ ἀναστάσει τῆ ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν ίσον υπέλαβεν είναι ο απόστολος τ(φ) μη πιστεύειν ότι εσόμεθα την αρχήν μετά την έξοδον. διό τοις (μη) πιστεύουσιν ανάστασιν έσεσθαι νεκρών φησιν, ώς μη άλλης κατ' αὐτοὺς ζωής παρά την ἐνεστῶσαν, τὸ Εί ἐν τῆ χωῆ 207 ταγτή εν Χριστώ ήλπικότες έςμεν μόνου, έλεεινότεροι έςμεν πάντων ανθρώπων. 61 καὶ ἐν τοῖς έξης δὲ ὡς κατὰ τοὺς λέγοντας μὴ είναι ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, μηδὲ ζωης ύπαρχούσης κατά τὸν βίον τοῦτον, φησὶ Τί καὶ ἡμεῖς κινδηνείομεν πάταν ώραν; καθ' ήμέραν ἀποθνήτκω, νή την ήμετέραν καγχητίν, ην έχω έν Χριστώ Ίποος τώ κγρίω ήμων, καὶ τὰ έξης. δηλοί δὲ καὶ ἡ αίρεσις των Σαδ- 65 δουκαίων άθετούντων την ανάστασιν των νεκρων, ότι ακολουθεί αὐτοίς το μηδέ ζην ύμας μετά την παρούσαν ζωήν. διόπερ ὁ Σωτηρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου μόνον παράδειγμα λαμβάνει περί τοῦ είναι ἀνάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ρητον λέγ(ω)ν Περί Δε της αναστάσεως των νεκρών ογκ ανέγνωτε ότι ο θεός είπεν ἐπί τῆς Βάτογ λέρων Ἐρω ὁ θεὸς ᾿ΑΒραάν καὶ ὁ θεὸς Ἰςαάκ καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἸακώΒ; 70 θεός ογκ έςτι νεκρών άλλά ζώντων.

Νυνὶ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων. Ἡ ἀπαρχὴ πολλῶν ἐστιν ἀπαρχή. ὡς δὲ ἐπὶ παραδείγματος τῶν ἐν τῷ νόμῷ εἶδομεν· ἀπαρχὴ ἀναφέρεται σίτου ὑπὸ τῶν σῖτον θερισάντων· καὶ φέρε εἰπεῖν οἴνο(ν) ὑπὸ τῶν οἶνον τρυγησάντων· καὶ ἐλαίου ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλαίαν 75 ἐκθλασάντων· οὖτω(ς) εἴπερ ὁ κύριος ἡμῖν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἀπαρχή ἐστι τῶν κεκοιμημένων, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι πολλοὺς εἶναι ῶν ἐστιν οὖτος ἀπαρχή· καὶ ζητοῦμεν πότερον πάντων ἀπαρχή ἐστιν ἡ πολλῶν; Χριστὸς γάρ φησιν ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων. εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ ε(ἴ)χομεν λέξιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, κῶν ἐλέγ(ο)μεν, δύσφημόν τι νομίσαντες εἶναι κατὰ τὸν τόπον τὸ 80

46 ff. 1 Cor. xv 42-4 57. 1 Cor. xv 42 60 f. 1 Cor. xv 19 63. 1 Cor. xv 30-1 69 ff. Mc. xii 26-7 (Ex. iii 6) 73-4. Cf. Deut. xviii 4

^{45.} ἐκατοντόχους MS
49. τι suppleui: οπ. MS
56. σπέρ (sic) MS per incur.: σπέρμα corτ. s. l.
57. leg. fortasse ἀπιστεῖν
58. τῷ scripsi: τὸ MS
59. τοῖς πιστεύουσιν MS: μὴ suppleui.
63. κατὰ MS: leg. fortasse μετὰ
69. λέγων scripsi: λέγον MS
75. οἴνου scripsi: οἶνου MS
76. οὔνω MS
79. ἔχομεν MS: εἴχομεν A. Nairne
80 κὰν ἐλέγωμεν (sic) MS

λέγειν αὐτὸν ἀπαρχὴν πάντων είναι, ὅτι ἀπαρχή ἐστι τῶν κεκοιμημένων δικαίων μόνων οὐχὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν. νυνὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι' ἀνθρώπου ὁ θάνατος, καὶ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν· πως έπί τινας αὐτὸς λέγει ο τι έπὶ πάντας; ωσπερ γὰρ ἐν τω ᾿Αδὰμ πάντες 85 αποθνήσκουσιν, ούτως έν τῷ Χριστῷ, οὐκ εἴρηκεν Οἱ δίκαιοι ζωοποιηθήσονται (άλλα πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται). Είτα ΐνα μὴ ταραχθής και είπης Αρα ουν μάτην έμοι ὁ κάματος ὁ τοσούτος ἀνήντληται, είγε Χριστὸς ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρών πάντων έστιν απαρχή των κεκοιμημένων και έν τώ Χριστώ πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται, λέγει Εκαστος δε εν τῷ ἐδίῳ τάγματι. πάντες μεν οὖν 90 ἐν τῷ ᾿Αδὰμ ἀπέθανον, καὶ πάντες ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ζωοποιηθήσονται ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ἐν τῷ ᾿Αδὰμ πάντες ἀπέθανον, οὐδὲν ἦττον ᾿Αβραὰμ δίκαιος ἦν, Ἰσαὰκ 298 πατριάργης ήν, Ἰακώβ τοὺς δώδεκα πατριάρχας γεννήσας Ἰσραήλ ήν οὖτω δε ελεύσει και επί τους λοιπους δικαίους. κατατολμώ είπειν ότι δ μεν άπόστολος είπεν άπαρχὴν είναι των κεκοιμημένων Χριστον Ἰησοῦν, έγω δέ 95 παρ' ἐκείνον ποιήσαιμ' ἃν Οὖτος μὲν ἀπαρχὴ ἐπὶ ζωὴν τῶν μελλόντων ζῆν, 'Αδάμ δὲ ἀπαρχὴ τοῦ θανάτου τῶν ἀνθρώπων γεγένηται' ἐν γὰρ τῷ 'Αδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ἐκείνου τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ θανάτου εἰληφότος ἀλλ' ό μεν Σωτήρ θέλων την απαρχήν της ζωης αναλαβείν, ανέλαβεν πρώτον τὸν θάνατον των ἀποθανόντων, ίνα καταργήσας τὸν θάνατον γένηται οῦτος ἀπαρχὴ 100 των κεκοιμημένων καὶ ζώντων.

& LXXXV*.

XV 31 ['Αποθνήσκω, νὴ τὴν ὑμετέραν καύχησιν ἣν ἔχω ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, καθ' ἡμέραν.]

['Ωριγένους]

Ζητητέον εἰ οὐ παρέβη τὸ εὐαγγελικὸν πρόσταγμα τὸ λέγον Μὶ ὁκός μο ολως.

§ LXXXVI*.

χν 32 [εἰ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἐθηριομάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, τί μοι τὸ ὄφελος;]

['Ωριγένους]

*Εστι καὶ θηρία νοητά.

& LXXXVII.

xv 35-38 ['Aλλ' ἐρεῖ τις Πῶς ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί, ποίῳ δὲ σώματι ἔρχονται; ἄφρον, σὐ δ σπείρεις οὐ ζωοποιεῖται ἐὰν μὴ ἀποθάνη καὶ δ

LXXXV 2. Matt. v 34

LXXXV, LXXXVI, LXXXVIII. These three hitherto unpublished sections are taken from A, which unfortunately contains no later citations from Origen on 1 Cor.

82. μόνον m. p.: μόνων corr. m. p. ipsa ut uid.
86. ἀλλὰ πάντες ζωοποιηθήσονται suppleui: om. MS per homoeotel. ut opinor
στι κ.τ.λ. MS
96. θανάτου τῶν : rasura est 4 litterarum
99. οὖτος MS
fortasse recte, nisi uelis οὕτως

σπείρεις, οὐ τὸ σῶμα τὸ γενησόμενον σπείρεις ἀλλὰ γυμνὸν κόκκον εἰ τύχοι σίτου ἢ τινος τῶν λοιπῶν' ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτῷ δίδωσι σῶμα καθὼς ἡθέλησεν, καὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν σπερμάτων τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα.]

['Ωριγένους]

Αρ' οὖν τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σπέρμα παρὰ πάντα ἐκεῖνα τὰ σώματα τῷ 315 δημιουργῷ ἄχρηστόν ἐστιν, ὡς ἐλπίζειν μὲν ἀνάστασιν εἶναι νεκρῶν, εἰ δεῖ οὖτως εἰπεῖν, ἐλαϊκῶς καὶ ἀμπελικῶς καὶ σιτικῶς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς κιγχραμίδος της συκης ανίσταται τηλικαύτη συκη, και ού γελάς τούτο δ έπι τη πείρα 5 βλέπεις; καὶ εἴτις σοι λέγει ὅτι ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ βραχέος ἐγείρεται συκῆ καρποφορούσα, τῆ πείρα μαθών οὐ καταγελάς έπεὶ δὲ οὐδέπω ἦλθεν ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ ἀνατείλαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου σώματος κατὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρων τὸ ἀναστησόμενον, οὐ θέλεις περιμένειν, ΐνα καὶ τοῦτο ἴδης; ἢ οὐκ οίδας ότι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων σπερμάτων οὐ πᾶς καιρὸς ἐπιτήδειός 10 έστι πρὸς τὸ ἀνατείλαι τὰ σπέρματα; ἀλλ' ἐγείρεται κόκκος σίτου τῷδε τῷ καιρώ του ένιαυτου έγείρεται το γίγαρτον τήδε τή ώρα του ένιαυτου ό πυρήν τῆς ἐλαίας κατὰ τόνδε τὸν μῆνα, οὐ κατὰ πάντα χρόνον. θέλεις δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἵνα πιστεύσης, κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς τὸ γίγαρτον, ὡς τὴν έλαίαν, ανίστασθαι τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ οὐχὶ ἔνα καιρὸν παράδοξον ὄψει ἵνα 15 είδης την ανάστασιν των νεκρων; τίς δ είς καιρός; επὶ συντελεία τοῦ αίωνος. ίνα μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν μηκέτι ἦς ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τῷ ἐνεστῶτι πονηρώ. Ἰησοῦς γὰρ Χριστὸς πέπονθεν ὅπως ἐζέληται ἡμῶς ἐκ τος αἰώνος τος ένεςτώτος πονηρος και έξαγοραζόμενοι τον καιρον ότι αι ήμεραι πονηραί είςιν. καλώς οὖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ϣκονόμησεν. 20

§ LXXXVIII*.

xv 51 [Ίδου μυστήριον υμίν λέγω· πάντες μέν ου κοιμησόμεθα πάντες δέ

['Ωριγένους]

Πάντας τοὺς ὁμοίους ἐαυτῷ ὁ Παῦλος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς ᾶ zῶντας καλεῖ· ὁ γὰρ τῶν zώντων θεὸς καὶ Παύλου καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτοῦ θεός ἐστιν.

§ LXXXIX.

χνί 10—12 [Έὰν δὲ ἔλθη Τιμόθεος, βλέπετε ἴνα ἀφόβως γένηται πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τὸ γὰρ ἔργον κυρίου ἐργάζεται ὡς καὶ ἐγώ· μή τις οὖν αὐτὸν ἐξουθενήση. προπέμψατε δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν εἰρήνη, ἴνα ἔλθη πρός με, ἐκδέχομαι γὰρ αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. Περὶ δὲ ᾿Απολλὼ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, πολλὰ παρεκάλεσα αὐτὸν τοῦ ἔλθη πρὸς ὑμᾶς μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν· καὶ πάντως οὐκ ἦν θέλημα ἴνα νῦν ἔλθη· ἐλεύσεται δὲ ὅταν εὐκαιρήση.]

LXXXVII 18. Gal. i 4 19. Eph. v 16 LXXXVIII 2. 1 Thess. iv 15 z. Matt. xxii 32

LXXXVIII 3. αὐτοῦ A : leg. fortasse αὐτῷ

VOL, X.

E

['Ωριγένους]

Κατὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἔφασκεν Ακούω σχίσματα ἐν ἡμῖν ὑπάρχειν εκαστος γὰρ γμών, φησί, λέρει Ἐρώ μέν εἰμι Παγλογ, ἐρώ Δὲ Απολλώ—τούτου περί οῦ φησι τοιαύτης στάσεως καὶ ταραχής οὖσης ἐν τῆ Κορινθίων ἐκκλησία. 40 ὁ θαυμάσιος οὖτος ᾿Απολλως ἐπίσκοπος ων των κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον ως έπὶ κριτὴν κατέφυγεν τὸν ἀπόστολον. Παῦλος τὰ τῆς ἀποστολῆς ἐποίει οὐκ ην αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα ἐπιβάλλοντα διατρίβοντι ἐν τῆ ᾿Ασία τότε καταλιπεῖν τὰ ἐν τῆ ᾿Ασία καὶ γενέσθαι εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον ἀλλ᾽ ἀνθ᾽ ἐαυτοῦ ἐξελέξατο Τιμόθεον καὶ ἔπεμψεν αὐτὸν διορθωσόμενον τὰ ἐν Κορίνθω καὶ ἀναγκαίως 10 μετὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς πέμπων αὐτὸν παρακατατιθέναι τῆ ἐκκλησία. ὅτε γαρ ἐπεδήμουν οἱ ἄγιοι ὡφελοῦντες τοὺς ἀκούοντας, οὐκ ἐν ἀςθενείμ παρεγίνοντο οὐδὲ ἐν φόβω οὐδὲ ἐν τρόμω. ὅτε δὲ παρεγίνοντο πρὸς τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους, ἐν ἀρθενεία καὶ ἐν φόβω καὶ ἐν τρόμω ἐπεδήμουν τοιοῦτοι ἦσαν Κορίνθιοι, ωστε οὐ Παῦλον τὸν μέγαν ἐπιδημεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀσθενῆ, 15 καθὸ ἔλεγεν ἘΓενόμην τοῖς ἀςθενέςιν ὡς ἀςθενής, ἵνα τογς ἀςθενεῖς κερδήςω. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔλεγεν Κάρω ἐν ἀςθενεία ἐρενόμην πρός γμάς. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ έν φόβω καὶ έν τρόμω πολλώ εγένετο, όπως των ακουόντων περιγένηται. επειδή οὖν τὸ ἐν φύβω καὶ ἐν τρόμω ἐπιδημεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα ἀφελεῖν περὶ τοὺς άκροατάς έστιν, παρακαλεί νῦν τοὺς Κορινθίους ΐνα ἀφόβως γένηται Τιμόθεος 20 πρὸς αὐτούς· τὸ γὰρ ἔργον κύριου ἐργάζεται ὡς καὶ ἐγώ· ὅπερ ἐγὼ $\langle \dot{\epsilon} \rangle \pi \epsilon$ ποιήκειν αν έπιδημήσας ύμιν, τουτο ποιεί ύμιν ό Τιμόθεος. μή τις ουν αὐτὸν έξουθενήση εί γὰρ τοῦτον έξουθενεῖτε, κάμε το γὰρ ἔργον κύριου ἐργάζεται ώς και έγω. προπέμψατε δε αὐτὸν έν εἰρήνη, ϊνα ἔλθη πρός με νῦν μεν έρχεται πρὸς ύμας εἰρήνην ποιήσων. στάσιν γὰρ ὑμων εὑρίσκει ἐν τῆ ἐκ-25 κλησία άλλ' δμονοήσαντες καὶ διορθωθέντες έκ τῶν λεγομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (καὶ) εἰρήνην ἀναλαβόντες, προπέμψατε αὐτὸν ἐν τῆ ὑμετέρα ὁμονοία καὶ εἰρήνη, ΐνα έλθη πρὸς ἐμέ. ἐκδέχομαι γὰρ αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ποίων ἀδελφῶν; περί ων προείπεν ὅτι Οζο εἀν Δοκιμάς το ἀπιστολής, το τογος πέμψω. χομαι οὖν ἀκούων αὐτὸν ἐπανελευσόμενον, ἀπαγγέλλοντά μοι τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς. Περί δε 'Απολλώ του άδελφου παρεκάλεσα αὐτόν, ενα έλθη πρὸς ὑμᾶς. καὶ πάντως οὐκ ἢν θέλημα ἵνα ἔλθη νῦν. ἄνθρωπος ἢν, ὡς εἰκός, ἄγιος, εἰρήνης φίλος, καὶ βλέπων στάσιν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐν τῆ ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἐκκλησία, οὐκ ἐπεδικάζετο τοῦτό που ἀλλὰ παρεχώρησεν. εἶτα παρακαλεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ

35 οὐδὲ ὄλως εωρακεν τὴν Κόρινθον, οὐκ ἀπιθήσας τῷ ἀποστόλῳ· οὐ γὰρ ἃν οὖτως συνέστησεν αὐτοῦ τὸ δοκοῦν, οὐχ ὑποτεταγμένον· λέγει γὰρ Πάντως οὐκ ἦν θέλημα ἴνα νῦν ἔλθη· οἷον· οὐκ ἄνευ θελήματος θεοῦ πεποίηκεν τὸ μὴ

341 ἀπόστολος μακροθυμήσαντα ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὴν παροικίαν αὐτοῦ.

LXXXIX 20. πεποιήκειν MS suppleui ante εἰρήνην: om. MS

21. leg. fortasse ποιήσει

25-6. Kai

έλθειν αὐτὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐλεύσεται δὲ ὅταν εὐκαιρήση. πότε δὲ εὐκαιρεί; ἐὰν ὑμεῖς εἰρηνεύητε, ἐὰν Τιμόθεον μὴ ἐξουθενήσητε.

§ XC.

χνί 13–14 [Γρηγορείτε, στήκετε ἐν τῆ πίστει, ἀνδρίζεσθε, κραταιοῦσθε. πάντα ὑμῶν ἐν ἀγάπη γινέσθω.]

['Ωριγένους]

"Εστι γάρ τις ὖπνος ψυχῆς καὶ γρηγόρησις. διὸ καὶ ἀποτρέπων τοῦ καθεύδειν τὴν ψυχὴν διὰ Σολομῶντος ὁ λόγος φησὶ Μιὶ Δῷς ὅπιοο τοῖς ὅμμαςι, μιλὲ
νυσταγμὸν coῖς βλεφάροις, ἵνα ςώzμ ὥςπερ Δορκὰς ἐκ βρόχων καὶ ὥςπερ ὅρνεον
ἐκ παγίλος. καὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ φησὶ Γρηγορεῖτε ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ προςεγχεςθε ἵνα 5
δυνηθῆτε ἐκφυγεῖν τοὺς μέλλοντας γίνεσθαι πειρασμούς. Στήκετε· μὴ
σαλεύεσθε ἀλλὰ βέβαιοι γίνεσθε. ὁ δίψυχος οὐχ ἔστηκεν ἐν τῷ πίστει ῷ ὁ
ἀμφιβάλλων περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πίστιν πραγμάτων. ᾿Ανδρίζεσθε· ὡς στρατιώταις λέγει· ἐνλής αςθε γάρ φησι τιν πανοπλίαν τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὸ Δήναςθαι ἡμᾶς
ςτιναι πρὸς τὰς μεθολείας τοῦ Διαβόλογ. Κραταιοῦσθε· οἶον ᾿Αναλάβετε τὴν 10
ἰσχύν, ἴνα δυνηθῆτε κραταιωθέντες εἰπεῖν Πάντα ἰςχήω ἐν τῷ ἔνδηναμοῦντὶ με
Χριστῷ Ἱησοῦ. Πάντα ὑμῶν ἐν ἀγάπῃ γινέσθω· Εἰσαγομένων τὸ ἐν φόβω
ποιεῖν, τελείων δὲ τὸ ἐν ἀγάπῃ.

38. εὐκαιρεί MS: leg. fortasse εὐκαιρήσει LXX

XC 3. leg. fortasse $\langle \sigma \rangle$ oîs cum

CLAUDE JENKINS.

A BOHAIRIC FRAGMENT OF THE 'MARTYRDOM OF ST LUKE'.

Although we possess the Arabic and Ethiopic versions of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, the Coptic texts from which they are derived are so rare that it seems worth while to publish a small fragment which is in the University Library, Cambridge, marked MS Add. 1886.

3. It corresponds to Mrs Lewis's Mythological Acts of the Apostles (English translation) p. 153, and Dr Wallis Budge's Contendings of the Apostles (English translation) p. 139. It will be observed that, unlike the derived versions, the action takes place in the city of Proconnesus, and not at Rome. The fact that the fragment is numbered p. 788 makes it possible that the book once contained a large collection of such apocryphal Acts. It would be interesting to see whether the Martyrdom, of which Zoega, p. 114, mentions Tuki's copy, contains a passage similar to this.

The paragraph mark ∻ is in red, and the capital letters, as well as ⊕ and ≤, are ornamented with red: there is also a red dot above the word IHC.

Recto

Αφεροτώ άπε πιαμη

τηρη & δεπ οπόρωστ

ποτωτ & πε σταμ ά
ρη πε άπε παιραπ

πε ίπα > οπος πε αφτωπη

ελούδεπ πηεθαωσττ >

Ασμωπι πε έταππε φραπ

πίπα > άπευθο άπιποτ +

απομοτ > άπευθο άπιποτ +

απομοτ > άπευ πιοτη +

επτακο άποτηστ > όπε πιοτη >

έπτακο άποτηστ > όπτακο άποτη >

επτακο άποτηστ > όπτακο άποτη >

επτακο άποτηστ > όπο στλιβι

εφομ άμαμω >

 $\overline{\Psi}\Pi\overline{\Psi}$

Versa

ώ πεμ πιματιά ήτε παιρωμι τε της .

Ποτρο τε αφεροτώ πεταιχωρα ε αιδοσλοτκας αφωτ έλολδεη πατία .

Ατεροτώ ήτε πιμημ
ετχωμιος τε εμπηε
το παιρωμι έτεμματ φ†ελω σεη τεηχωρα
σεη παιραπ ε τε της
οτος το φαι φχη σεη

² The & was added afterwards, above the ns.

¹ On the Coptic originals generally of the 'Acts of Luke', see Lipsius Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten (Brunswick, 1887) ii 2 p. 369.

Recto

Οτος ατφωά πποτερως
ατοωλη έβολ ποα πισωι
πτε τοτάφε & ατωε πωοτ 2ε & ςα ποτρο ππρωπ
έςρηι έρωμη & ατω έδολ εταφίμος & αε

4поуіс ? ибокоинсіос ?

Зчитній итніці ядаітол

зеи инетійній удаітол.

удажит же ттайн ц.

удажній итній удажній уда

All the multitude answered in one voice 'Of what sort is this name, Jesus, and did He rise from the dead?' And $(\delta \epsilon)$ when they spoke the name of Jesus before the gods, all the idols fell: they were shattered like pots. And $(\delta \epsilon)$ when the priests saw that their gods were destroyed, they were exceeding wroth in great madness, and they rent their garments, they plucked off the hair of their head: and $(\delta \epsilon)$ they went to Nero, king over Rome: they cried out, saying, 'O, what (reading mia) are the magic arts of this man, Jesus?' And $(\delta \epsilon)$ the king answered, he said unto them, 'Every man that believed on this name in this country $(\chi \omega \rho a)$ have I slain, save one, Luke: he has escaped out of my hands.' The multitudes answered, saying, 'Lo and behold, that man teaches in our country $(\chi \omega \rho a)$ in this name, Jesus: and behold he is here in the city $(\pi \delta \lambda \iota s)$ of Proconnesus: many miracles has he done among the sick in divers manners.' And $(\delta \epsilon)$ the king was exceeding wroth and gnashed his teeth...

STEPHEN GASELEE.

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE LEONIAN SACRAMENTARY: AN ANALYTICAL STUDY. II.

The nineteenth Section has incurred the censure of the critics. They remark with more zeal than discretion—for the blunder, if blunder there be, may be that of some post-editorial rubricator, and should be carefully discriminated from anomalies inherent to the document—that the St Stephen of the capitulum is not the St Stephen of the several items; and, again with more zeal than discretion, they resent the inconsistency of grouping Masses which they assume to have been originally designed for the twenty-sixth of December in a Section attributed to the second of August.

As to the first of these complaints, I would suggest that the second of August may have been the day on which one or more Masses, the necleus of the series, were originally said; and that the local attribution, so far from betraying a mistake in identification, is thus the record of a fact; a church of St Stephen the protomartyr—presumably that built by Demetrias and dedicated by Leo the Great—having been consecrated on the Feast of St Stephen the pope. And I would further suggest that, as in like instances, the local attribution is later than the first issue. I assign it to Hilarus, who might have meant it as a warning to any who should be disposed to deem 'IIII NŌN. AŪG.' a clerical error for 'III NŌN. AŪG.', the date of the then recently adopted *Inventio* of the protomartyr.

As to the second complaint, I do not care to insist on the fact that only the last three items of the nine are amenable to it; for I find that the discrepancy which has provoked it—like that in the somewhat analogous anomaly, already explained and justified, in Section X—gives us a clue to the internal history of the document. First, however, let me dispose of the values in terms of letters of the successive constituents of the series:—

XVIIII. IIII. Nōn. $\overline{\text{AUG}}$. $\overline{\text{NCI}}$ STEFANI, ETC. i: 151, 148, 881, 103, 199. ii: 284, 119, 495. iii: 115, 495. iiii: 230, 157, 121, 320. v: 115, 488. vi: 129, 223, 134, 129. vii: 137, 150, 167, 343. viii: 91, 210, 128, 165. viiii: 133, 107, 250, 130, 98.

Four modifications of these figures may be proposed. (1) For 'quantum... trepidantum... confidentes' in the second constituent of i (85:13) I should read 'quantum... trepidantes tantum... confidentes', in preference to Bianchini's 'quantum... trepiditantum... confidentes'. (2) In the Preface of iii (87:4) for 'tantum gratia' read 'tantam gratiam'; as in that of v (88:6). (3) In the last constituent of viii the phrase (89:31) 'et sacramentis instructa salutaribus et fulta praesidiis' would seem to need some such word as 'caelestibus' if due balance is to be given to the antithesis. This would raise the numerical value from 165 letters to 176. (4) In the Preface of viiii (90:8) for 'qua dicata nomini tuo basilica... signauit' I read, as against Bianchini, 'quam dicata' &c. See the 'quam... sanguis... signauit' of the first Preface in XXII (100:8).

The account I propose of these nine Masses is that with a slightly briefer text than that now extant, some, if not all, of them were originally compiled by or for Leo the Great, who consecrated the earliest recorded Roman basilica in honour of the protomartyr: that Hilarus. his successor, took advantage of the a lineation employed for the second general redaction to introduce sundry references to the Nativity, his three oratories contiguous to the colonnade enclosing the font of Constantine having been dedicated, one to St John the Baptist as Prophet, another to St John the Divine as Doctor, the third to St Stephen as Martyr, of the Incarnation, the mystery to the Catholic definition of which he had devoted the best energies of his mind and only not sacrificed his life; and that like advantage was taken of the β lineation -perhaps by Simplicius, the successor of Hilarus-to introduce vet other references on the same topic. (1) The first in textual order of these references is in the Super Populum of vi (88:27): 'Conserua... ut tua redemptione sint digni, tua semper gratia sint repleti. per,' where the phrase I italicize is so early in the series, so short and so incidental. as not likely to have been of itself an ex post facto addition; so that the more probable of two alternative hypotheses is that which makes the whole prayer adventitious to the original scheme of the Mass. (2) The second reference, in the opening prayer of vii (89:2), is, like the first, reminiscent of the Apostle's 'Misit Deus Filium suum, factum ex muliere, factum sub lege, ut eos qui sub lege erant redimeret' (Gal. iv 4, 5), as also of the Evangelist's 'Benedictus . . . qui fecit redemptionem plebis suae' (Luke i 68) and 'omnibus qui expectabant redemptionem Israel' (ibid. ii 38). There need be no doubt that the prayer is new from beginning to end. (3) This cannot, I think, be said of the Secreta (89:8) of vii. That the original scheme of the Mass should have lacked a Secreta is by no means likely, and the laboured diction of the extant prayer would seem to indicate an amalgamation of new text with old, the new containing the reference to the Nativity: thus, where I bracket what I conceive to be new:- 'Inter [nostrae redemptionis miranda beneficia et] scorum martyrum gloriosa sollemnia cum muneribus tuae laudis occurrimus agentes gratias [et de largitate beneficii et] de prouisione suffragii. per.' If this be so, we have an original in 106 letters (4 θ lines) and a more recent form in 167 (6 α lines, 6 of β). (4) The Preface of the same Mass falls into two parts; the first (89:12) in 221 letters (8 θ lines) being original the second, 'et ideo' &c., being presumably adventitious and yielding an ultimate total of 343 letters (12 α lines, 11 of β). (5) The fifth reference to the Nativity is embodied in the Postcommunion of viii (89:27). The whole of this prayer must be regarded as adventitious. inasmuch as the cardinal word 'multiplicatis' not only implies the reference but is intrinsic to the whole structure of the prayer. last reference to the Nativity (89:30), 'Ds generis institutor et reparator' &c., in the Super Populum of viii, is not so conspicuous as the other five; but that it is a reference to the Nativity no liturgical scholar will question.

Of these six references the most explicit are obviously those which have a priori the strongest claim to precedence in respect of time, and thus the strongest claim to be classed as part of the second redaction. Remarkably enough, these are the three comprised in vii and the Postcommunion of viii; and, as remarkably, their inclusion effects an ultimate total of 250 α lines. The other two, added ex hypothesi at a later date, yield a third total of 249 β lines.

Set forth in terms of lines the result is:-

	$\boldsymbol{ heta}$	a	β
XVIIII. IIII NON. AUG. N. SCI. STEFANI ETC., ETC.	3	4	4
i: 1, (6) 5, (6) 5, (32) 29 (28), 4 (3), 7.	56	51	49
ii: 1, 10(9), (5)4, (18)17(16)	34	32	30
iii: 1, 4, (18) 17 (16)	23	22	21
iiii: 1, 8, (6) 5, (5) 4, (12) 11 (10)	32	29	28
v: 1, 4, (18) 16	23	21	21
vi: 1, 5, 8(7), 5, 0(4)	19	19	22
vii: 1, (o) 5, (6) 5, (4) 6, (8) 12 (11)	19	29	28
viii: 1, (4) 3, (8) 7, (o) 4, 0 (6)	13	15	2 I
viiii: 1, 5, 4, 9(8), 5(4), 4(3)	28 = 250	<u>28 = 250</u>	25 = 249

In a word, the discrepancy between the title of Section XVIIII and the references to the Nativity contained in some of the Masses is not referable to the original scheme of the series, but is due to *ex post facto* additions, the earliest of which were made in the pontificate of Hilarus. It may be a blemish. If so, it is a *felix culpa*; for, like the

anomalously placed ember Mass in Section X, it serves as a searchlight for elucidating the history of the document.

SECTION XX.

The first summary of values for the sixth of August is this:-

XX. VIII IDUS AUGUSTI, ETC., ETC. (no rubric) 158, 142, 215. ii: 223, 102, 251. iii: 73, 142, 209, 124, 98, 222. iiii: 96, 137, 178, 156, 169. v: 94, 102, 211, 111, 91. vi: 95, 119, 139, 78. vii: 149, 86, 212. In natale etc., 141, 113, 117, 155, 99, 110.

Three textual emendations may be hazarded. (1) In the Postcommunion of iiii (92:13) for 'ut... possimus emendare correcti' we should perhaps read 'ut... possimus nosmetipsos emendare correcti'. (2) For 'reddes beneficia munera libertatis' (94:3) in the last Preface of the series 'reddens benefica munera libertatis' would perhaps be the right reading; and (3) in the last Super Populum (94:8), instead of 'actione' I should read 'in actione'.

The first Preface (93: 18) of the double item headed 'vii' is worded thus:-- 'cognoscimus . . . tuae pietatis effectus quibus . . . Xysti semper honoranda sollemnia nec inter praeteritas mundi tribulationes omittere uoluisti et nunc reddita praestas libertate uenerari.' Since, then, this Preface was said on the sequel of hostilities which did not interfere with a festivity falling on the sixth of August and celebrated in the Cemetery of Callixtus on the Appian Way, it cannot have been said during the siege of Rome by Witiges, for this included the whole of the latter half of the year 537; nor can it have been said so long as the memory of that siege lingered in the public mind. On the other hand, since the hostilities to which the Preface refers had been preceded by others overruled, like them, in favour of the Feast of St Sixtus on a sixth of August, the words just cited cannot have been penned on occasion of the plunder of Rome and the Campagna by Gaiseric and his Vandals in the summer of 455; for Alaric's terrible siege in 410 was at that time still too recent an event to render possible a retrospective reference such as that implied by the phrase 'nec inter praeteritas mundi tribulationes omittere uoluisti'.

The obvious inference suggested by these considerations is that, of the 'practeritae tribulationes' and the 'nunc reddita libertas' included in the chronological scope of the first Preface of vii, the 'tribulationes' were those inflicted by Gaiseric in 455, and the 'libertas' that consequent on the victory over Ricimer in the July of 472.

A second characteristic of the first Preface of vii is one which pervades each of the two Masses combined under that heading. Their 'securis mentibus [celebramus]', their 'snunc] reddita libertas',

their '[percepit] de tribulatione auxilium', their '[reddis] munera libertatis', and their 'in actione [or actionem] gratiarum propensius intuere' (93:14,21,31;94:3,8) make it clear that the recent trouble, though very recent, was a finally ended trouble.

Not so the trouble, quite as clearly indicated, which forms the burden of iiii. This component, unlike vii, was evidently penned during, not after, a crisis of imminent peril. Its 'ab hostium nos defende propitiatus incursu' and 'nobis praebeant inter aduersa constantiam' remind us of the 'ab hostium furore defende' (26:16) and 'hostili nullatenus incursione turbetur' (26:8) in Section X, which we have identified with the summer of 455 and the interval spent by Gaiseric's barbarians in ravaging the cornfields of the Campagna after their evacuation of Rome in the first half of June; while its 'continuata censura' (92:11) is curiously suggestive of the 'uerbera multiplicata' which I have ventured to identify with Attila's invasion of Italy in the summer of 452. (See J. T. S. vol. ix, p. 527.)

Now, as regards so much of the Leonianum as we have examined hitherto we can say with moral certainty that the first of the three redactions postulated by my theory implies a part, at least, of the pontificate of Leo and a part, at least, of the pontificate of Hilarus, the next Bishop of Rome; while in Section XVII four textual peculiarities and the last Mass of the series are to be attributed to Simplicius, the successor of Hilarus. In this Section, while the penultimate item is very probably referable to Simplicius and the year 472, the fourth is with like probability referable to Leo the Great and 452 or 455. Does the bibliographical inference thus suggested bear the application of a stichometrical test?

Taken as a whole, the present Section responds accurately to the β criterion; its title, rubrics, and text being the equivalent of 175 β lines. But, taken as a whole, it rebels against the other two criteria. But if, governed by analogy, we assume, first, that the title was originally cast in some such simple form as ' \bar{N} . \bar{SCORUM} XYSTI FELICISSIMI ET AGAPITI', and, secondly, that the Preface of vi (93:8) ended originally with 'annua recursione ueneramur. per', we find that the last of 150 θ lines and the last of 149 α lines must have coincided with the concluding syllables of vi.

I conclude, therefore, that the first and second redactions comprised items i-vi of the extant series, but that vii is proper to the third; and that, unless the compiler of this last was satisfied for a while with a total of 133 lines—an improbable hypothesis—his work on the Section is not to be dated before the summer of 472. Ricimer's five months' siege of Rome was brought to an end on or about the eleventh

¹ As in Sections XVII and XL. See J.T.S. vol. ix. p. 543; below, p. 94.

of July; and we may fairly presume that harvest and the ripening vintage postponed the final departure of his hosts until the early days of August. A like delay, if I rightly interpret iiii, had taken place in 455.

My summary in terms of lines is as follows:-

				θ	α	β
XX.	VIII IDUS AUGUSTI, ETC., ETC.			4	6	5
	6(5), 5, (8) 7			19	18	17
ii:	1, 8(7), 4(3), 9(8)			22	22	19
iii:	1, 8, 5, (8) 7, (5) 4, 4 (3), 8 (7)			34	32	30
iiii :	1, $4(3)$, 5, (7) 6, $6(5)$, 6.			29	28	26
v:	1, (4) 3, 4 (3), (8) 7, 4, (4) 3			25	22	2 I
vi:	1, 4(3), (5) 4, (4) 5+4(4), 3			17 = 150	$2\mathfrak{l}=149$	15 = 133
vii:	1, 5, 3, 7	•	•			16
	In natale scorum felicissimi et	AGAE	ITI			1
	5, 4, 4, 5, 4 (3), 4		•			25 = 175

But, even so, I cannot persuade myself that we have yet worked back our way to the 'simplest expression' of the series. For, remarkable as is the key-note of apprehension and alarm that governs the first and second, the fourth and last of the five constituents of iiii, the latter (92:8) of the two sentences into which the Preface falls apart is not only structurally independent of the first, it evinces a gratulation so strangely out of keeping with the other portions of the Mass as to raise the suspicion that it is an ex post facto insertion. Again: the 'gloriosum denique... uictoria' (q1:32) at the end of iii is not only a distinct sentence structurally independent of the contextual 'Vere dign qui sco ... contulisti', it restricts itself to one disciple, whether Agapitus or Felicissimus we cannot say, of St Sixtus; and thus either contravenes the preceding context, 'Vere dign qui . . . Xysto . . . ut etiam subjectis sibi ministris ecclesiae proficeret,' or proves itself to be ethically out of focus with it. In either case it is hard to believe that the two halves of the constituent can have been written at one and the same time. And yet again: this seemingly ex post facto 'gloriosum denique . . . uictoria' is the only passage in the first four Masses which makes any such categorical reference to any one besides St Sixtus as to oblige us to infer that the proper subject of the celebration was not that martyr to the exclusion of all others. Hence the question whether the original title may not have been merely 'NATALE SCI XYSTI'.

Another peculiarity must here be noted. The fifth item of the series, as we learn (92:26) from the 'natalicia praelibantes' of the Preface, is

¹ My argument is not vitiated by the 'Magnificasti due scos tuos' (91:7) in ii. The same prayer recurs (95:11) in XXI iii, where there is no question whatever of any saint but St Laurence.

a Mass for the Vigil. Are we to see in this a proof that the document as a whole is what the Ballerini would call a 'magna congeries ualde perturbata', or shall we hope to find in it proof of a new departure in the elaboration of the present Section? A new departure it may have been if time was when the nucleus of the extant Section comprised no more than the first four Masses, *minus* the additions which by my hypothesis were introduced by some later pen. The surmise is justified by the linear values which that hypothesis postulates as the consequence of a capitulum requiring 3 lines, of a Preface to iii in 146 letters $(5 \theta \text{ lines})$ and of a Preface to iiii in 82 letters $(3 \theta \text{ lines})$. Thus:—

	θ_1	θ_2	a	β
XX. VIII IDUS AUGUSTI, ETC., ETC.	3	4	6	5
6(5), 5, (8) 7	19	19	18	17
ii: 1, 8(7), 4(3), 9(8)	22	22	22	19
iii: 1, 3, 5, (8) 7, (5) 4, 4 (3), (5 re-				
placed by 8) 8	31 = 75	34	32	30
iiii: 1, 4(3), 5, (3 replaced by 7) 6, 6(5), 6	25 = 100	29	28	26
$ \begin{cases} v: 1, (4) 3, 4(3), (8) 7, 4, (4) 3 \\ vi: 1, 4(3), (5) 4, (4) 5 + 4(4), 3 \end{cases} . $		25	22	2 I
$\begin{cases} vi: 1, 4(3), (5)4, (4)5+4(4), 3 \end{cases}$.		17 = 150	21 = 149	15
vii: 1, 5, 3, 7				16
In natale scorum felicissimi et agaf	ITI			I
5, 4, 4, 5, 4(3), 4				$\frac{25=175}{}$

Here, therefore, as with Sections X and XVI, we seem to detect an anticipatory issue on pages of θ lineation. Other instances await us

SECTION XXI.

I first set down the values in terms of letters for the present series.—

XXI. 1111. 1D. AUG., ETC., ETC. i: 121, 146, 121, 100. ii: 163, 124, 189, 105, 106. iii: 102, 219, 107. iiii: 123, 300, 124. v: 117, 128. vi: 106, 211. vii: 113, 119, 71, 81, 103. viii: 115, 113, 113. viii: 105, 147, 189, 137. x: 170, 98, 284. xi: 124, 134, 345, 110, 113. xii: 117, 125, 136, 92. xiii: AD OCTABAS, 115, 82, 104, 89.

The text of xii and xiii invites correction.

r. In the Preface of the former (98:26) I bracket off what seems to be redundant, and insert in italics what I suspect to be missing: 'de beati... sollemnitate Laurenti... Roma laetatur, cuius nascendo ciuis cuius sacer minister [et] dicatum nomini tuo munus est prosecutus proprium, qui... emeruit pro praemio [quam] quo' caelestis exsisteret quam consecutus est passionem. per.' Scholars will note that the proposed

¹ If I rightly understand Dr Feltoe, 'quam' may in the Verona text have been altered by erasure into 'qua'.

additions are suggested by the present state of the text as preserved in Verona. 2. In the Preface of xiii (99:13), instead of cancelling 'confessione', we should perhaps make it change places with 'hodierna festiuitate', thus:—'Offerimus hostias... in scī Laurenti martyris tui confessione hodierna festiuitate gaudentes,' &c.¹

I cannot but think that v-x must have been written by or for one or more popes who were in some special sense under the patronage of St Laurence. The 'nostrae seruitutis oblatio' (96:2) of v, the 'annua uota repetentes' (96:14) of vi, the 'nostra ministerii seruitus' (97:3) of viii, the 'debitum nostrae seruitutis' (97:15) of viiii, and in x the phrases 'fidelis ille patronus' (98:2), 'qua . . . nos amemus eius [scil. sci Laurenti] meritum passionis' (98:1), and 'scm Laurentium... diligimus' (98:3) would seem to lend countenance to the idea. In this connexion it is opportune to remark, first, that, as we shall see in the sequel, the anniversary of St Laurence, the tenth of August, 440, is a highly probable date for the entombment of Sixtus III and for the election of Leo, his successor, and that the only extant sermon [lxxxv] of Leo's in honour of St Laurence contains the phrase 'cuius [scil. Laurentii] oratione et patrocinio adiuuari nos sine cessatione confidimus'; secondly, that Hilarus, the next Bishop of Rome, would seem to have had a special devotion to St Laurence, under whose patronage he erected a monasterium on the Esquiline, as recorded in a sculptured inscription discovered in comparatively modern times, and to whose basilica on the Via Tiburtina he made very considerable additions, besides choosing it as his own last resting-place.

These considerations raise the further question whether the first two Masses, or possibly the first four, of the present Section may not have been composed in the pontificate of Sixtus III. Certainly, they contain no such seemingly personal references as do v, vi, vii, viii, viiii, and x; but, as certainly, Sixtus was not unmindful of St Laurence, for it was he who erected the *confessio* over the saint's tomb in the basilica just mentioned, and who, at the instance of Valentinian III, built the intramural church of St Laurence in Lucina.

After Sixtus III, Leo, and Hilarus came Pope Simplicius. He, too, paid honour to St Laurence, but in a different fashion from his predecessors. He made the basilica on the Via Tiburtina the centre of a regio, together with those of St Peter on the Vatican Hill and St Paul on the Via Ostiensis. 'Hic constituit,' says the Liber Pontificalis, 'ad sanctum Petrum apostolum et ad sanctum Paulum apostolum et ad sanctum Laurentium martyrem hebdomadam, ut presbyteri manerent



¹ In the last prayer of xii I read (99: 6) 'suffragio... optato' with the older editors, as against Dr Feltoe's 'suffragia... optato'.

² Migne S.L. lv 437 B.

ibi propter poenitentes et baptismum.' It may therefore be that xii, xiii, xiiii—the first of these is for the Vigil—are due to Simplicius, like the last item of XVII and the two *missae* at the end of XX; and this is the more probable as the three Sections are technically analogous. The whole of the present series responds to the β criterion, as does the whole of XVII and of XX; but it refuses to yield a total of integral a pages unless curtailed of the concluding triad, just as they refuse to yield such total unless curtailed of material which finds its most probable attribution in the episcopate of Simplicius. The subjoined list in terms of β and of a lines, but not of θ , illustrates the fact:—

								a	β
XXI. IIII. ĪD. AŪG. N. SCĪ L	AUR	ENTI						3	3
i: 1, 4, 5, 4, 4(3) .								18	17
ii: 1, 6(5), 4, 7(6), 4,	4							26	24
iii: 1, 4(3), 7, 4								16	15
iii: 1, 4, 10, 4								19	19
v: 1, 4, 8(7)								13	I 2
vi: 1, 4, 7								12	I 2
vii: 1, 4, 4, 3(2), 3, 4.								19	18
viii: 1, 4, 4, 4								13	13
viiii: 1 (0), 4, 5, 4, 4								18	$17 = 150^{2}$
x: 1, 5, 5, 6, 5								22	22
xi: 1, 6, 4(3), 10(9) .		•	•	•	•	•	•	21 = 200 =====	19
(xii: 1, 4, 5, 12, 4, 4 .		•	•	•		•			27
{ xiii: 1, 4, 5, 4, 3		•		•	•				17
(xiiii: 1, 4, 3, 4, 3		•	•	•	•	•	•		<u>15 = 250</u>

On examining the text of i-xi I note that the last prayer of vii (96:30) is not a true Super Populum, and I infer that it may be a piece of editorial 'padding', like the superfluous prayers in XVI xxv and in XVIII viiii, xii. A like inference is invited by the 'prunis namque . . . in caelis' (98:15) in the Preface of xi, which not only carries on the constituent to a much greater length than most of its predecessors but reads like the work of one who laboriously adds phrase to phrase so as gradually but safely to reach a predetermined limit, thus resembling the instances in XVI xvii and xxi. It will be seen presently that by eliminating these two batches of text we reduce i-xi, with the capitulum, to a total of 200 θ lines.

But even so we do not seem to have reached the core of the problem: for two reasons. First, because if, as will be conceded by those who

¹ See J.T.S. vol. ix, p. 543: see also above, p. 59.

² By omitting 'ITEM ALIA' (97: 11) the editor of the last redaction enabled viiii to end at the foot of a page. The reason for this will appear presently.

have made a study of the legend of St Laurence, a new departure in that legend is to be noted in the presumably ex post facto 'prunis namque...in caelis' (98:15) just mentioned, a like, though somewhat slighter, suspicion may fairly be entertained of the passage (95:28) 'qui pro confessione... permansit' in the Preface of iiii. Secondly, because, if it be fair to regard the last prayer in vii as ex post facto because it is not a true Postcommunion, the like assumption is fair of the last constituent of iiii (95: 32), for it reads like an Oratio.¹

For these reasons I think it possible (i) that at a period in the developement of the document prior to that indicated by my total of 200 θ lines, twenty-two of which were devoted to Mass iiii, Mass iiii may have required as few as ten for its accommodation, one being devoted to the rubric, five to the Oratio, and, finally, four to the Preface as ex hypothesi it stood in the first instance; and (ii) that the number of items extant at that period was such that their aggregate value was represented by some integral multiple of 25 θ lines less than eight. That this is no idle fancy will be seen from the table which I now subjoin, and in which by means of brackets I also call attention to the fact that if i is a Mass for the Vigil so also is x, so also xii. (See 97:30, 98:21).

			θ_1	θ_{2}	a	β
XXI. IIII. ID. AUG. N. SCI LAUR	ENTI		3	3	3	3
(i: 1, (5) 4, (6) 5, (5) 4, 4 (3))		20	20	18	17
ii: 1, 6(5), (5) 4, 7(6), 4, 4	Į.		27 = 50	27 = 50	26	24
iii: 1, 4(3), (8) 7, 4.		•	17	17	16	15
iiii: 1, (5) 4, 4 (replaced by	11) 10	0,				
o (replaced by 5) 4	•	•	10	22	19	19
v: 1, 4, 8(7)	•		13	13	13	12
vi: 1, 4, (8) 7			13	13	12	I 2
vii: 1, 4, 4, 3(2), 3, (0) 4			15	15	19	18
viii: 1, 4, 4, 4			13	13	13	13
viiii: 1(0), 4, (6)5, 4, 4.	•	•	19 == 150	19	18	17=150
$\begin{cases} x: 1, 5, 5, (7)6, 5 \\ xi: 1, 6, 4(3), (4)10(9) \end{cases}$	•			23	22	22
(xi: 1, 6, 4(3), (4) 10(9)				15 = 200	2 I = 200	19
(xii: 1, 4, 5(4), 12(11), 4(3)						27
xiii: 1, 4, 5, 4, 3						17
(xiiii: 1, 4, 3, 4, 3		•				<u>15 = 250</u>

There are, as is well known, two accounts of the passion of St Laurence.

¹ It figures as an Oratio (Mur. *Greg.* 111) in the falsely styled 'Hadrianic Sacramentary', Alcuin's wreck of a post-Gregorian development of St Gregory's earlier scheme of the Missal.

64 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

The earlier, or classical, account is thus epitomized by Pope Damasus:—

'Verbera, carnifices, flammas, tormenta, catenas Vincere Laurenti sola fides potuit.'

The later account, as made famous by Prudentius, mentions but one form of punishment, and by implication excludes all others. According to this, life was extinguished by studiously regulated torture over a slow fire.

Of these two accounts the earlier would seem to be implied by i-viiii, not indeed as they now are, but as I conceive them to have been when originally set forth at the first general redaction, Mass iiii at that time comprising, like v and vi, only a Secreta and a Preface, this latter constituent being short, like those of i, vii, viii, and viiii, and counting 99 letters (4 θ lines)—'Vere dig\(\bar{n}\). quoniam ... ueneramur. per' (95:26,27); and also by x, xi, as originally set forth in a re-edition of the first general redaction, the Preface of xi, 'Vere dig\(\bar{n}\). in die ... suscepisti. per' (98:13-15) in 111 letters (4 θ lines) not as yet being prolonged to 284 (10 α lines) by the all too graphic 'prunis namque superposita' &c.

Now, i-iiii, iiii being as yet in the original form which I postulate for it, may with some show of probability be attributed to Sixtus III (A.D. 432-440); but if they are not his they are in all moral certainty Leo's (A.D. 440-461), as also are the original constituents of v-viiii; and to Leo, but at a comparatively late period in his life, I further attribute x, xi, in the original text which I postulate for them.

My theory, then, respecting x and xi—x being for Vigil and xi for Feast—is that they are a pair of Masses added to the original edition of i-viiii at a time when the θ lineation was still in use; and that they are referable to the monasterium which Hilarus, while as yet Leo's archdeacon, erected on the Esquiline Hill, as recorded by the extant inscription '+Auxiliante dōo dō x̄ x̄o orante beato laurentio Martyre Hilarus archidiac fecit'. But, since they have the value of only eight-and-thirty lines, I think that care was on that occasion taken to write out i-viiii afresh, and in the course of transcription to give iiii a nett enhancement of twelve lines by adding 'qui pro confessione . . . permansit' to the Preface 1 and by introducing the new prayer 'Excita dōe' &c., a prayer which, though not a Postcommunion, happened to satisfy the stichometrical exigency of the moment. In making or, in any case, sanctioning this development of the fourth Preface the reviser superadded to the old classical tradition the newer

1 With the 'solida uictor mente permansit' (95: 31) of this passage compare (Migne liv 435 B) the 'solidissimam fortitudinem' of St Leo's Sermon (lxxxv) on St Laurence. On the other hand; whereas the 'mutata tormenta' of the Presace, as interpreted by its context, recalls the classical account, the 'mutatio' on which

account which Prudentius had some years before embodied in his famous Hymn.

And I further think that when Hilarus, by this time Bishop of Rome, was engaged on the second general redaction and proposed so to amplify the 200 θ lines of existing material as to fill 200 α lines, he in his turn seized the opportunity for setting on record a witness to the hold, perhaps the exclusive hold, which the later account had taken of his own imagination by adding to the Preface of xi (98:15) a passage which differs conspicuously from Leo's addition to the fourth Preface, inasmuch as it makes no reference whatever to any mode of punishment but the fiery torture of the gridiron.

If in our examination of the Petrine Masses it was interesting to note how categorically in the Prefaces of XVI x, xiiii the theory of the dogmatic magisterium of the Roman See was formulated during the interval that separated the second general redaction from the earlier issue of the first; it is not less interesting, though for a very different reason, to watch, during presumably the same period of time, the transition, through θ_2 and St Leo's Sermon, from the old Laurentian legend as embodied in the θ_1 text to the new as recorded in α .

SECTION XXII.

The values of the two items in Section XXII of the Verona MS are:-

XXII. Idus Aüg. &c., &c. (no numeral) 105, 100, 170, 115, 114. ii: 100, 113, 189, 89, 115.

We shall perhaps do well if, with the Canterbury Missal, we insert 'tuorum' before 'festiuitate' in the second prayer (100:5).

Leo dwells in the Sermon (ut supra, 437 C) suggests by its 'conversorum alterna mutatio membrorum' the horrid incident depicted by Prudentius:—

- 'Postquam uapor diutius Decoxit exustum latus, Ultro e catasta iudicem Compellat affatu brevi.
- "Converte partem corporis, Satis crematur iugiter, Et fac periclum quid tuus Vulcanus ardens egerit."
- 'Praesectus inuerti iubet. Tunc ille, "Coctum est, deuora, Et experimentum cape Sit crudum an assum suauius".'

VOL. X.

F



A few cautions are here necessary:-

- 1. Thanks to the shortness of these two *missae* and to the fact that their θ values are equal to their values by the α lineation, we cannot on merely stichometrical grounds assume that either of them is as old as the first general redaction.
- 2. The latter of them mentions neither Hippolytus nor Pontianus; but Agapitus, a martyr whose feast, if the sequence of the Sections may guide us, cannot have fallen earlier than the thirteenth or later than the thirtieth of August. I believe it to have been, in the intention of its first editor, the sole occupant of a distinct Section which, for whatever reason, has not received its proper capitulum in the Verona MS. The surmise is justified by the totals of linear values:—

	$? \theta$	α	β
XXII. Idus aug. n. scorum ypoliti et pontiani	3	3	3
4, 4, 6, 4, 4	$\frac{22=25}{}$	22=25	22=25
	? θ	?α	?β
[XXII.* FOR ST AGAPITUS]	3	3	3
4(3), 4, 7(6), 3, 4	22 = 25 =====	2 2 = 25 ====	20=23

- 3. The capitulum of the first Mass equates the Feast of SS. Hippolytus and Pontian with the thirteenth of August; but we must not therefore infer that the Hippolytus of the text either was or was assumed to be identical with the Hippolytus of the capitulum. St Pontian is not mentioned in the text; and this is the more remarkable as the Depositio Martyrum buries that saint in the cemetery of Callistus and Hippolytus on the Via Tiburtina. It may therefore be that, as in Section XVIII the Stephen of the missae is not the Stephen of the capitulum, so here the Hippolytus of the Mass was not assumed by its composer to be identical with the alleged disciple, friend, and fellow martyr of Pope Pontian. In this connexion we shall perhaps do well to note that no burial-places are mentioned in the capitulum.
- 4. Let us also bear in mind that, whereas the Depositio Martyrum associates Hippolytus and Pontian, whoever its Hippolytus may have been, under date of the thirteenth of August, the Hippolytus of Polemius Silvius stands alone under date of the twelfth.

As to the next *missa*, which concerns an Agapitus but has no capitulum, let me submit two considerations to the judgement of scholars:—

1. The Liber Pontificalis tells us that Felix III (A.D. 483-492), who succeeded Simplicius, built or rebuilt, either in or before his pontificate, the Church of St Agapitus on the Via Tiburtina; and the compiler of the Salzburg Notitia, who made his list of extramural churches early in the seventh century, identifies this Agapitus with the Agapitus of the

sixth of August, who, as he tells us elsewhere in the same document, was buried with SS. Sixtus and Felicissimus on the Appian Way, several miles from the Tiburtine. Inasmuch, therefore, as there is no known Roman Agapitus the anniversary of whose martyrdom fell between the thirteenth and the thirtieth of August, we may fairly infer that the present Mass was meant for use on the anniversary of the dedication of the church just mentioned; 1 and that, being thus later than Simplicius, it accrued to the document subsequently to the β revision.

2. It is by no means certain that in the editorial archetypes of the extant Leonianum dates were inserted into any of the successive In the Verona book there are none in the capitula of XIIII, XV, XXXV, XXXVI, XLI, or XLII; and, what is perhaps yet more significant, in those of XVII and XXV the numeral of the Section, instead of preceding date and attribution, follows them. The simplest explanation of all this vacillation is that, as indeed is antecedently probable, there were no dates in the original documents, and that such as are now extant in the Verona book are due to some scribe who in the course of the fifth, sixth, or seventh century made a copy of the work for the use of non-Roman readers. Such a clerk would turn to calendars and martyrologies for any date he might need; his quest in this instance being bounded as to time by the thirteenth of August, the Feast of St Hippolytus, and the thirtieth, the Feast of St Felix and Adauctus; and, as to place, being limited to Rome. Finding, then, no Roman Agapitus between the days just mentioned, but on the eighteenth Agapitus of Praeneste, a city three-and-thirty miles from Rome, he would leave the Section without capitulum awaiting satisfactory information which might never reach him.

I cannot think of a simpler or more plausible account of the two peculiarities of the Mass in question.

SECTION XXIII.

Here the first computation is as follows:—

XXIII. 111 KĀL. SĒPT. &c. &c. (no numeral) 82, 101, 130, 100. ii: 121, 120, 152, 72, 162. iii: 102, 121, 200, 112. iiii: 84, 123, 156, 135. v: 109, 206. vi: 103, 106, 114, 143. vii: 424.

In the second of these constituents (101:4) we should perhaps read 'Scorum' for 'Sci'; and in the last (103:20) 'efficientur... auctores' for 'exitum... auctores'. In the last prayer of iii (102:11) I should be disposed to read 'communimur' instead of 'commonemur', and in the Preface of iiii (103:7) 'multas' for 'mutuas'.

¹ The day chosen for this anniversary may have been the eighteenth of the month, the Feast of St Agapitus of Praeneste. The fourteenth of February, the Feast of St Valentinus of Interamna, was the patronal anniversary of the church of the Roman Valentinus, a building near to the Flaminian Gate.

The Prefaces of iii and v exhibit peculiarities for which there has not as yet been any precedent.

1. The former of these (102:6) juxtaposes and marks with a 'uel...
uel' two readings which no sane theologian would set in one and the same sentence in such a way as to suggest that he conceived them to be in one and the same category of ideas. I italicize the disjunctives, and with them the presumably earlier reading; the other reading—presumably the later of the two, by reason of the sentiment expressed and of the antithesis of 'clementia' to 'potentiam'—I set within square brackets:—'Vere dign. orantes potentiam tuam . . . ut dignanter ostendas quia non plus ad perdendum nos ualeant nostra delicta quam ad saluandum. uel. patrocinia copiosa iustorum. uel. [tuae maiestatis inuicta clementia.] per.' This assignment gives us first 164 letters, then 169, instead of 200.

In the Preface of v I propose (102:29) to read 'festiuitate' for 'festiuitatem'; and, treating 'confessione' and 'nomine' (102:30) as alternatives, discriminate thus:—'Vere digā. sacrificium quippe suum hodie frequentat ecclesia et festiuitate dudum muneris immolati [annua festiuitate] concelebrat quo pro eius confessione. uel. [nomine] qui eam ... redemit ... obsequium proprii cruoris exhibuit. per.' The presumably earlier text comprises 180 letters; the presumably later, 175.

Now, 'sacrificium' in the sense of 'sacred rite' is new to the nomenclature of the Leonianum; so is 'munus immolatum' for 'munus oblatum'; so, again, 'confessio' in the sense required by the context. Nor is this all; it is new to the theology of the Leonianum to attribute to the protection of the saints the sort of function which, at least constructively, is attributed to it in the presumably superseded phrase in the Preface of iii; to style the blood of a martyr the 'proprius cruor' of the Church, and, as in the presumably superseded phrase in v, to denote the Death on the Cross by a word the English equivalent of which is merely 'martyrdom'. For these reasons I should think it extremely improbable that the compiler of either the first or second redaction of the major part of the document can have set forth the presumably earlier text of the present series. And the surmise is justified by the table of linear values which I now subjoin. it will be seen that the total—by which I, of course, mean the irreducible total—of the Section in terms of θ lines is 135; and, although with an

'Armata pugnauit fides
Proprii cruoris prodiga,
Nam morte mortem diruit
Ac semet impendit sibi.'

¹ The theology and diction of this remarkable Preface remind us of the following passage (vv. 17-20) of Prudentius's Hymn on St Laurence:—

undeveloped conclusion to vii it might have filled precisely five α pages, we are not therefore to conclude that it first saw the light in the pontificate of Hilarus. Material not as yet in our possession must be forthcoming before a probable theory can be proposed as to the date of its original composition.

					? a	β
XXIII. iii. KAL SEPT. N. SCOI	RUM A	ADAUTI	ET	FELICIS	3	3
3, 4 (3), 5 (4), 4 (3) .		•		•	 1.6	1.3
ii: 1, (5) 4, (5) 4, (6) 5, 3, 6	3(5)			•	 23	23
iii: 1, (5) 4, (5) 4, 6, 4 .					 19	19
iii: 1, 3, (5) 4, (6) 5, 5 .				•	 18	18
v: 1, 4, (7)6				•	 I I	II
vi: 1, 4, (7)6, 4, 5		•		•	 20	20
vii: 1, (15) 14 $(14+3)$.	•	•	•	•	 15 - 125	18 = 124

The argument for a late introduction of the present Section into the series is enforced by the 'Scī Felicis et Adauti natalicia' of the Secreta (101:4) of the first Mass; for it is hard to believe that such a solecism could have escaped the notice of any revising editor. On the other hand, the Mass would seem to be older than the story embodied in the legend of the two saints, a legend which makes 'Adactus' or 'Adauctus' the necessary form of the name of the second, but excludes 'Adautus'.

The story is that Adactus or Adauctus is either a pseudonymous or a conjectural appellation of the martyr indicated by it; that, Felix and he recognizing each other as friends and fellow Christians as the former was on his way to execution, the two men were therefore put to death together and buried side by side; but that the real name of the latter was not forthcoming, and that in default of it he was thenceforth styled Adactus or Adauctus.

Now, there may be, and presumably is, a groundwork in fact for all this; a view the more readily acceptable since in the Berne codex of the Hieronymianum Felix stands first in the list for the thirtieth of August and Adactus last, the two being separated by four others.

The substructure of fact would seem to be that many years after the institution of the liturgical cultus of St Felix in the cemetery of Commodilla a forgotten tomb or loculus near to that of Felix was revealed to sight, a tomb or loculus which bore the symbolical palm-branch and the name Adautus; that in course of time this was in common speech pronounced first 'Adauctus' and then 'Adactus'; and that when the legend for the thirtieth of August was eventually written the legend-writer, to whose ear neither word sounded like a noun proper, found in it material on which to let his fancy play, but instead of making the person indicated an adactus to St Felix many

years after death—as by my hypothesis he really was—made him his adactus before martyrdom.

Some such theory as this enables us to account for the strange solecism 'Scī Felicis et Adauti' (101:4) of the Verona book. It is suggested to me not, as might be supposed, by the solecism itself, but by a curiously similar phenomenon in a somewhat later document than the Verona transcript of the Leonianum; I mean the eighth-century Gregorianum of the Roman Church, portions of which have been handed down to us through two distinct channels. In that sacramentary, as represented to us not only in Alcuin's misguided endeavour to reconstruct St Gregory's Missal but in adventitious additions made to the editio classica which St Gregory's missionaries had long before brought to Canterbury, we find the strictly analogous peculiarity of 'Beati Proti et Iacincti' instead of 'Beatorum Proti et Iacincti'; a peculiarity the morally certain explanation of which is supplied by inscriptions that have survived the ravages of time. These give us to understand that 'Beati Proti' is the original reading and that the words 'et Iacincti' were added after the discovery in the middle of the seventh century of the loculus of St Hyacinth, this having long been hidden from view in consequence of an architectural necessity, and thus, one would suppose, lost to memory. Something of the same kind may have happened here. The Liber Pontificalis tells us that Pope John I (A.D. 523-526) 'renouauit coemeterium Felicis et Adaucti'; and I suspect that, just as the reconstruction of the cemetery of St Basilla in the seventh century revealed the resting-place of St Hyacinth, so in the pontificate of John I the reconstruction of the cemetery of Domitilla brought to light the resting-place of the martyr Adautus; that 'et Adauti' is post-editorial, and that the Verona 'Sci Felicis' survives from an original 'Sci Felicis natalicia' &c.

SECTIONS XXIIII, XXV, XXVI.

There is an irregularity in the disposition of these three Sections which has evoked the censure of the critics; but the second of the facsimiles which Dr Feltoe has added to his edition renders it morally certain that he and his predecessors are mistaken in laying it to the charge of any compiler or editor. The fault is, I think, merely scribal. A Secreta and a Preface which should have formed a distinct item under XXV have been inadvertently placed (104:1, 6) after the first prayer of Section XXIIII. Hence it is that in my two lists I, under XXIIII, substitute asterisks for values, and notify these under XXV as the constituents of an item which I number 'iiii'.

XXIIII. XVIII KĀL. OCTOB. N. SCORUM CORNELI &c. (no numeral) 114, *, *, 128, 142, 143. ITEM ALIA, 129, 111, 225, 96, 157.

XXV. xvi kāl. oct. in natale sce eufymiae (no numeral) 99, 106, 227. ii: 116, 227. iii: 109, 110, 98, 124. iii: 148, 515.

XXVI. PRĪD. KĀL. OCT. N. BASILICAE ANGELI &C. (no numeral) 298, 149, 400. ii: 110, 377. iii: 121, 269, 113, 154. iiii: 148, 515.

In the first prayer of XXVI I propose to read 'praecipuam' for 'praecipua' (106:18) in the phrase 'magis esse praecipua quae... superat'.

A few peculiarities of text require notice:-

- 1, 2, 3. Early in the first Preface of XXIIII, as now placed in the Verona book—that is to say, in the item which I class as XXV iiii— 'mirabilia. tibi hominem' &c. (104:7) should, I think, be replaced by 'mirabilia tua, qui hominem' &c.; and, as suggested by Bianchini, instead of 'hunc . . . aduersarium ut eum' (104:9) I read 'ut hunc ... aduersarium', cancelling 'eum'. It would, I think, be unsafe to touch 'uenerantes' (104:16), the last word of the Preface as extant at Verona; the more prudent course being to replace 'per' by 'etc.'. Dr Feltoe's facsimile, which gives neither, offers a ready justification of the reading I propose. That a θ redaction may have had 'ueneramur' there need be no doubt; but the analogy of other like Prefaces—in XVI ii (37:14) and XX vi (93:8)—counsels us to respect 'uenerantes' as the presumable reading of an a redaction, a reading which would be followed by the developed conclusion 'hostias tibi . . . sine fine dicentes'. The constituent would thus have 608 letters (20 a lines) in the second edition as against 511 (19 θ lines, 16 of β) in the first and third.
- 4. The 'atque lactificet' (104:29) in the Oratio of the *Item alia* of XXIIII would seem to be redundant to the original text. It is not in the so-called Gelasianum [Mur. Gel. 668]. I suspect that it was introduced at the second general reduction; the object being to raise 114 letters (4 θ lines) to 129 (5 of α), and thus give the Section its full complement of 50 α lines.
- 5. The extant text of the Preface in the same item (105:4) is 'Vere dign. tuamque in $s\overline{co}$ rum martyrum Cornelio simul et iam Cypriano'&c. I propose to introduce 'festiuitate' and, by setting the two names in the genitive case, to place them in apposition with 'martyrum'. This would raise the total from 225 letters to 236 (from 8 to 9 θ lines).
- 6. In the first prayer of XXV (105:17) 'nos' would seem to be needed between 'tuorum' and 'natalicia'; and perhaps we should read 'suffragiis' for 'suffragia'. These, the 'Gelasian' readings [Mur. Gel. 677], raise 99 letters to 103 (3 full β lines). But, regard had to the jubilant character of ii, with its 'hostias laetantis ecclesiae' (105:28), and of iii, with its 'hodiernae festiuitatis laetitiam' (106:8), and to the

fact that the 'Eufymiae ueneranda confessio' [see 106:9] was the scene of the Council of Chalcedon in which Leo won his great dogmatic victory, I should almost be inclined to think that 'ecclesiam tuam' is more likely to be right than 'nos', and 114 letters (4 β lines) than 103.

7. In the Preface of XXVI ii 'humano generi' (107:6) is perhaps a datiuus incommodi, and 'corpore' an itacized 'corpori' for 'corporis'; but 'conspectu subtrahitur' and 'negatur adspectu' cannot stand together, so that the total must be reckoned as 357 or 362, not 377 (13 θ lines, not 14; 12 α lines, not 13).

8. The last Preface lacks 'ueneratione' after 'Michael' (108: 20). Subject to a modification which I explain presently, we have—

	$oldsymbol{ heta}$	a	β
XXIIII. XVIII KAL. OCTOB. N. SCORUM CORNELI ETC.	3	3	3
4, *, *, 5(4), 5, 5	19	19	18
1, (4) 5 (4), 4, (9) 8, 4 (3), 6 (5)	28 = 50	<u>28 = 50</u>	25
	$\boldsymbol{\theta}$	α	
XXV. XVI RAL. OCT. IN NATALE SCAE EUFYMIAE.	3	3	2
4, 4, 8(7)	16	16	15
ii: 1, 4, 8(7)	13	13	12 = 75
iii: 1, 4, 4, 4(3), (5) 4	18 = 50	17 = 49	16
iiii: 1, 5, (19) 17+3 (16)	$\underbrace{25 = 75}_{}$	$\frac{26 - 75}{}$	22
	$\boldsymbol{\theta}$	а	
XXVI. PRID. KAL. OCT. N. BASILICAE ANGELI ETC.	3	3	2
(11) 10, (6) 5, (14) 13 + 4 (13)	31	32	28
ii: 1, 4, (13) 12	18	17	17
iii: 1, (5) 4, (7) 9, 4, (5) 5	23 = 75	$\frac{23 = 75}{}$	23
iii: 1, (6) 5, (6) 5, (8) 7			18
v: 1, (6) 5, (9) 8, 4, 5			<u>23 = 224</u>

To the textual peculiarities already noted one more must now be added:—

8. In XXVI iii (107:17) the construction of the passage 'Vere dign. multoque magis in archangelis...tua praeconia non tacere, quia ad excellentiam tuam recurrit...cum angelica creatura...honoratur' is as irreprehensible as the sentiment enunciated; but the next clause, 'et cum illa sit digna uenerari tu quam sis immensus et super omnia praeferendus ostenderis', is on two accounts open to objection: first, because, so far from elucidating or strengthening what goes before, it

¹ St Leo in his Sermons has 'corporali intuitu inquirere' (xxxiv), 'corporeo discernere conspectu'(xlvi), and 'corporeo uidere intuitu' (lxxiv)[Migne S.L. liv 247 A, 293 B, 397 C]; but in the present passage 'corporis' gives a clearer construction than 'corporeo'.

obscures and weakens it; secondly, because in one and the same construction it subjoins a verb in the subjunctive mood, and governed by 'cum'='quamuis', to the verb in the indicative governed by 'cum'='quando'. I therefore regard it as a somewhat hastily composed piece of 'padding'; and infer that it was added to 'Vere dign. multoque magis... honoratur' in order that, in concert with the 'et ideo' &c. affixed to XXVI i, it might carry on XXVI iii to the last line of a third a page by raising 195 letters (7 θ lines) to 269 (9 of a).

SECTION XXVII.

The first list is as follows:-

XXVII. Admonitio ieiunii &c., &c., 349. i: 189, 133, 72, 538, 104, 129. ii: 145, 107, 136, 158, 145. iii: 140, 87, 157, 241, 269. iiii: 126, 120, 96, 216, 71, 107. v: 133, 127, 188, 93, 125. vi: 104, In ieiunio, 107, 289, 79, 179. vii: 88, In ieiunio, 87, 118, 548, 149, 108. viii: In ieiunio, 136, 152. 201, 495, 114, 171. Inuitatio plebis . . . mensis decimi, 294. viii: 171, 100, 161, 390, 81, 150. x: 282, 235, 142, 202. xi: 170, 145, 110, 127, 99, 172, 165, 486, 114, 216. xii: 104, 105, 104, 407, 109, 115. xiii: 100, 62, 94, 272, 84, 137. xiiii: 106, 136, 125, 132.

For 'satiasti' in the Postcommunion of vi (112:26) I propose, with the earlier editors, 'satiati'. This is the reading of the Gelasianum (Mur. Gel. 507 and 670); which, however, in one place gives 'munere' for 'tuo', and in another has both words.

The series exhibits rubrical anomalies which may perhaps supply us with a presumable theory of its evolution:—

- 1. The ninth item, which is duly numbered, is preceded (115:1) by the remarkable heading 'ITEM PRECES'. This latter would seem to have been meant to govern the Masses which follow it, and thus to denote a division of the Section at one or other of the redactions into two parts, i-viii and viiii-xiiii. Hence we seem to be in touch, as in Sections XI, XVI, and XVIII, with two schemes of rubrication, and thus with two schemes of grouping, and to be following the work of a transcriber who intermingled them with some little carelessness.
- 2. The numeral and rubric just mentioned are now preceded by an Inuitatio Plebis for the month of December. Whatever be the cause of this anachronism, we may fairly suspect the Inuitatio to be in some sort analogous to the Christmas references in Section XVIIII, and therefore to be of later date than the original edition. Hence then the question whether the seemingly cognate Admonitio which now stands before the first Mass may not also be later than the first compilation.



¹ It occurs nowhere else in the Leonianum, but must not therefore be dismissed as a mere slip of the pen.

3. The theory of a comparatively recent date for the first as well as the second of these addresses is justified by the fact that its heading, 'Admonitio Ieiunii Mensis Septimi et Orationes et Preces', is not a heading simplex duntaxat et unum such as we expect to find in a true capitulum, and may fairly be thought to have ousted the original title, which, if analogy may guide us, must have been 'In ieiunio mensis Septimi'.

Turning from rubrics to text, I find as follows:-

- 1. The last constituent of the third item (111:3) resolves itself into three parts: (1) 'O. s. d. . . . exoramus ut (2) hoc tuum dhe sacramentum . . . sit contra mundi pericula firmamentum (3) haec nos communio purget' &c.; where 1 and 3 would seem to have been a single prayer in 112 letters, but to have been split asunder by 2, a distinct composition complete in itself and containing 158 letters. The account of this which analogous instances suggest is that the shorter but now spissate prayer was the original Postcommunion in 4 θ lines, and that the amplification was inserted at the last redaction.
- 2. In the last constituent of vii (113:24) the puzzling 'purificates teterudiat' looks like the wreck of an editorially proposed 'purificatus uel eruditus', one or other of which words would supply a serious but otherwise neglected hiatus in the construction, thus:—'Tueatur dne dextera tua populum deprecantem ut consolatione praesenti purificatus [uel eruditus] ad bona futura proficiat. per,' in 94 or 91 letters. This numerical value and the present condition of the text lead me to suspect an effort so to abbreviate the prayer as to coerce vii into the last of 225 a lines. The suspicion is justified by the fact that in the Gelasianum [Mur. Gel. 527] the prayer has the value of 121 letters (5 θ lines, 4 of a),—'Tueatur quaesumus dne... deprecantem, et purificatum dignanter erudiat ut consolatione' &c.
- 3. The last constituent of xi (117:20) ends thus: 'ut...(r) tua consolatione subsistat (2) tua gratia promissae redemptionis perficiatur haereditas. per'; where some of the editors put an 'ac' between 1 and 2, but where I suspect the latter phrase to be a substitute for the former. Not only is this view justified by parallel instances, it is recommended by the manifest reference to the Nativity implied in the '[ut] tua gratia promissae redemptionis perficiatur haereditas'. Regard had to the cognate phrases which we have examined in Section XVIIII, we may with some confidence assume that this reference to the Nativity was not introduced into the eleventh item before that partition of the present Section into two moieties by which items viiii-xiiii were formally and specifically appropriated to the month of December. This account would give us 'Absolue... subsistat. per', in 154 letters (6 θ lines, 5 of a), for certainly the first, and possibly the

second, redaction; and 'Absolue... declinans tua gratia... perficiatur. per', in 192 letters (7 α lines, 6 of β), for possibly the second, but certainly the third, redaction. The attribution which makes it the sole property of the third redaction is the more probable of the two.

I observe, moreover, that (4) the 'et ideo' clause (109:23) in the Preface of i reads like the *ex post facto* addition of what might originally have been a collect to an otherwise complete composition in 387 letters (14 θ lines).

If, then, these four considerations being admitted, we assume that the original capitula were 'In IEIUNIO MENSIS SEPTIMI' and 'ITEM PRECES' or, more probably, 'ITEM PRECES IN IEIUNIO MENSIS DECIMI,' and that there were as yet no 'Admonitiones', we find that at the first redaction i-vii occupied nine θ pages, as also did viiii-xiiii.¹

	$oldsymbol{ heta}$	a	β
XXVII. In IEIUNIO ETC. (3)0: Admonitio etc.			
(o) 3, (o) 12 (11)	3	15	14
i: 1, 7(6), 5(4), 3(2), (14) 18(17), 4(3), 5(4)	39	43	37
ii: 1, 5, 4, 5, 6 (5), 5	26	26	25
iii: 1, 5, 3, (6) 5, (9) 8, 4 (9)	28	26	31
iiii: 1, (5) 4, (5) 4, (4) 3, (8) 7, (2) , 4.	30	26	25
v: 1, 5(4), (5) 4, 7(6), (4) 3, (5) 4.	27	24	22
vi: 1, $4(3)$, $0(1)$, 4 , (11) $10(9)$, 3 , (7) 6 .	30	28	27
vii: 1, 3, 0(1), 3, 4, (20) 18(17), (6) 5, (5) 3.	$4^2 = 225$	37 = 225	37
viii: 1, 0(1), 5, (6) 5, 7, (18) 17 (16), 4, 6			45
	$\boldsymbol{\theta}$	α	
ITEM PRECES (2) 0: INUITATIO ETC. (0) 3(1),			
(0) 10 (9)	2	13	10
viiii: 1, 6, 4(3), 6(5), (14) 13(12), 3, (6) 5.	40	38	3 5
x: 1, 10(9), (9) 8, 5, (8) 7	33	31	30
xi: 1, 6, 5, 4, (5)4, 4(3), 6, 6(5), (18)16(15),			
4, (6) 5 (6)	65	61	59
xii: 1, 4, 4, 4, (15) 14 (13), 4, 4	36	35	34
xiii: 1, 4(3), 2, (4)3, (10)9, 3, 5	29	27	26
xiiii: 1, 4, 5, (5) 4, 5 (4)	20 = 225	19=224	18 = 475

Secondly. If for 'In ieiunio mensis septimi' we substitute 'Admonitio ieiunii mensis septimi et orationes et p.' (108:29) inserting

¹ The 'tempus frumenti uini et olei' in the Preface of xi (117: 12) and the 'collecti terrae fructus' (118: 1) in that of xii must not mislead us into thinking that they belie the rubric and Inuitatio prefixed to viiii. St Leo's ember sermons preached in the month of December contain the following passages: 'Sancti patres nostri... decimi mensis sanxere ieiunium ut omnium fructuum collectione conclusa... abstinentia dicaretur' (Sermo xvi) and 'decimi mensis solemne ieiunium... annua est consuetudine celebrandum, quia plenum iustitiae est... gratias... agere... pro fructibus quos... terra produxit' (Sermo xvii) [Migne S.L. liv 177 A, 180 B]. See also the opening sentence of the thirteenth Sermon [ib. 172 B].

the address 'Annua nobis' &c.; and if for 'ITEM PRECES' we substitute 'INUITATIO PLEBIS IN IEIUNIO MENSIS DECIMI' (114:24), inserting the address 'Hac hebdomada' &c., we find that at the second redaction i-vii must have occupied nine α lines; provided only that we assign to that redaction the abbreviation which postulate in vii.

Thirdly. If we assume that the compiler of the third general redaction, resorting in this Section to the simple device adopted in XVIII and elsewhere, devoted in three places (112:16, 113:4, 113:28) a line to the rubric 'In ieiunio', and made in xi the textual enhancement already notified, we find that the whole was finally lodged in nineteen β pages, each of its two groups occupying a mixed, not an integral, number of pages, as was the case with Sections VIIII and X, XIII and XIIII, XXIIII, XXV, and XXVI; and that the 'ITEM PRECES' which now separates the ninth Mass from its proper numeral is a survival from the first issue, brought back into the document by a scribe who, as we have already in several instances found reason for thinking, must have had before him copies of the first and second redactions.

SECTIONS XXVIII, XXVIIII.

These two Sections are the equivalent of thirty-nine β pages; though each, taken by itself, represents a mixed number of such pages. One represents eight, the other thirty pages of the α lineation. They thus resemble VIIII and X; XIII and XIIII; XXIIII, XXV, and XXVI, and the complex group just examined.

The first, unlike the second, is not amenable to the θ criterion. Nor need we wonder at this. Its Masses are not commemorative; it comprises nothing in honour of any saint having a claim on the devotion of St Leo or his successor; and, though the manuscript germ of the Sanctorale of the Missal of the Roman Church be as early as the period of θ lineation, there is no reason why we should assume θ pages for the manuscript germ of the Pontifical.

The values in terms of letters of XXVIII are as follows:-

XXVIII. CONSECRATIO EPISCOPORUM. 88, 74, 185, 81, 127, 706, 782. BENEDICTIO SUPER DIACONOS. 198, 184, 266, 1483. CONSECRATIO PRESBYTERI. 169, 187, 715, 572.

The 'peragatur. firmatur' at the end of the first prayer are alternative readings, one or other of which must be neglected in our computation of linear values.

The numbers for XXVIIII are :-

XXVIIII. IN NATALE EPISCOPORUM. (no numeral) 180, 192, 403, 284, 55, 168, 178. ii: 171, 237, 270, 84, 150, 103, 453, 109, 174. iii: 188, 178, 206, 163, 407, 178, 179, 117, 283, 131, 151. iiii: 113, In IEIUNIO, 146, 85, 412, 93, 144.

v: 323, 178, 192, 239, 341, 190, 168, 137, 195. vi: 210, 179, 414, 118, 120. vii: 170, 228, 445, 106, 185. viii: 189, 79, 138, 151, Pro episc. offerendum, 151, 112, 151. viiii: 117, 106, 126, 202, 91, 185. x: 124, 124, 55, 177, 74, 130. xi: 106, 61, 94, 271, 84, 137. xii: 130, 97, 112, 197, 70, 163. xiii: 79, 91, 108, 195, 83, 142. xiiii: 108, 109, 147, 254, 87, 126. xv: 114, 125, 100, 196, 109, 107. xvi: 146, 113, 127, Post infirmitatem, 172, 96, 111. xvii: 131, 145, 72, 139, 62, 149. xviii: 77, 71, 112 + 75, 123. xviii: 89, 85, 205, 65, 130. xx: 128, 106, 100, 209, 146. xxi: 105, 92, 147, 109, 155. xxii: 93, 162, 86, 287, 89, 153. xxiii: 86, 105, 286, 131, 173, In ieiunio, 83.

A few modifications are necessary. In the penultimate prayer of the first Mass (123:31) either 'optata' or 'profutura' must be dropped, thus lowering 168 to 162 or 159 (6 β lines to 5). 2. In the last prayer of ii (125:9) either 'praecepta' or 'quae praecipis' must be neglected. This gives 165 or 161 (6 θ lines, 5 of β) instead of 174 (7 θ lines, 6 of β). 3. So with 'pia' and 'sacra' (126:15) in the Secreta of iii; the total thus being 114 or 112. 4. The first prayer of v is defective (127:22), the words 'intueris quanto sublimius', or the like, having dropped out. The total must therefore be reckoned as 346 (13 θ lines, 12 of α , 11 of β). See the fifth prayer (128:14).

The text presents no great difficulties; but I think the editors might have done better than read 'O. et m. d. qui benigne semper operaris ut possimus implere', &c. in the sixth prayer of v (128:19). The MS has 'operis'. Surely this is a depraved 'opperiris'. In the Postcommunion of xii (133:10) I propose 'operationis suae . . . capaces' in place of 'operationes suae . . . pacatos'.

Dr Feltoe's emendation of the first Preface (123:18) must not be overlooked. I bracket one of the words he proposes to insert; but hold myself responsible for 'uirtute', which I prefer to his 'salute', and for 'quoniam'. These I italicize:—'si per rationabilem regulam praesidendi populus tuus et numero [creuerit] et uirtute quoniam incrementum' &c. He is mistaken, however, in suspecting a defect in the clause which follows the 'Hanc igitur'.' Its only fault is that 'Qua oblatione' (123:27) should be 'Quam oblationem'; but it is not defective as a whole, and it is not a separate prayer. It is merely the developement of a well-known clause in the Canon.

Nor in xviii (136:13) can the words 'quanto te... laetitiam' have been meant for a separate prayer. They are surely an amplificatory clause designed for insertion into the Preface, and thus resemble the words subjoined to the Preface of XVIII xiii (63:32). I should attribute them to the third reduction. $[112 + 75 = 187, \sin \beta]$ lines.

¹ The 'diesque meos clementissima gubernatione disponas' in the 'Hanc igitur' (123:25) is most interesting. It may have suggested the 'diesque nostros in tua pace disponas' which Gregory the Great is reputed to have inserted into the Canon. For what I conceive to be the authentic text of the Gregorian Canon see my Canterbury Missal, p. 42.

78 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

Subject to these modifications and to one or two which will be made presently, the linear details and totals of XXVIII, XXVIIII are as follows:—

		α	β
XXVIII. Consecratio episcoporum		3	3
3, 3, (7) 6, 3, (5) 4, (26) 24 (23), (28) 26 (25).		69	67
Benedictio super diaconos		1	1
7(6), (7)6, (10)9, (53)49(47)		71	68
Consecratio presbyteri		1	1
(7) 6, (7) 6, (26) 24 (22), (21) 19 (18)		55 = 200	52
	$oldsymbol{ heta}$	α	
XXVIIII. IN NATALE EPISCOPORUM	3	3	2
(7)6, 7(6), (15)14(13), 10(9), 2, 6, (7)6(5)	54	51	47
ii: 1, 6, (9) 8, (10) 9, 3, (6) 5, 4, (16) 15 (14),	_		
4, 6 (5)	65	61	59 = 300
iii: 1, 7(6), (7) 6, (8) 7, 6 (5), (15) 14 (13),	89	0.	
(7) 6, (6) 5, (7) 6, 4, 10 (9), 5 (4), (6) 5		82	77
iii: 1, 4, 0(1), (6) 5, 3, (15) 14 (13), (4) 3, 5 v: 1, (13) 12 (11), (7) 6, 7 (6), (9) 8, 12 (11),	38	35	35
7(6), 6, 5, 7(6)	74	71	66
vi: 1, (8) 7, (7) 6, (15) 14 (13), 4, (5) 4.	40	36	35
vii: 1, 6, (7) 6 (7), (16) 15 (14), 4, (7) 6.	41 = 404	38	38 = 551
viii: 1, 7(6), 3, 5, (6) 5, 0(1), (6) 5, 4, (6) 5.	38	35	35
viiii: 1, 4, 4, (5) 4, 7, 3, (7) 6	31	29	29
x: 1, (5)4, (5)4, 2, (7)6, 3, 5(4)	28	25	24
xi: 1, 4, 2, (4) 3, (10) 9, 3, 5	29	27	27
xii: 1, 5(4), 4(3), 4, 7(6), 3, 6(5)	30	30	26
xiii: 1, 3, 3, 4, 7(6), 3, 5	26	26	25
xiiii: 1, 4, 4, (6) 5, 9 (8), 3, (5) 4	32	30	29
xv: 1, 4, (5) 4, 4 (3), 7, 4, 4	29	28	27
xvi: 1, 5, 4, (5) 4, 0(1), 6, (4) 3, 4	29	27	28
xvii: 1, 5(4), 5, 3, 5, 2, (6) 5	27	26	25
xviii: 1, 3, 3, 4(6), (5) 4	16	15	17
xviiii: 1, 3, 3, 3, (8) 7, (3) 2, 5 (4)	26	24	23
xx: 1, 5(4), 4, 4(3), (8)7, (4)3, 5.	31	29	27
xxi: 1, 4, (4) 3, 5, 4, (6) 5	$\frac{24 = 800}{}$	22=750	22
xxii: 1, 3, 6 (5), 3, 10 (9), 3, 5			29
xxiii: 1, 3, 4, 10 (9), 5 (4), 6, 0 (1), 3			<u>31 = 975</u>

At the end of xxi Section XXVIIII ceases to respond to the θ and the α criteria, thus leaving the third editor sole proprietor of xxii and xxiii. The like occurs, as we have seen, in XVII, for the Septem Fratres, where the third editor adds one Mass; in XX, for SS. Sixtus,

Felicissimus and Agapitus, where a dual group is added; in XXI, for St Laurence, who receives a triad; and in XXVI, where two are added for St Michael.

On further examination of XXVIIII we note that only the first seven of its many items are in explicit terms Masses for an episcopal anniversary; for, though the eighth relates to a cognate but different subject, the remainder do not correspond to the title. This is the first case of its kind: I therefore examine it further. I find, then, that in v the prayer 'D\bar{n}e d\bar{s} pater gloriae', &c., occurs twice (127:20 and 128:12), and that, but for this accident, the first seven Masses would scarcely have filled a θ quire; but that in consequence of it the last four lines of vii would probably have been left without a leaf on which to copy them. I suspect, therefore, that after the consequent addition of a new quire to the libellus of anniversary Masses no more of like character can have been composed; Leo allowing himself some latitude of subject in his last fourteen years. Certainly, the twenty-one θ missae correspond to his twenty-one anniversaries.

The critics have noticed a peculiarity of XXVIIII which is to me the more interesting because, analogous to those of an ember Mass on Whitsun Eve and of Christmastide celebrations of St Stephen in the components of an August Section, it bids fair to elucidate, as do they, the history of the document. The peculiarity is that the extant text of iiii and vii is in three places so worded as to restrict the use of those Masses to the season of Lent.

Bianchini, it is true, finds no fault with this anomaly; indeed, he makes a plausible apology for it. But he fails to observe that in the remaining Masses of the Section there is nothing proper to September or to any other period of the year; and that we therefore are confronted with the question, Why have not the only chronological references in the series been allowed to determine its place in the volume?

I suspect, then, that, as originally compiled, i-vii were Masses commemorating St Leo's consecration in the September of 440; but that on some occasion after his death the chronological references to that event contained in iiii and vii were so modified as to fit them for the use of a pope who had been raised to the episcopate in the season of Lent. By this hypothesis, if we are to effect a conjectural reconstruction of the original text, we must so 'correct' the extant references to the prae-Paschal fast as to make them applicable to the ember fast of autumn; unless, indeed, they be susceptible of elision. In other words, we must deal with these Lenten references as we have already dealt with the references to the Nativity in Section XVIIII, and, whether stichometrically or otherwise, test the result as best we may.

- 1. As now known to us, the second prayer in iiii (126:34) is 'Tribue ... fidelibus tuis ut *ieiuniis pascalibus* conuenienter aptentur' &c. For this I make bold to substitute 'Tribue ... fidelibus tuis ut *ieiunio mensis septimi* conuenienter aptentur' &c.; and the venture is most happily justified, for I find that the reading is that of the Gelasianum [Mur. Gel. 670] in one of its ember Masses for the autumn quarter.
- 2. The extant Postcommunion of the same Mass (127:13) is this, where I italicize a word which I propose to cancel, and bracket a suggested precursor:— Praesta . . . ut et de nostrae gaudeamus prouectionis augmento et de congruo sacramenti pascalis [pontificalis] obsequio. For this I find an admirably relevant attestation in a sermon by St Leo himself on no other subject than that of his own elevation to the episcopate, and in a passage which even echoes the phrase 'ut de nostrae gaudeamus prouectionis augmento':--' Religiosum tamen uobis atque laudabile est de die prouectionis nostrae quasi de proprio honore gaudere, ut unum celebretur in toto ecclesiae corpore pontificii sacramentum.' I am the more pleased with this justification of my proposed 'pontificalis' for 'pascalis', because I have never been able to persuade myself that St Leo can have employed the term 'pascale sacramentum' as the equivalent of 'pascalis observantia' or 'ieiunium quadragesimale'. Its primary and proper attribution is to Easter and the season culminating in Pentecost.
- 3. The only other 'correction' needed is in the Secreta of vii (129:29), and is effected by eliding the words which I now bracket:— 'Suscipe... oblationes et preces quas [et pro reuerentia pascali supplices adhibemus et] pro sollemnitate primordii sacerdotalis² offerimus.' &c.

These three corrections give us instead of 146 letters 149; instead of 93, 97; and instead of 228, 185.

Assuming the implied alterations to have been made, we must now face the question, On whose account can they have been made?

The Preface of iiii (127:6) has these words, 'aptius siquidem atque decentius his diebus (1) episcopalis officii suscepta principia celebramus quibus et (2) ecclesiae totius observantia devota concurrit et (3) ipsius cui sacerdotale ministerium deputatum est natalis colitur sacramenti.' Successfully to collate these three references we must remember that the ember fasts were designed as a consecration of the four seasons of the year, but that only the last day of each—that is to say, the Saturday—was the day devoted to the ordination of presbyters. Re-

¹ Sermo iv (Migne S.L. liv 149 A).

² The 'sacerdotium' implied in this 'sacerdotalis' is, as the Preface of the same Mass proves, the episcopal office. It is the equivalent of the 'summum sacerdotium' of the 'Hanc igitur' in viii (130: 32).

membering this, and keeping in mind (4) the 'ieiunia pascalia' (126:34) of the second prayer, we are to infer that the textual changes postulated by my present hypothesis must have been made in order to qualify the Mass for the use of a pope in some year in which the anniversary of his episcopal consecration happened to fall on the Saturday of the spring ember days.¹

On the other hand, the original text postulated by my present hypothesis—'ieiunio mensis septimi' and 'sacramenti pontificalis' in the second prayer and the Postcommunion of iiii—was that of a Mass compiled for the use of a pope in some year in which the anniversary of his consecration fell on the Saturday of the autumnal ember week.

Now, working back from the consecration of Gregory the Great in the September of 590 to that of Anastasius in the November of 496, I find that there was not a Bishop of Rome in the interval whose anniversary can ever have fallen on an ember Saturday in Lent; that is to say, between the fourteenth of February and the nineteenth of March, both included; for not one of them was consecrated in either March or February. Nor can that of Gelasius, the predecessor of Anastasius; for, although he was consecrated on Sunday the first of March in the year 402, his four years' pontificate was too brief for such concurrence. Felix III, the predecessor of Gelasius, was consecrated, it is true, on Sunday, March 6, 483; but, as is evident from the incidence of the leap-years, none of his anniversaries fell on a Saturday. With Simplicius, however, who preceded Felix, we at last find the desired concurrence. He was consecrated on the twenty-fifth day of February in the year 468; but, as that was a leap-year, the twenty-fifth, like the twenty-fourth in all years, was reckoned as what it thus was, the sixth day before the Kalends of March. Five years later—that is to say, in 473—Quadragesima Sunday fell on the eighteenth of February, thus throwing the next Saturday, the last of the ember days, on the twentyfourth, the normal sixth day before the Kalends of the following month.

Inasmuch, then, as from the days of Constantine the Great—to go back further would be needless—there had never been a pope in respect of whom such coincidence would have been physically possible,² I conclude that we must attribute to the year 473 the textual changes in XXVIIII iiii which are postulated by my present hypothesis; namely 'ieiunis pascalibus' (126:34) for 'ieiunio mensis septimi' and 'sacramenti pascalis' (127:14) for 'sacramenti pontificalis'.

As to the original text thus reconstructed, as I venture to think,

G

VOL. X.



¹ Muratori (col. 28) overlooks the ember Saturday as a factor in the problem.

² In the century and a half before Simplicius, Zosimus (A.D. 417) was the only pope consecrated—and, as of course, on a Sunday—between Feb. 14 and March 19, but he died in the second year of his episcopate.

I trust that it may be of service to scholars in determining the date of the episcopal consecration of St Leo. On obviously insufficient grounds some have set this as early in the September of 440 as Sunday the eighth; others, for reasons equally untrustworthy, have thrown it forward to the twenty-ninth. On the assumption that the 'ipsius natale sacramenti cui sacerdotale ministerium deputatum est' (127:8) of the Preface of iiii was an ember Saturday—I see not what other meaning to give it—the twenty-second is the only eligible date; for by no known computation could the last of the ember days have fallen as early as the fifteenth or as late as the twenty-ninth. It fell on the twenty-second in the years 445, 451 and 456.

I now turn to another subject.

Simplicius is the Bishop of Rome to whom, on data independent of the foregoing, I have already assigned, in addition to some seeming changes of text in XVII i, iiii and vi, the authorship of the paired Masses annexed to XX at its third redaction and of the triad introduced at the corresponding stage of the evolution of XXI. I therefore note with interest that, while the last two items of XXVIIII are, for a technical reason, peculiar to the third redaction, one of them, xxiii, contains in the words 'populus tuus... a tribulatione respirans' (139: 12) that sort of reference to recent deliverance from public ills which we found in the last two Masses of XX; and, further, that, whereas the last two Masses of XX would seem to be the work of Simplicius in the summer of 472, the textual anomalies in the fourth and seventh items of the present Section, anomalies which I attribute to its third redaction, are in all moral certainty the work of the same pontiff in or shortly before the spring of 473.

SECTIONS XXX, XXXI.

Here the first list is-

XXX. AD UIRGINES SACRAS. 116, 2185.

XXXI. INC. UELATIO NUPTIALIS. 123, 124, 319, 109, 114, 1248.

When combined they represent an integral number of a pages, but not separately; and they refuse, whether separately or in conjunction, to submit to either of the other two systems of pagination. On the other hand, they are not material proper to a Missal. The only Section that they resemble is XXVIII; but, unlike XXVIII, they have not been subordinated to the third editorial scheme. The linear values are—

			a	β
XXX. AD UIRGINES SACRAS			3	3
4, 72 (69)			76	73
XXXI. INC. UELATIO NUPTIALIS			3	2
4, 4, 11 (10), 4, 4, 41 (39)			68 = 150	65 = 143

SECTION XXXII.

Here the first list is as follows:-

XXXII. DE SICCITATE TEMPORIS. 129, 137, 140, 112, 168, 76, 160. ii: 109, 67, 158, 117, 142. iii: Prope pasca, 86, 88, 154, 82, 121. iiii: 151, 133, 210, 188. v: 140, 127, 98. vi: 155, 110, 99.

The stichometrical devices employed by the scribes of the second and third editions are I think manifest.—

- I. i. The Super Populum of the first item (142:26) falls into two parts, 'Familiam... prosequatur' and 'bonam... perducat'. Muratori finds the former in two places [Mur. Greg. 78, 256] as a prayer complete in itself. The cumulation is such as we have seen in XVIII xxiiii, XXVII iii, and elsewhere; and raises 103 letters (4 θ lines) to 160 (6 of α).
- 2. The Postcommunion of iiii (144:13) is of the same kind. The latter half, 'haec nos' &c., of the present amalgam, a liturgical common-place of the value of 68 letters (3 θ lines), was, in my opinion, superseded at the second redaction by the extant whole in 188 letters (6 α lines).
- II. I. The 'DE SICCITATE TEMPORIS' which follows the numeral of the Section merely notifies the intention of the first prayer. It neither gives nor implies a date; and would seem to be analogous to the 'AD FONTEM' in XIII, and to the 'IN IEIUNIO' and 'POST INFIRMITATEM' of frequent occurrence. I therefore attribute it to the last editor or his experts; and, since no date or other instruction accompanies the 'XXXII', allow one line, not three, for the heading of the Section at the first and second redactions.
- 2. If analogy may guide us, the 'PROPE PASCA' in iii was inserted at the last issue. It carried on the Mass to the foot of the page.

These 'corrections' made, we find that we have four Masses in as many pages, first of θ lineation and then of α ; and two more, added at the last redaction. The Section thus resembles XVII, XX, XXI, XXVI, XXVIIII.

				heta	α	β
XXXII. DE SICCITATE TEMPORIS				1	1	3
5(4), 5, 5, 4, $6(5)$, 3, $(4)6(5)$				32	34	3 [†]
ii: 1, 4, (3) 2, (6) 5, 4, 5		•		23	21	21
iii: 1, 0(1), 3, 3, (6) 5, 3, (5) 4.	•			21	19	20 = 75
iii: 1, (6) 5, 5, (8) 7, (3) 6		•		<u>23 = 100</u>	24=99	24
v: 1, 5, 4, 4(3)	•	•	•			13
vi: 1 5, 4, 3	•	•	•			13=125

SECTIONS XXXIII, XXXIIII.

I begin with the values in terms of letters of the constituents comprised under the numerals XXXIII, XXXIIII.

XXXIII. SUPER DEFUNCTOS. (no numeral) 178, 120, 252. ii: 195, 117+82. iii: 165, 170, 130, 137, 156, 119, 126. iiii: 119, 169, 69, 60. v: 131, 152, 103, 137, 135, 120.

XXXIIII. Sci siluestri. 158, 164, 133.

The value for the penultimate prayer of iii must be lowered from 119 to 108 or 111, for 'sempiternam' and 'immensam' (146:21) are alternatives.

The item headed 'SCI SILUESTRI' is a mortuary Mass, but not therefore of precisely the same category as those in XXXIII. They were used *super defunctos*; that is to say, at the tomb of this or that servant of God. This was used, not necessarily at his tomb, but, as the first prayer intimates (148:3), 'in famuli tui Siluestri episcopi depositione'.

On reviewing the course which we have thus far traversed I note that whenever, after reducing the items of a Section to their 'simplest expression', we have found the point at which they respond, whether or not for the first time, yet finally, to the θ criterion, the point thus determined is that at which they finally yield an integral number of α pages. There are, however, noteworthy peculiarities in XXXIII which seem to make it an interesting exception to this general rule:—

- 1. In missa ii (145:25) there is a passage, 'Et quod officio' &c., which, though grammatically insufficient in itself, yields an admirable sense if, cancelling a needless 'per', we incorporate it into the Secreta which precedes it; if, that is to say, we deal with it as with a similar passage in XXVIIII xviii. As there so here, I believe the appended work to be an amplification of the last editor's, whose design it would thus have been to raise the value of the Secreta from 117 letters (4 a lines) to [117+79=] 196 letters $(6 \text{ } \beta \text{ lines})$.
- 2. The extant text of the last constituent of iiii (147:3) is 'Hanc igitur etc. et in . . . sacerdotum. per,' in sixty-five letters (2 β lines); but, warned by the 'etc.', and instructed by the 'etc.' appended to many of the Prefaces, I suspect that in the earlier redactions the constituent may have been written in extenso and with the same text as the 'Hanc igitur' of the first Mass (145:12), except that 'in numerum . . . facias sacerdotum'—words proper to a bishop's anniversary—took the place of 'et miserationum . . . concedas'. The passage, in 263 letters, would thus have the value of 9 a lines (10 of θ) as against the present value of 2 β lines.
- 3. And I assume that, whereas the extant text of the 'Hanc igitur' of v (147:16) now counts but 133 letters (4 β lines), there had previously been a fully developed 'Hanc igitur oblationem... concedas ut qui Petri apostoli... portionem. per' in 260 letters (9 α lines).

The linear totals thus computed are:—

•	θ_1	θ_2	a	β
XXXIII. Super defunctos	3	3	3	3
(7) 6, (5) 4, 9(8)	1	2 [19	18
ii: 1, 7(6), 4 (6)	2	I 2	I 2	13
iii: 1, $6(5)$, 6, $5(4)$, 5, (6) 5, 4, (5) 4	18 = 74	38	36	34
iiii: 1, (5) 4, 6, (3) 2, (10) 9 (2)	•	25 = 99	22	15
v: 1, 5(4), (6)5, 4(3), (5)5+4(4), 5(4),	, (5) 4		33 = 125	25
XXXIIII. Sci siluestri				2
6(5), 6(5), 5(4)	•			14=125

From this it would seem to follow that the sole occupant of XXXIIII was added at the last redaction. The like has already happened. The two Masses for SS. Felicissimus and Agapitus at the end of XX (93:23) are referable to its last editor; similarly the last three for St Laurence in XXI (98:19), the last two for St Michael in XXVI (108:1), the last two for episcopal anniversaries in XXVIIII (138:8), and the last two in the promiscuous group 'De siccitate temporis' (144:17) which precedes the present Section.

There is nothing in the first three items of XXXIII to forbid the hypothesis that they were composed by St Leo during the pontificate of his predecessor.1 Not so iiii (146: 26), the first and second prayers of which were certainly designed for use in the basilica of St Laurence on the Via Tiburtina, and the Preface—'Vere digñ. qui nos scorum tuorum . . . commemoratione refoues' &c. (147:1)—perhaps as certainly for use on the feast of that saint. I suspect that, Sixtus III dying on the twenty-ninth of July, 440, the depositio of his embalmed body 'uia Tiburtina in crypta iuxta corpus beati Laurentii' took place on the tenth of August, the Feast of St Laurence; and that this was the Mass said by Leo the Great, or a delegate of Leo's, on some or all of the anniversaries of that depositio between the years 441 and 461. The fifth Mass may with like probability, because of the local attribution (147:6) in its first prayer, be attributed to Hilarus, the successor of Leo; and I venture to think that it was composed by him in anticipation of his own burial 'ad sanctum Laurentium iuxta corpus beati episcopi Sixti'.

We now come to the sole occupant of Section XXXIIII of the Verona book (148:1). I believe it to have been composed by or for



¹ As, so I venture to think, the first two items of XVII; and as XX i-iiii in the θ_1 scheme, XXI i, ii in the θ_1 scheme, and XL i-iiii in the θ_1 scheme. See J.T.S. vol. ix, p. 543; and above, pp. 60 and 63. See also below, p. 94. The episcopal anniversary of Sixtus III fell, in all probability, on the Feast of the Septem Fratres, the subject of XVII.

Pope Simplicius; not, indeed, because his name occurs in it (148:11), but for a reason already intimated. We have seen that the last two Masses of Section XX are in moral certainty his; that the concluding triad of Masses for St Laurence are probably his; and that to him are referable those chronological peculiarities in the anniversary Masses for bishops which it is impossible to co-ordinate with any pontificate but his. He thus becomes the first claimant, and, unless some other can reasonably be proposed, the sole claimant to the authorship of XXXIIII.

Nor does this theory compel us either to impugn the authenticity of the 'Siluestri' in the capitulum and the first two prayers of the Mass (148: 1, 3, 7), or to reject the 'Simplici' in the third prayer (148: 11). On the contrary, it enables us to accept 'Siluestri' as indubitably right. but does not oblige us to condemn 'Simplici' as necessarily wrong, for it grants admission to some such account as the following:—(1) That Simplicius composed the Mass primarily, indeed, for Silvester, the first pope who, though a confessor, was not a martyr, but derivatively for any other pastor of the Roman Church who in that Church's judgement had merited the titles of 'confessor' and 'sanctus', his 'scī Siluestri confessoris et episcopi tui' being thus a typical formula; (2) that he himself received the benefit of this pious provision; and (3) that, wittingly or unwittingly, an early copyist recorded the fact by substituting 'Simplici' for 'Siluestri' in the last prayer. I cannot think of a more probable conciliation of the discrepancy. It certainly has the merit of procliuitas

SECTIONS XXXV, XXXVI.

The values in terms of letters for these two Sections are the following:—

XXXV. IN NATALE SCORUM QUATTUOR &c. (no numeral) 141, 132, 121. ii: 112, 217, 94, 145.

XXXVI. IN NATALE SCAE CAECILIAE (no numeral) 165, 401, 167, 177. ii: 193, 234, 133, 382. iii: 109, 540. iiii: 99, 142, 511. v: 164, 421, 98, 261.

A few modifications are needed in the items for St Caecilia's Day:-

1. The penultimate prayer in the first of them must be lowered from 167 to 158 or 160 (5 β lines), for 'cessura' and 'profutura' (149:21) cannot stand together. 2. In the second prayer of ii (150:4) for 'metuant... concupiscant' let us read 'metuat... concupiscat'.

3. In the Preface of ii 'nutabili' and 'carnalis' (150:11, 12) may safely be replaced by 'nubili' and 'carnis'. 4. In that of iii 'destrueres' must make way for 'destruis'; and either 'testificans' (150:28) or 'perficiens' replaced by the third person singular of the perfect tense

¹ See above, pp. 57-59.

² See above, pp. 61, 62.

³ See above, pp. 80-82.

active; whilst (150:29) either 'quem coniugem fuerat habitura' or 'quem fuerat susceptura coniugio' must be cancelled. The total is thus reduced from 540 to 508, 514, or some intermediate number. Let us say 512. This last modification must be carefully borne in mind; so too must the following:—

On the assumption that the Section had its beginning in the pontificate of Leo the Great or of his successor, Hilarus, I cannot persuade myself that either of those popes is to be held responsible for so much of the following passage in the Preface of iii as I now italicize:—'Vere dign. qui ut de hoste generis humani maior pompa duceretur non solum per $x\bar{p}m$ $d\bar{n}m$ \bar{n} diabolicam destruis tyrannidem nec tantum pro subuersione protoplasti per uirilem sexum . . . reciprocas ultionem sed etiam . . . per femineam' &c. As the sentence now stands, nothing could be more reprehensible than the suggestion thus made; but the simplest account of the difficulty it creates is also the most probable, namely this:—That some such balancing phrase as 'sed nos efficis participes triumphi tui' has by clerical oversight been dropped between 'tyrannidem' and 'nec tantum'. Such phrase would give the passage which I have italicized the value of [113 + 34 =] 147 letters.

The extant legend of St Caecilia contains two strikingly dramatic details: first, that on the day of her espousals with Valerian she persuaded him to seek instruction in the Christian faith, with the result that the marriage was not consummated, her betrothed being put to death for refusing to offer sacrifice to the gods; secondly, that her own death was the result of partial suffocation in a caldarium followed by the slow exhaustion consequent on an incomplete decapitation. Neither the prayers, however, nor the Prefaces of the present Section make any reference to the extraordinary means by which the death of St Caecilia is said to have been compassed, nor to the miraculous intervention by which it is said to have been delayed; thus raising the question whether during the period of time covered by their textual evolution the extant legend can as yet have been current in the Roman Church. That question, though not germane to the present subject, is the more interesting because the references which the Prefaces of the presumable nucleus of the series—there are none in the prayers—make to the conversion and martyrdom of Valerian would seem to be mere postscripts to the original text. Thus:-

1. The Preface of the first item falls into two after the word 'originem' (149:15); when follows its first and only mention of Valerian—'in cuius gloriam... accedit' &c., a structurally needless clause of the value of 140 letters. [N.B. 401 - 140 = 261.]

^{&#}x27; Perhaps we should read 'progeniem'. See under XXXVII (155: 32) the term 'magnifica mater... praeclara progenies', used of St Felicitas and her sons.

- 2. The Preface of ii (150:14) rises to the masterly climax 'multiplicem uictoriam uirgo, casta, martyr, expleuit'; where 'uirgo' is correlated to the contextual 'inter puellares annos', 'casta' to 'inter saeculi blandimenta', 'martyr' to 'inter supplicia persequentum'; but where the first and only mention of Valerian is made in the short 'et ad potiorem' &c., a clause, of 64 letters, which detracts from the literary perfection of the composition. [N.B. 382 4 64 = 314.]
- 3. The first part of the Preface of iii ends with 'calcaretur' (150: 27), and has no connexion, whether in idea or structure, with the clause about Valerian which follows it. Without that clause, the uncorrected value of this is 376, and the corrected value [376 + 34 =] 410.
- 4. The like is true of the Preface of iiii. There is neither inspiring idea nor structural nexus to give it unity; for it falls apart at 'consortium' (151:17), thus giving to 'ipsumque temporalem uirum' &c. the appearance of a postscript in 90 letters. [N.B. 511-90=421.]

Only when we come to the fifth and last Mass do we find a Preface which from beginning to end is ethically and structurally one; and this is the Mass before which a precise multiple of five-and-twenty α lines is completed, provided that we exclude from computation the four presumably ex post facto additions just notified and also the remarkable passage, 'ut de hoste ... duceretur per $x\bar{p}m$... protoplasti', in the Preface of iii. With these five batches of text the corrected values of the four Prefaces are 401, 378, 512, and 511; without them, they are 261, 314, 263, and 421; or 9, 11, 9, and 14 α lines (10, 11, 10, 15, of θ).

But even so we have not yet reduced the series to its first or simplest expression; for, if analogy may guide us, the structurally needless relative clause, 'cuius gloriae . . . consortium' (151:14-17), which just now helped to give us 421 letters (14 a lines) as an earlier value of the Preface of iiii, would seem to have been no part of the original, which, ending at 'superatur', would thus comprise [421-139=] 282 letters (10 θ lines). Here, too, let me observe that there is an implied contradiction between the 'cuius gloriae' &c. and the subjoined 'ipsumque' &c.

As hitherto traced, therefore, the evolution of the Caecilia series is to be summarized thus: where it will be seen that the four α lines required by the 'cuius gloriae... consortium' just noted counteract the 'shrinkage' of two lines in the first item and of one each in ii and iii:—

					$oldsymbol{ heta}$	\boldsymbol{a}
XXXV. IN NATALE SCAE CAECILIAE					3	3 .
6(5), (10) 9, $6(5)$, (7) 6.		•			29	27
ii: 1, 7(6), (9) 8, 5(4), 11(10)					33	32
iii: 1, 4, (10) 9					15	14
iiii: 1, 4(3), 5, (10) 14	•	•	•	•	20=100	2.1 = 100

If I rightly trace the bibliographical evolution of the present series, it passed, like most of the others, through three editorial stages, but, in addition to these, through a penultimate stage which I denote by the term 'deutero-Hilarian'.

- r, 2. At the first, then, of the four editorial stages the Preface of i ended at 'originem' (149:15), which however should perhaps be 'progeniem'; that of ii at 'expleuit' (150:15); that of iii at 'calcaretur' (150:27); that of iiii at 'superatur' (151:14). And at the second stage this last was lengthened by the relative clause 'cuius gloriae... consortium'. As yet there were only four Masses.
- (1) Simultaneous, or nearly simultaneous, with these was the first ascertainable stage of the Caecilia legend. This represents Caecilia (a) not as espoused, though 'humanis deuota nuptiis' (149:12) and 'nuptiis deputata terrenis' (151:15), but as holding the married state in contempt—'dum talamos temporales contemneret' (149:13), 'despecto mundi coniugio' (150:10).
- 3 (2). At the deutero-Hilarian stage, the second in the ascertainable development 1 of the legend, missa \mathbf{v} was added to the series. Caecilia has now (a_2) contracted a matrimonial alliance, but (b) with a suitor whose name is not given, and (c) whom she predeceases—'confessio puellaris uirum praccedens ducit ad praemium' (152:1)—and (d) of whom no hint is given that when he dies he dies a martyr.

The Masses for the Quattuor Coronati were introduced into the document at this stage of the development of the legend, the number of the Caecilia Section being now no longer XXXV but XXXVI; and, that the two groups might, when combined, have the value of seven a pages, the Preface of the third Caecilian *missa* was amplified (150:20) from nine to fourteen lines by the insertion of 'ut de hoste' &c. in [113 + 34 =]147 letters. [N.B. 263 + 147 = 410.]

4(3). We next come to the fourth and last stage. By this time the legend has grown and, in growing, shifted; for now (a_3) the marriage is all but consummated—'cui fuerat matrimonii iure copulanda' (149:16), 'quem fuerat susceptura coniugio' (151:1). Now, moreover, but not till now, (b_2) the husband's name—'Valerianum' (149:16)—is given; and (c_2, d_2) the two suffer martyrdom together—'secum ad regna caelestia cui fuerat nupta perduxit' (150:15), 'ipsumque temporalem uirum cui mortali fuerat more nectenda martyrii foedere secum uirgo casta fecit aeternum' (151:17), 'fecit comitem passionis' (151:1).

At this final stage the first Preface was raised from 261 letters to 401



¹ I say 'developement' for want of a better word. Tradition, the topography of the catacombs, the contemporaneous conditions of the Roman Church—one or more, perhaps all, of these—may have conduced to the introduction of one or both of the new factors in the story.

(from 9 β lines to 13); the second from 314 to 378 (from 10 β lines to 12); the third from 410 to 512 (from 13 β lines to 16), and the fourth from 421 to 511 (from 14 β lines to 16). These four enhancements contributed to an ultimate total of seven β pages, thus:—

									a_2	β
XXXV. I	N NATA	LE S	coru	M QI	JATTU	or c	CORONATOR	UM.	3	3
5, 5 (į), 4		•		•				14	13
ii: 1, 4,	7, 3, 5			•	•	•			20	20
							$\boldsymbol{\theta}$	a		
XXXVI.	In nat	ALE	SCAE	CAE	CILIAE	•	3	3	2	2
6(5),	(10)9	(13),	6(5)	, (7)	6.		29	27	27	29
ii: 1, 7 (6	5), (9)	8, 5	(4), 1	11 (1:	2).		33	32	32	31
iii: 1, 4,	(10) 9[raise	ed to	14](16)		15	14	19	2 I
iiii: 1, 4 (3), 5, ((10)	14 (16).	•	•	20=100	$\frac{24 = 100}{}$	24	25
v: 1, 6,	14 (13)	, 4 (3), 9	(8)	•	•			$\frac{34 = 175}{}$	31 = 175

We now see, I venture to think, why it is that in the Verona book the Caecilia series (149:6) is numbered 'XXXV' not 'XXXVI'. The peculiarity has been styled a mistake. Whatever it be called, I cannot resent it; for, like the anomaly of an ember Mass on Whitsun Eve, and like the anachronism of Christmas references under 'Mense augusto' and of Lenten references under 'Mense septembri', it elucidates the history of the document. It corroborates the inference already deduced from other data, that the rubrication, as well as the text, of our document is the resultant of at least two redactions.

SECTIONS XXXVII, XXXVIII, XXXVIIII.

In terms of letters the values of these are as follows:—

XXXVII. VIIII. KĀL. DĒC. N. SCŌRUM CLEMENTIS &c. (no numeral) 201, 167, 735. ii: 159, 311. iii: 135, 147, 315. iiii: 143, 319, 98. In natale scĀe felicitalis (no numeral), 163, 168, 384, 133, 120. ii: 135, 129, 310, 85, 115. iii: 160, 175, 156, 92, 170.

XXXVIII. VIII. KAL. DEC. N. SCORUM CHRYSOGONI &C. 130, 108, 201, 130, 178.

XXXVIIII. PRĪD. KĀL. DĒC. N. SCĪ ANDREAE &C. (no numeral) 161, 146, 142, 139, 147. ii: 208, 108, 306, 154, 191. iii: 136, 143, 329, 123, 155. iiii: 134, 109, 259, 118, 197.

A few modifications are needed in XXXVII and XXXVIIII:-

1. In the 'in martyrii inclyti finis gloria' (153:11) of the second Preface for St Clement 'martyrii' and 'finis' would seem to be alternatives one or other of which must be neglected, thus reducing the total from 311 letters (11 a lines) to 302 or 306 (10 a lines). 2, 3, 4. In the Preface of iii 'inter parentum uel inquisitione uel receptione' is

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evidently wrong (153:23). Here I propose, with Dr Feltoe, to turn the ablatives into accusatives; but if, as is most probable, nel...nel be a formula denoting alternatives, its value must be neglected as well as that of one or other substantive; the total for the constituent thus falling from 317 (11 a lines) to 299 or 300 (10 a lines). For 'fidelissimus et alumnus acceptus' (153:24) I propose 'fidelis seruus et alumnus acceptus'. 5. In the first prayer of iiii (153:28) for 'et te creante' read 'ex te creante'. 6. In the first prayer for the Feast of St Felicitas (154:13) instead of 'debita ueneratione seruitute currentes tuorum facis gaudere scorum' I propose 'debita ueneratione currentes festiuitate tuorum facis gaudere scorum'; and, 7, for 'illis' (154:18) 'illi'. 8. In the Postcommunion of the same Mass (154:29) 'temporalem' and 'praesentem' are presumably alternatives. A reference to the table of linear values will shew the reader that the first and third of these corrections are justified by the resultant total of 100, not 102, a lines.

II 1, 2. In the Preface of XXXVIIII iii (158:11) the halting 'hoc ipso namque ieiunio quo... offerimus' requires some such word as 'sacrificium', 'hostias', or 'munera'. There is an obvious theological objection to the 'quod' which all the editors substitute for 'quo'. In the same constituent (158:12, 13) 'et... proficimus' should be 'ut... proficiamus'. With 'sacrificium' the value rises to 340.

Of the four groups of *missae* in these three Sections none yield to the θ criterion, and only the first and last represent a multiple of 25 a lines; while the second, for St Felicitas, whose feast concurs with that of St Clement, was added at the last redaction in the same way as in Section XX the Mass for SS. Felicissimus and Agapitus was at that redaction subjoined to those for St Sixtus.

Section XXXVIIII illustrates the chronology of the document.

The Romans had not a church in honour of St Andrew until Simplicius dedicated to his memory the basilica known as *catabarbara* or *inbarbara*, an event celebrated in the following verses:—

Haec tibi mens ualide decreuit praedia, Christe,
Cui testator opes detulit ille suas
Simplicius quae papa, sacris caelestibus aptans,
Effecit uere muneris esse tui.
Et quod apostolici deessent limina nobis
Martyris Andreae nomine composuit.
Utitur haec haeres titulis ecclesia iustis,
Succedensque domo mystica iura locat.
Plebs deuota ueni perque haec commercia disce
Terreno censu regna superna peti.

¹ For particulars concerning this basilica see Ciampini Vetera monumenta P.I, p. 243, with which compare Platina De utis et gestis (s.v. Simplicius I).

If then, we have rightly assigned to the years 472 and 473 the retranscription on β pages of Sections XVII, XX, XXI, and XXVIIII, we may reasonably infer that the first of the three years represented by the first, second, and last Masses of XXXVIIII—the third is of the Vigil—cannot be dated earlier than 468, the year in which Simplicius was elected, nor the last of them earlier than 470 or later than 472; and therefore that XXXVIIII is one of the last Sections set forth while the α lineation was in use.

It would also seem to follow that Felicitas was one of the few saints whom Simplicius added to the menology of the document; the others being Felicissimus and Agapitus in XX, Chrysogonus and Gregory of XXXVIII, and possibly the Agapitus of the acephalous Mass between XXII and XXIII.

I subjoin the synopsis of linear values:—

											a	β
XXXVII.	VIIII.	KĀL.	DEC.	Ñ.	scor	UM	CLEMEN	ITIS	ETC.		3	3
7, 6,	25 (23).		•			•		•		38	36
ii: 1, 6 (16
iii: 1, 5,	5, 10	•	•	•	•			•	•	•	21	2 I
iiii: 1, 5,	11 (10), 4 (3)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	21=100	19
In NA	ATALE :	SČAE	FELIC:	ITAT	rıs							2
6 (5),	6, 13	(12),	4, 4							•		31
ii: 1, 5,	5 (4),	11 (10	0), 3,	4					•	•		27
iii: 1, 6 (5), 6,	5, 3,	6.		•	•	•	•	•	•		26
XXXVIII	. VIII.	KĀL.	Ñ. S	COR	UM C	HRY	SOGONI	ET	c .			2
5 (4),	4, 7,	5 (4),	6	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		25
											a	•
XXXVIII	I. Pr	ID. K/	۱L. Di	ĒC.	Ñ. SĈ	ĀN	DREAE	APC	STOLI		3	2
6, 5	5, 5, 5,	, 5	•				•		•	•	26	25
ii: 1, 7	7, 4, 1	0, 5,	7(6)		•	•		•	•	•	34	33
∫ iii: 1, 5												30
∫iiii: 1, ₹	5 (4), 4	, 9(8), 4,	7 (0	5) .	•	•	•	•	•	30 = 125	$\frac{27 = 325}{}$

SECTION XL.

The singularly heterogeneous capitulum of the present Section is presumably later than the first general redaction; and, as none of the saints whom it records receive either mention or allusion in the Masses, we may fairly suspect it to have superseded, at either the penultimate or

¹ Sec J. T. S. vol. ix, p. 543, and above, pp. 58, 62, 82.

last redaction, some such briefer and more appropriate title as 'VIII KAL. IAN. IN NATIUITATE \overline{DN} I'.

In terms of letters the values of the constituents, as extant in the Verona MS, are:—

VIII. Kāl. 1ān. n. dīl &c., &c., &c. (no numeral) 184, 207, 645, 127, 190. ii: 213, 585. iii: 185, 453, 175. iiii: 141, 209, 146, 212. v: 97, 127, 272, 131, 126. vi: 204, 87, 362. vii: 125, 451, 119. viii: 169, 179, 198, 93. viiii: 109, 131, 222, 118, 175.

A few memoranda are here necessary:-

1. In the first prayer of the first Mass (159:10) the two forms 'ihu xpi filii tui' and 'eius' have been regarded as textual alternatives, notwithstanding their stichometrical disparity; but I propose to insert 'per natalicia' before the former, treating the clause thus made as an amplification of the second general editor's. We should then have a first total of 170 letters, and a second of 196. 2, 3. In the final words of the Preface of iii (161:14) either 'perpetuae' or 'aeternae' should, I suppose, be cancelled. Perhaps, too, it would be tolerable to insert 'in' before 'regnum', reading 'educeret' for 'efficeret'. 4. In the 'cum de homine ueteri homo nouus exsisteret curatus mortalitate mortalitas' (162:32) of the sixth Preface we cannot, I venture to think, do better than read 'exsistit et' for 'exsisteret' and 'curatur' for 'curatus'. 5. In the Preface of viiii (164:15) 'congruentibus' seems to call for some such lost word as 'modis' or 'mysteriis', thus raising 222 letters to 227 or 231 (7 β lines to 8). 6. In the last prayer of the series (164:23) either 'miserationis' or 'pietatis' must be neglected and 175 lowered to 163 or 167. 7-11. No fewer than five of the Prefaces are followed by 'unde profusis' &c. Cancelling in that of iii either 'aeternae' or 'perpetuae', and in viiii inserting 'mysteriis' we have, in accordance with the hypothesis invariably assumed in the present essay, successive values as follows:—

```
In ii: 568 (21 \theta lines, 19 of \alpha): 704 (23 \alpha lines): 585 (19 \beta lines).

, iii: 433 (16 ,, 15 ,, ): 571 (19 ,, ): 445 (14 ,, ).

, iii: 197 (7 ,, 7 ,, ): 335 (11 ,, ): 209 (7 ,, ).

, vii: 439 (16 ,, 15 ,, ): 577 (19 ,, ): 451 (15 ,, ).

, viii: 222 (8 ,, 8 ,, ): 351 (12 ,, ): 231 (7 ,, ).
```

By the first device, and by that of developed conclusions to these five Prefaces, the 21 lines of 'shrinkage' caused by transferring the Section from θ to α lines are thus made good. The like happened, as the reader may remember, in Sections VIIII and XIII.

We have seen that the first four items of XX when reduced to their simplest expression represent, with the capitulum, an integral number of θ pages, and that the fifth is for the Vigil; we have also seen that in XXI the first nine items when thus reduced are, with the capitulum,

the equivalent of 6 θ pages, and that the tenth is for the Vigil. In the present Section the fifth Mass is for the Vigil. What then do we find on further examination of i-iii?

- 1. The Preface of the first Mass is complete, self-contained, and sonorously ended if we suppose it to stop at 'continetur' (159:20). The case is not so clear as many that we have detected; but we must not therefore conclude that the homiletical and structurally independent 'hoc in ipsis' &c. which follows 'continetur' cannot be adventitious; and indeed since, if it be adventitious it is presumably early work added by or for Leo the Great himself, we may reasonably infer that some pains would be taken to give the resultant whole a semblance of homogeneousness.
- 2. The same may be said of all that follows 'nobiscum ds est' (160:18) in the Preface of ii. It is an admirable exposition, deduced from Holy Writ, of the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation as defined at Chalcedon; but the preceding context is complete without it.
- 3. The Preface of iii, though harmonious and consistent from beginning to end, falls asunder (161:11) after the words 'oriens ex alto'; on the other hand, that of iiii is indivisible, an admirable example of the 'simplex duntaxat et unum'.

The table of linear values, which I now subjoin, shews that if, in accordance with these data, we reduce the Prefaces of i, ii, iii from 645, 568, 433 letters, respectively, to 129, 126, 298, the first four Masses of the Section represent, with the capitulum, four pages of the θ lineation:—

	θ_{i}	θ_{2}	α	β
XL viii Kal. iān. n. dni., etc.	3	3	3	6
(6) 7 (6), (8) 7, (5 raised to 23)				
22 (21), (5) 4, 7(6)	31	49	47 = 50	44=-50
ii: 1, (8) 7, (5 raised to 21) $19 \div 4$ (19)	14	30	31	27
iii: 1, (7) 6, (11 raised to 16) 15+4				
$(14), (7)6 \dots \dots$	26	31	32	27
iiii: 1, 5, (7) 7+4 (7), 5, (8) 7 .	$\frac{26 = 100}{}$	26	29	25
v: 1, 4(3), (5) 4, (10) 9, 5(4), (5) 4	30	30	27	25
vi: 1, (8) 7, 3, (13) 12	25	25	23	23
vii: $1, (5)4, (5 \text{ raised to } 16)15+4(15),$				
$(5) 4 \cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot$	16	27	28	24
viii: 1, 6, (7) 6, 7 (6), (4) 3	25	25	23	22
viiii: 1, 4, 5 (4), (8) 8+4 (7), 4, (7) 6	29 = 225	29 = 275	$\frac{3^2 = 275}{}$	<u>27 = 250</u>

Pursuing my examination I note that, while there is nothing in v, vi, viii, or viiii that invites theoretical elimination, the structurally independent passage (163:10) 'atque ideo' &c. in the Preface of vii

¹ See above, pp. 60 and 63.

may reasonably be regarded as late work; for the first two words would seem to introduce an afterthought, as in the Preface of XVIII xxxviii (80:15), XVIIII vii (89:16), and XXVII i (109:23). In the first of these the original writer, as he nears a stichometrical halting-place at the distance of eight pages from the final limit, adds an 'atque ideo' clause so as to make Mass and page conterminous; in the other two the compiler of the second redaction adds new work, introducing it with an 'et ideo'. The elimination here invited gives us 125 lines as the original value of what, since the first of the five Masses is for the Vigil, would seem to be a second group of Christmas Masses.

Thus, by a nett addition of 18, 16, 5, 11 [=50] lines to the Prefaces of i, ii, iii, and vii, items which had once filled nine θ pages were so amplified as upon transcription to fill eleven. Of these additions that in vii is of interest for a historical reason. Its triumphant reference to the universal acceptance of the Catholic doctrines of the Incarnation, as contrasted with an earlier 'difficulty' (163:13), assures us by its 'toto etiam mundo testificante' and its 'cernitur ubique conspicuum' (163:12, 15) that it must have been penned after the definition of that doctrine by the Council of Chalcedon in the year 451. That year may therefore be accepted as a terminus a quo for the re-edition of the original θ redaction of the present series.

But this developement of the pristine text obscured what had in the first instance been made manifest by the bibliographical collocation of the nine items; I mean the independence, each of the other, of the two groups i-iii and v-viiii. Bearing in mind that in the first instance i-iiii filled precisely four pages, i being a Mass for the Vigil, and that v. which also was for the Vigil, began at the head of a page; we naturally infer that i-iii may have been an interrelated group, and that v-viiii may in their turn have been interrelated. This would, indeed, appear to have been the case. Theologians will, I think, agree with me that i, iii, iiii exhibit a progression from (a) prophecies under the old law to (β) that of Zacharias, as the old was giving way to the new; and thence to (y) the fulfilment of all that had gone before in the Person of the 'uerus agnus et aeternus pontifex hodie natus' (161:27). They will also, I think, agree with me that the Prefaces of v, vi, vii, framed on an entirely different ideal from the earlier three, are in their turn a progressive series, passing as they do from (a) man's first disobedience to (β) the revelation of the mystery of godliness, and thence to (γ) the illumination finally perfected in the vision of the infinite Majesty of God.

Nor is this all. If in i-iiii we have missae, one for Vigil and three for Feast, the immemorial custom of three eucharistic celebrations on

¹ See J. T. S. vol. ix, p. 547.

² See above, pp. 56 and 75.

Christmas Day would seem to have been already established early in the pontificate of Leo the Great. And I think that in v-viiii we are to recognize, not only that, but another very curious usage recorded in Mabillon's Ordines Romani. According to the eleventh Ordo (§ 17), not only did the Bishop of Rome say mass at three different altars on Christmas Day, he would also, if time and weather permitted, hold the station preparatory to the last of these at St Peter's in Vaticano, going thence in procession to Sca Maria Maior, but after first hearing mass in the former of those basilicae. Hence, as I infer, the evidently supplementary Mass set at the end of the present Section; hence, too, its first prayer (164:6), a prayer as irrelevant to the engrossing subject of the day as it would have been unsuitable to the churches in which the Pope's own masses were said, a prayer meant for use in a church dedicated to an Apostle and presumably St Peter. - 'apostolicis tribue nos dne quaesumus precibus adiquari.'

SECTIONS XLI, XLII, XLIII.

Here the first list is as follows:-

XLI. In natale $s\overline{c}i$ iohannis euangelistae. (no numeral) 170, 177, 142, 692, 149, 139. ii: 148, 136, 626, 153, 144.

XLII. IN NATALE INNOCENTUM. (no numeral) 151, 123, 480, 132, 162. ii: 170, 137, 369, 147, 202.

XLIII. IN IEIUNIO MENSIS DECIMI. (no numeral) 174, 89, 124, 336, 80, 163. ii: 164, 113, 153, 197, 112, 243. iii: 98, 123, 114, 82, 114, 109, 79, 263, 114, 148. iiii: 119, 97, 93, 148, 80, 94, 463, 115, 138. v: 86, 90, 114, 170, 109, 16, 184, 19, 175.

Two modifications are needed. 1. In the first Postcommunion in XLI either 'saluationis' or 'redemptionis' (165:20) must be neglected.

2. In XLII the final clause of the first Preface (166:33) needs some such word as 'nomine' in agreement with 'suo'. In the first prayer of XLIII iiii (170:19) for 'prospera cunctaque procedant' I propose 'prospera sanctaque procedant', thus balancing the 'religionis et pacis' which precede.

None of the three Sections responds to the θ criterion; and the extant text of XLI yields a total of only 95 α lines. But I venture to suggest that by clerical oversight 'per' may have been appended to its first Preface (165:17) in place of 'unde profusis gaudiis' etc. That so venial an error should have happened in one of the transcriptions that separated the Verona MS from the second general redaction of the original document is very much more likely than that a pope so ardently devoted to St John the Evangelist as was Hilarus should not have compiled a short Section in his honour. It was to the protection of

that apostle that Hilarus attributed his escape from assassination when on his way to Chalcedon as legate of Leo; and in commemoration of that mercy he adorned the epistyle of the sumptuous chapel which he built in honour of his celestial patron with the inscription 'LIBERATORI SUO BEATO IOANNI EVANGELISTAE HILARUS EPISCOPUS FAMULUS XPI.'.¹

But, on the other hand, we must be careful to remember that, if the Leonianum be, what we have good reason to believe it to be, a collection of liturgical forms actually used, the second of the considerations just suggested, so far from turning the scale in favour of an Hilarian authorship of Section XLI, would seem to turn it in the contrary direction. Hilarus, in his short pontificate of six years and a few weeks, may indeed have witnessed the final completion of the adornment as well as of the erection of the chapel of St John the Evangelist; but it by no means follows that he lived long enough to celebrate in it the next ensuing festival of its patron; still less, that he lived long enough to celebrate two such festivals. The truth with regard to his architectural scheme around the baptistery of Constantine would seem to be that the chapel of St Stephen was finished in time for him to use in it his adaptation of two previously composed missae, XVIIII vii and viii;² and that, though the chapel of St John the Baptist either was or may have been completed in time for him to use in it one previously composed missa, XIII iiii, for the twenty-fourth of June's, the pursuer who overtakes all men overtook Hilarus before the twenty-seventh of December next after the completion of the chapel of St John the Evangelist.

Hence it is that, after as careful consideration as I have been able to give to the subject, I think that Simplicius, not Hilarus, must have composed Section XLI.

We have seen that St Leo's missae for the December fast form the second of two groups in XXVII. It need not, therefore, surprise us to find that those in XLIII are not amenable to the θ criterion; and we may thence infer that they are from the pen of Hilarus, of whom the Liber Pontificalis tells us that he ordained presbyters, deacons and bishops at that season, mentioning none of the other three.

I find on examining XLIII v that only its first, second and third components are correlated to each other as portions of one and the same Mass; and observe with interest that the third is conterminous with an a page. Equally noteworthy is the fact that the miscellanea which follow are precisely what was needed to carry on the document to the end of a β page.

¹ For an inscription recalling the archidiaconate of Hilarus, see above, p. 64. My authority is Ciampini Vetera Monumenta vol. i, pp. 239, &c.

² See above, pp. 55, 56.

³ See J. T. S. vol. ix, p. 531.

⁴ On p. 75.

VOL. X.

The linear summary is therefore as	s follov	vs :—	-		
•				? a	β
XLI. IN NATALE SCI IOHANNIS EUANGELIS	STAE			3	3
6, (7) 6, 5, (25) 28 + 5 (22), 5, 5.				55	49
ii: 1, (6) 5, 5, (23) 21 (20), (6) 5, 5.		•	•	$\frac{42 = 100}{}$? 41
XLII. IN NATALE INNOCENTUM				a 3	2
5, 4, (18) 16, 5 (4), 6 (5)				36	34
ii: 1, 6, 5, 12, 5, 7		•	•	36 = 75	36
XLIII. In iriunio mensis decimi				а 3	2
6, 3, (5) 4, (12) 11, 3, 6 (5)				33	32
ii: 1, 6(5), 4, 5, 7(6), 4, 8				35	33
iii: 1, 4(3), (5) 4, 4, 3, 4, 4, 3, (10) 9,	4, (6)	5.		45	44
iii: 1, 4, 4(3), (4) 3, (6) 5, 3, 3, (17) 10	6(15), 4	1, 5.		48	46
v: 1. 8. (4) 8. 4					11

ADDENDUM. It only remains for me to note three analogous coincidences.—

In Section XVII i for the Vigil of the Septem Fratres, the ninth of July; in XXI v, viii, viiii, x for the Feast of St Laurence, the tenth of August; and in XXXV i, undated at Verona, but for the Quattuor Coronati on the eighth or, as the Depositio Martyrum has it, the ninth of November, we find expressed the correlated ideas of patrocinium and seruitus: the patronus or patroni being the saint or saints of the day, the seruus being the celebrant. The coincidences are that Sixtus III, predecessor of Leo, was consecrated on the tenth of July, and may therefore have been elected on the ninth; that Leo himself was elected on the tenth of August; and that, supposing him to have been consecrated on the twenty-second of September, 440, and to have died on the third or fourth of November, 461—data which I assume with some little confidence [see above, p. 82]—Hilarus, his successor, was elected on the eighth or ninth of November.

In the first of these I see corroborative proof of the suggestion several times made in the foregoing pages, that some few groups of Masses are referable to the pontificate, if not to the pen, of Sixtus; in the second, that in their first form XXI v-viiii were Leo's 2; in the third, that XXXV was inserted into the collection by Hilarus; and, inferentially, that to Hilarus are due those amplifications of XXXVI i-iiii which represent Caecilia as already espoused at the time of her martyrdom, but to an unnamed suitor whom she predeceased.

¹ After a pontificate of 21 years, 1 month and 13 days, the period assigned in some copies of the Liber Pontificalis.

² His, no doubt, were also x and xi.

The reticence of the θ and α redactions with regard to this portion of the legend may perhaps be explained thus: That Leo of set purpose so modelled his panegyrics of Caecilia as to suggest a tribute of admiring respect to his friend Demetrias, the generous benefactress of the Roman Church who from motives of piety had made choice of the single life; a tribute which mention of a matrimonial alliance contracted for Caecilia would have rendered irrelevant.

I do not think that investigators of the chronology of the Roman See have ever as yet made use of Sections XVII, XXI, XXVIIII, XXXIII and XXXV of the Leonianum.

MARTIN RULE.

Postscript. It has several times occurred to me that there may have been a θ redaction of the Masses in honour of St Clement. Assuredly, they contain no needless rubrics, no superfluous and no awkwardly amalgamated prayers, no clauses devoid of regimen but susceptible of incorporation into prayers contiguous to them but already complete; nor do they, like the Sections in honour of St Stephen, St Laurence, or St Caecilia, contain constituents the component parts of which, from historical and other points of view, are so manifestly out of focus with each other as to challenge dissection. Nevertheless, the last sentence, 'postremo' &c. (153:1) of the first Preface reads like a repetition of what goes before; while in the third and fourth Prefaces the hopeless 'apostolicae praedicationis fidelissimus et alumnus acceptus' (153:24) and 'in tuis praedicatoribus sequendo' (154:3) are not only suggestive of blundering efforts to decipher indistinctly written memoranda, but are such that the disbalanced antithesis of the context is in each instance restored by their removal. Although, therefore, I have not the same kind of certitude as in other instances, I cannot fail to note that, if the passages just mentioned are indeed ex post facto to the original text, the first values of the Prefaces in which they severally occur were [735-78=]657 letters (24 θ lines), $\begin{bmatrix} 299-54= \end{bmatrix}$ 245 letters (9 θ lines) and $\begin{bmatrix} 319-29= \end{bmatrix}$ 290 letters (11 θ lines), and that my list on p. 92 may, though with becoming diffidence, be supplemented thus:—

					$\boldsymbol{ heta}$	a	β
FOR TITLE					3	3	3
7, 6, (24) 25 (23) .					37	38	36
ii: 1, 6(5), (11) 10 .					18	17	16
iii: 1, 5, (6) 5, (9) 10.				•	2 I	21	21
iiii: 1, 5, 11(10), 4(3).					2I = 100	21 = 100	19
For St Felicitas .			•	•			86
For SS. Chrysogonus	&c.						27
For St Andrew .	•	•	•	•		125	117 = 325
							M. R.

SOME REFLEXIONS ON DR BURNEY'S VIEW OF THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL.

DR BURNEY'S article will undoubtedly have proved interesting and stimulating to students of very different schools of thought. He raises many points and suggests many reflexions. His main contention—the early origin of Israelitish monotheism—is beyond the reach of criticism by anybody who has troubled to look into the evidence. But there are other views expressed or implied in his paper which may well give rise to discussion, and I should like to draw attention to some matters which appear to need consideration. I limit myself to two main points—the stay at Kadesh-barnea and the influence of the study of comparative jurisprudence on the testimony of Genesis.

The view that the Israelites stayed some thirty-eight years at Kadeshbarnea is almost universally held by writers of all schools. I venture, however, to think that it is quite irreconcileable with the evidence of the sources on any view of the origin of the Pentateuch. The conservatives who support this theory at once find themselves confronted by the fact that Deuteronomy says plainly that thirty-eight years elapsed between the departure from Kadesh and the crossing of the brook Zered. The only question, therefore, is how the matter stands for those who accept the documentary hypothesis. For this purpose it is necessary to examine the fragments of JE, and here the difficulties emerge.

(1) According to the present narrative, soon after the arrival at Kadesh an incident occurred which led to the direct categorical command 'To-morrow turn ye and get you into the wilderness by the way to the Red Sea' (Num. xiv 25(E)). It is true that the Israelites then made an unsuccessful expedition (J) in direct disobedience to this command; but whatever time may be allowed for this expedition, it cannot have consumed anything remotely resembling thirty-eight years. Nevertheless, nothing further was done until nearly the end of this period. Then Moses sent messengers to the king of Edom asking for permission to cross his land, i.e. to do something which would render

¹ 'A Theory of the Developement of Israelite Religion in Early Times,' Journal of Theological Studies, April 1908.

² Dr Burney may be interested to know that his conclusion can be reached by entirely different methods from an entirely different point of view. See *Bibliotheca Sacra*, October 1907, pp. 609-637.

it unnecessary to go round by the way to the Red Sea (Num. xx 14-18, 21a (E) 19, 20, 21b (J)). After this had failed Moses apparently decided to leave Kadesh (22a) in compliance with the command of thirty-eight years before, and xxi 4b (E) (which should probably be taken next) represents the Israelites as going round by the way to the Red Sea to compass the land of Edom. Is it really credible that the order of the narrative is correct? Can it be that any Hebrew historian represented Moses as receiving a command of God's, ignoring it for thirty-eight years, then attempting to do something inconsistent with it, and finally complying—all without incurring any Divine remonstrance or rebuke?

- (2) The Numbers narrative known to the Deuteronomist told an entirely different story. It used the very phrases we have before us in Numbers, but it placed the narratives in a different order. After recalling the Divine command and the immediate disobedience of the people, Deuteronomy proceeds to relate their subsequent compliance: 'Then we turned, and took our journey into the wilderness by the way to the Red Sea . . .: and we compassed mount Seir many days. . . . And the days in which we came from Kadesh-barnea, until we were come over the brook Zered, were thirty and eight years' (Deut. ii 1, 14). Moreover, the compassing is said to have been in direct consequence of the Divine command. It is scarcely conceivable that the Deuteronomist, while following Numbers so slavishly as to use its very phrases, should have flatly contradicted it on such a point. P sides with the Deuteronomist, and knows nothing of the stay at Kadesh. be noticed that Num. xxxii 132 is clear on the point, and the itinerary in xxxiii, even in its present form, is singularly unfavourable to the idea of a lengthened sojourn at Kadesh. Num. xiv 33 (reading רעים for רעים) tells the same tale. In the sequel it will be made probable that such discrepancies as appear to exist between the sources are due to transpositions of the text.
- (3) If now it be asked what evidence there is for the view of the prolonged sojourn at Kadesh, the answer is that it is a mere inference from physical propinquity. At present the departure from Kadesh (Num. xx 22a) is immediately followed by an account of the death of Aaron, which is known to have taken place in the fortieth year. If this episode is misplaced, the whole case falls to the ground. Now Deut. ii 1 distinctly points to Num. xxi 4b as the proper sequel to xx 22a. This gives us 'And they journeyed from Kadesh by the way

¹ i.e. presumably, part of the third year, the fourth to the thirty-ninth years inclusive, and part of the fortieth year.

² If this verse be JE it only increases the difficulties of accepting the long stay at Kadesh as historical.

to the Red Sea to compass the land of Edom' as the original narrative. In other words, it is only necessary to suppose that xx 22b-xxi 4a was inserted in its present position by mistake, in order to get rid of the thirty-eight years' sojourn. That, of course, does not remove all the difficulties of the present narrative, for (as will shortly appear) xxi 1-3 is clearly out of place, and we are still left with the message to the king of Edom after the command to compass his land; but it shews how the difficulty may have arisen. In that case it becomes easy to follow the thought which led to the present arrangement. The death of Aaron took place by the border of the land of Edom (Num. xx 23; xxxiii 37) in the fortieth year. The border in question was in point of fact the Eastern (or south-eastern) border (Deut. ii 4), which was passed on the journey north from Ezion-geber; but it would seem that this was not appreciated by the person or persons responsible for the present arrangement, and the narrative appears to owe its position to the fact that xx 14 ff deals with negotiations that were conducted by Moses when the Israelites were on the frontier of Edom-but in this instance the Western frontier. It is true that at present Num. xxxiii 35-41 appears to favour the existing arrangement of the text, but here I would draw attention to certain textual considerations which I have not seen raised anywhere.

- (a) xxxiii 40 looks uncommonly like a gloss. It runs as follows: 'And the Canaanite, the king of Arad, which dwelt in the South in the land of Canaan, heard of the coming of the children of Israel.' This leads to nothing; we are not told here that the intelligence led him to take any action. By itself the verse cannot stand. Its only justification is as a reminiscence of xxi 1, of which it is an inaccurate quotation. It seems to me that it is most naturally explained as a note scribbled down by somebody who meant to say, 'It was at this juncture that the Arad campaign occurred.' I am confirmed in this view by the fact that de Legarde omits the verse from his text of the Lucianic recension of the Septuagint on the ground that it is missing in three out of the four MSS on which his edition is based.'
- (b) The only other difficulty presented by this chapter is due to the presence of 36b-37a after Ezion-geber. If this be inserted either immediately or soon after Hazeroth in 18a, the account agrees with all the other sources. It is easy to understand that a transposition may have taken place to bring the chapter into accord with the present arrangement of Num. xxf. It will be noticed that if this change be

¹ Some years ago I was led to express the view that there were two places of the name of Kadesh (*Churchman*, June 1906). Had I known of the evidence for regarding this verse as a late gloss, I should not have done so, and I no longer adhere to that view.

adopted we get the following points of agreement: (i) According to all the sources the Israelites now arrive at Kadesh-barnea at an early stage of the wanderings (i.e. the first month of the third year), leave it before the end of the third year, and spend the whole of the subsequent period till some date in the fortieth year in wandering. (ii) All the sources now send the Israelites round by the Red Sea during this period of wandering.

(4) It has been recognized by many that the Arad incident in Num. xxi 1-3 is misplaced, but no satisfactory solution has yet been propounded. Why, it is very pertinently asked, should the Israelites have evacuated the Negeb if they had won an important victory there? The answer seems to be that on the very scene of their victory they subsequently suffered a crushing defeat (Num. xiv 45; Deut. i 44). And this answer kills three birds with one stone. First, as already suggested, it gives a satisfactory reason for a retreat that would otherwise be unintelligible; secondly, it removes the anomaly by which the explanation of the name Hormah (Num. xxi 3) is made to follow its first use (xiv 45); thirdly, it gets rid of the impossible geography by which this victory at a place north of Kadesh is made to follow a southward movement thence.

Relying on these considerations, and using the help of Deuteronomy, I suggest that the true history of the last thirty-eight years in the desert was in outline as follows: At the beginning of the third year the Israelites arrived at Kadesh and settled down there for a sojourn of some months. Two courses lay open to them. They could either cut across the land of Edom and invade from the East, or they could invade through the Negeb. Both courses were tried in turn, and both failed. The Edomites refused a passage, and this rendered a rapid invasion from the East impossible. In the Negeb a campaign was fought with varying fortunes. The king of Arad was defeated, and at first all seemed to be going well. Indeed, after the failure of the negotiations with Edom the spies were sent out.1 Next come the report of the spies, the discouragement of the people, and the unsuccessful invasion. Perhaps it is to this that Merenptah's inscription relates. (The language of Dathan and Abiram in xvi 14 certainly gains in vividness if we place that episode immediately after a defeat which put an end once for all to the hopes of successful invasion from the south.) And then at last the

¹ I would draw attention to the notes of time. The Israelites arrive in the first month (xx. 1), i.e. in the early spring. Yet the spies are in Canaan at the time of the first-ripe grapes (xiii 20), i.e. apparently about July. This means that they were not sent out at once, and the interval is probably to be explained (at any rate partly) by the negotiations with Edom. These must have failed before the command to go round by the Red Sea (xiv 25) could have been given.

people set out to do the only thing that remains open to them—to compass Edom by the way of the Red Sea, and attempt the invasion from the East when a new generation of fighting-men had grown up. It is true that it then becomes impossible to treat Judges i 16 ff as a doublet of Num. xxi 1-3; but in any case there seems to me an insuperable geographical objection to Dr Burney's view. In Judges the expedition starts from Jericho, not Kadesh.¹ On the other hand, if I am right in thinking that the victory recorded in Numbers was followed by a defeat, the second conquest later on becomes easily intelligible.

Thus it appears that historically a very intelligible narrative (though altogether different from the view generally held) may be extracted from the sources. It provides us at all points with an account that is geographically possible, and it harmonizes all the available information. Moreover, it is significant that the old chronological difficulties that beset the concluding chapters of Numbers disappear altogether if this order be adopted and the reading 'first' (preserved by the Syriac) be substituted for the 'fifth' of the Massoretic text in Num. xxxiii 38. But two textual questions remain: (a) What is the original order of the narrative in Numbers? and (b) how did the present arrangement come about?

With regard to the second question, I think the clue is to be found in the points we have already considered. The narrative of Aaron's death appears to owe its present position to (erroneous) geographical considerations, while on the other hand the position of xxi 1-3 seems to be due to accident. Thus the conjecture lies near at hand that the narrative got disarranged by some accident in the first instance, and was subsequently rearranged (but unfortunately on erroneous principles) by some person or persons who thought to remedy the confusion, and followed the wrong clue. It would seem that the Wilderness of Paran in xiii 3 is responsible for the present position of the story of the spies immediately after the pitching in that wilderness

¹ There is no possible combination which will divide these three mentions of Hormah between two documents in such a way as to make the present order tenable. The two explanatory passages, Judges i and Num. xxi, must be given to different documents, and then to whichever of the two Num. xiv be assigned the mention of the name will precede its explanation. Further, if Num. xiv is to be attributed to the Jericho document, it is necessary to explain how the expedition from Jericho by some tribes can be made to precede the expedition from Kadesh by the main body. At what pre-Kadesh period of the wanderings were the Israelites or any of them at Jericho! An additional objection to the view that some of the tribes settled in Canaan as the result of a successful invasion in the South lies in the fact that this would make a portion of the Israelites victorious where the whole body had already suffered a crushing defeat.

(xii 16), that xx 1 is placed too late because it speaks of the Wilderness of Zin, and that the narratives of verses 1-21 owe their juxtaposition to the fact that the scene is throughout at Kadesh, and that 21b appeared to lead up to the departure from Kadesh. To determine the original order is more difficult. Num. xx 14-21, certainly, and xxi 1-3, probably, must have preceded the narrative of the spies originally, but it is not easy to say which of these two should come before the other. On the whole the following order may be tentatively suggested: Num. xii, xx 1, 14-21, xxi 1-3, xiii, xiv, xvi-xviii, xx 2-13, 22a, xxi 4b-9, then a lacuna to which xx 22b-29 and xxi 4a belong. There are no indications as to the correct position of xv and xix. From Deut. ii and Num. xxxiii it may be inferred that the missing verses brought the Israelites down to Ezion-geber and Elath, and then told of their northward journey (embodying the account of the death of Aaron) until the narrative brought them to the station preceding Oboth (Num. xxi 10).

I pass now to my other point, the bearing of comparative jurisprudence on such investigations as Dr Burney's. Genesis is full of stories that contain legal material, though this is not easily appreciated until the book is read in the light of the work of modern schools of jurists. When this is done, considerations emerge which must do much to modify current views. It appears, in the first place, that on the whole the law of the Hebrews was extraordinarily unlike the law of the Babylonians, and that Babylonian influence on this department of the national life can at most have been very restricted. Again, any estimate of the age or historical character of some of the narratives would probably be erroneous if it failed to account for the legal features. The jurist who reads Gen, ix will note that it contains a law of homicide which does not discriminate between different forms of bloodshed. The comparative material teaches him that this belongs to an earlier stage of civilization than distinctions between murder and manslaughter.1 When he finds the account of Abimelech's conduct in Gen. xx, he knows that as a picture of early law—or perhaps it would be more accurate to say of the Vorgeschichte of law-the chapter finds corroboration in the legal history of every early community. Now this line of thought appears to affect Dr Burney's enquiry in two different ways. It corroborates much of what he says by tending to throw back the age of the Hebrew traditions generally. It is not possible legally to regard the story of Cain or Gen. ix or xxxi 32 or many other passages that might be cited as more recent than the laws of Exodus or Numbers.2 On the other hand, it is distinctly unfavourable to the tribal theory of

¹ See an article in the Churchman for January 1908 for a number of instances of the kind.

² That Dr. Burney may find other support for the early dating of the first com-

the patriarchs. If Cain was a tribe, it is at any rate odd that we should have recorded of him a punishment for murder, which under the various names sacratio capitis, Friedloslegung, outlawry, &c., is familiar to all students of early law. And the doubt so raised is increased by every fresh instance. It would be easy to go through the legal passages of Genesis one by one, examining them from this point of view; but as I have recently drawn attention to some of the more important of these elsewhere, I need not now linger on them. But such investigations make it very difficult to believe that the instance of rape and the resulting private war chronicled in Gen. xxxiv are in fact symbolical. If they were, it is improbable that they would find parallels from all over the world.

HAROLD M. WIENER.

ST LUKE XXII 15, 16.

I am glad to see that Professor Burkitt's authority is now enlisted on the side of the non-paschal implications of St Luke xxii 15, 16. Both Professor Burkitt and Mr Brooke are, apparently, unaware that I proposed this interpretation of the passage more than five years ago in a review of Berning's Die Einsetzung der heiligen Eucharistie in ihrer ursprünglichen Form, nach den Berichten des neuen Testamentes kritisch untersucht (see the Critical Review, Jan. 1903, pp. 32-38).

Perhaps I may be allowed to recall the passage from the review in question which contains the suggestion. It runs as follows:

'It is also remarkable how slight (apart from the introductory narrative-setting) are the indications of the alleged paschal character of the meal described in the Synoptists, while they are altogether absent from the parallel narrative in John (xiii). It is especially significant that none of the accounts contains any mention of the paschal lamb, unless Luke xxii 15 be an exception, which is hardly probable. It must be admitted that the latter passage at first sight seems to demonstrate the paschal character of the meal; but on examination this becomes less certain. In Westcott and Hort's text the verse runs as follows: ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα φαγεῖν μεθ' ὑμῶν πρὸ τοῦ με παθεῖν· λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι οῦ μὴ φάγω αὐτὸ ἔως ὅτου πληρωθη ἐν τῆ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ. The saying—which bears the stamp of genuineness—is peculiar to Luke. It is noteworthy that the state-

position of certain narratives appears clearly from Gen. x 19, where a border is fixed by reference to places that were destroyed in the age of Abraham, and that are spoken of in this passage as being still in existence.

ment οὐ μὴ φάγω αὐτό is, as regards the speaker's present, perfectly unqualified: I will not eat it, viz. τοῦτο τὸ πάσχα. The difficulty was evidently felt by the early readers and copyists, who added οὖκέτι before οὐ μὴ φάγω and changed αὐτό into ἐξ αὐτοῦ—'I will not again eat of it'. But it is at least conceivable that the original saying should be interpreted: I have greatly desired to eat this (coming) Passover with you before I suffer (but it is not to be); for I say unto you I will not eat it until it be fulfilled in the Kingdom of God.

['Sometimes 'כ (= for) in a poetical or rhetorical style gives the reason for a thought not expressed but implied' (Driver in Oxf. Heb. Lex. s. v. כ col. 474 a where instances are given). The same remark applies to the usage of the Aramaic ארי, which was probably the original of $\gamma \acute{a}\rho$ here.]

When I proposed the above explanation in January 1903, I believe I was in a minority of one. It is gratifying to know that the minority has now been increased to three at least.

G. H. Box.

THE APOSTOLIC GROUPS.

The lists found respectively in the first, second, and third Gospels and in the Acts appear to represent four corresponding stages in the evolution of the apostolic college. Various features in this evolution will be set forth in the course of the following article, but it may be pointed out at once that a division into three groups of four soon came to be more fundamental than the original division into pairs. The latter is found in St Matthew's list, and marks it off as the most primitive. The pairs probably represent the companies in which the Apostles were wont to preach.¹ In the Acts, St Luke harks back to this arrangement; yet there not merely does he name the first four Apostles without such pairing, but the last three also, because of the absence of the traitor, and he makes an interchange in the two pairs which he does give.

On the other hand there is abundant evidence for the developement of the groups at the expense of the pairs. The Acts list shews itself the latest by explicitly marking the beginning of a new group by the omission of $\kappa \alpha i$: in the case of the last group it perhaps has the support of the other Lucan list, but the reading is doubtful. Further, the leader of each group is always the same; he alone keeps his place in all the lists, but the groups are never crossed. Lastly, the different

¹ Cf. Mk. vi 7: for similar examples see Lk. x 1, with Plummer's note.

Mt. x 2-4	Mk. iii 16-19	Lk. vi 14-16	Ac i 13
The first, Simon, who is called Peter, and Andrew his brother; James ' the (son) of Zebedee, and John his brother;	and Simon he surnamed Peter; and James the (son) of Zebedee, and John the brother of James; and them he surnamed Boanerges, which is, Sons of thunder: and Andrew,	Simon, whom he also named Peter, and Andrew his brother, and James and John,	both Peter and John and James and Andrew,
Philip, and Bartholomew; Thomas, and Matthew the publican;	and Philip, and Bartholomew, and Matthew, and Thomas,	and Philip and Bartholomew, and Matthew and Thomas,	Philip and Thomas, Bartholomew and Matthew,
James the (son) of Alphaeus, and Thaddaeus; Simon the Cananean, and Judas Iscariot?, who also betrayed him.	and James the (son) of Alphaeus, and Thaddaeus, and Simon the Cananaean, and Judas Iscariot, which also betrayed him.	and ³ James (the son) of Alphaeus, and Simon which was called the Zealot, and Judas (the son ⁴) of James, and Judas Iscariot, which was the traitor.	and ³ James (the son) of James (the son) of Alphaeus, and Simon which was called the Zealot, and Judas (the son ⁴) of James. James. James. James. James. James. and Judas Iscariot, which was the traitor.

1 So R, V., from which the above lists are taken; the text of Westcott and Hort, which is followed in this paper, inserts κα΄ before 'Ιάκωβος.

2 Τούδος ο Τσκαριώτης: Mk. and Lk. have Ἰούδαν Ἰοκαριώθ. 3 Westcott and Hort have this καί in single brackets, and the evidence against it is fairly strong. Its omission would strengthen the case to be presented for the division into groups.

4 Or rather, 'brother,' with R.V. margin, and similarly in the Acts list. This point will be touched on below.

character of the groups must be taken into account. The force of this argument will become more apparent as the paper proceeds: suffice it to note here, that the chief characteristic of the first group is close association with the Master, and that of the third judaistic sympathies. The second may perhaps be credited with gentilic leanings.

The three groups may now be considered in turn. In the first an early feature, which is preserved by the Synoptic lists as against that of the Acts, is the priority of James over John. It will be well first of all to examine this question of priority apart from the lists themselves. In the two other places, then, where alone it names either, the first Gospel designates John as James's brother. In one of these the Marcan parallel, while giving James the first place, fails to reproduce this designation (Mt. xvii 1, Mk. ix 2). Mark, however, has it once elsewhere, where the Lucan parallel puts John first (Mk. v 37, Lk. viii 51). To the five other places where the sons of Zebedee are mentioned together in Mark there is no parallel; and it is significant that in these James is always first, but John is never called his brother. characteristic of the third Gospel, on the other hand, that while James is twice put before John, John is twice put before James; and still more characteristic of the Acts, that in them James is actually designated as the brother of John. In other words, we find that the relative position of the four lists proposed above is borne out by the treatment of the sons of Zebedee in the rest of the works from which the lists come. The Acts list represents the stage when John already looms larger than James; the third Gospel represents the transition; the second the time when James would still be put first, but would hardly be used to identify John; the first the earliest stage of all, when John is constantly mentioned as his brother. When we remember the close relation in which St John stood both to the Lord and to St Peter, we may be surprised that the evolution was not more rapid. Perhaps St James was the senior. Clearly it was he who would have sat at the right hand.1 In the fourth Gospel, it may be remembered, neither John nor lames is named, and 'the sons of Zebedee' only once, in the last chapter. This fact may be left for those to explain, who refuse to identify the beloved disciple with the son of Zebedee.

Thus the fact that the first two lists name John as the brother of James shews them to be the more primitive. In this group, as elsewhere, the pairing in the first list shews its priority over the rest. As against the second, it is also shewn to be earlier by its keeping the brothers together. They would naturally be paired off with one another at the outset, until the closer association of St Peter and the sons of Zebedee with our Lord left St Andrew to stand by himself in the fourth

¹ Mt. xx 20 ff; Mk. x 35 ff.

place. This latter arrangement is found in the second and fourth lists, and also in Mk. xiii 3, but in his gospel St Luke harks back to the earlier order of St Matthew, thus furnishing an argument for putting this list before his other list. Yet we may notice in favour of the second list that the mention of the surname given to the sons of Zebedee, which presumably never came into general use, would naturally cause them to be mentioned after Simon, and is itself a characteristically original touch of the writer. On the other hand, it omits, with the Acts list, to call Andrew Simon's brother. This it also does in the two passages where it makes independent mention of him,¹ but in the one case in which there is a Matthaean parallel, the only other mention of St Andrew in the first Gospel, it agrees with it in giving the further designation.²

Further, it is against the third list that it agrees with that of the Acts in making no mention of Zebedee. The latter may already safely be put down as the last, for it not only gives Andrew the fourth place, and puts John before James, but further differs from the rest in not even mentioning Peter's other name, Simon or Symeon.

In the second group the first list is shewn to be more primitive by the pairs, and possibly by its placing Thomas before Matthew, unless this, like the epithet 'the publican', is to be attributed to the direct choice of the writer. The last list, as has already been pointed out, arranges this group in pairs, but crosses the pairs: the one fact discounts the other. The leader of this group is Philip. Bartholomew is paired with him, and is therefore very likely the Nathanael of the fourth Gospel. Perhaps we may without being fanciful suspect this group of something like Gentile sympathies. The leader's name is Greek, and it is to him that the Greeks apply who wish to see Jesus.³ It is interesting to see him consult his fellow townsman, the only other Apostle with a wholly Greek name, and the last member of the preceding group. Matthew the publican, too, is scarcely likely to have had much of the pharisee about him.

The third group is in a manner the most interesting. The first list, as always, has the pairs. That it alone has the more Greek form 1 $G\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\omega\tau\eta$ s 4 need not go for very much. It merely shews that none of the writers has taken over his list from the original source, written or oral, exactly as it originally existed there. The second list is shewn to be earlier than the third by the three distinctive features which are common to the two lists of St Luke, namely, the absence of the two

⁴ Cf. Dalman Words of Jesus pp. 40, 51; Swete on Mk. iii 19; Allen on Mt. x 4. If the form had come to be recognized as a surname of Judas, as of his father (Jo. vi 71), the evangelist might well use it as such, whether he understood its origin or no.

Greek articles in 'James of Alphaeus', as in 'Judas of James', the substitution of 'Zealot' for 'Cananaean', and the Zealot's position before 'Judas of James'. Between the two Lucan lists there seems little to choose so far as the order of composition goes, for the traitor's absence in the Acts list is simply due to the historical fact that he was not there. Possibly the Zealot may be said to have grown into his name.

Everything leads us to suppose that this was, to use the word in a mild sense, the judaistic group. That this is true of its leader hardly calls for demonstration, provided his identity be established. It was James, the brother of the Lord, to whom it naturally fell to preside over the mother-church at Jerusalem upon the imprisonment of St Peter, and the latter afterwards acquiesced in the arrangement by retiring 'to another place'. Such a pillar of the Church, a disciple so prominent from the outset, can scarcely fail to have been one of the original twelve, the $im\epsilon\rho\lambda iav$ amio arrangement afterwards claimed to share.²

The very name of 'Zealot' proves the same characteristic true of his brother Simon. The epithet perhaps served to distinguish him from St Peter, whom we find called 'Symeon' as late as the Council of Jerusalem,3 though St John and St Paul both shew that his new name was itself originally given him in its Jewish form, 'Cephas'.' Yet again, the traitor Judas, whose hypocrisy and greed remind us of the vices which Christ especially reproved in the scribes and pharisees, appears to have come from Judaea. There remains only 'Judas of James', otherwise Thaddaeus. Both these names are Jewish, but the former appears to have been more generally used,5 even from an early date, for we can scarcely imagine its coming in after the other Judas's fall. Dr Swete 6 calls Thaddaeus 'a descriptive name'; the analogy with 'Cananaean' might suggest that it represents the earliest Palestinian stage, but the occurrence of 'Judas' in the Nazareth incident raises a difficulty.7 To find judaistic tendencies in this member of the group we should have to go to the epistle of Jude, or, again, to Hegesippus, of whom we shall speak presently.

What of the fourth brother, Joseph or Joses? From the fact that he was not included in the twelve, we might be led to infer that he was somewhat backward in his adhesion to our Lord, and to assign him a prominent part in scenes where the brethren as a body shew themselves unfriendly or incredulous. But we must remember 'how little even those whom He chose out as His Apostles were able to appreciate His aims and methods up to the very end of His life'. On the other hand,

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    Ac. xii 17.
    Ac. xv 14.
    Jo. i 43; 1 Cor.; Gal.
    Cf. Jo. xiv 22; Jude i.
    Mk. iii 18.
    Mk. iii 21; Jo. vii 3.
    Dr Mayor's St James p. xxiv.
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it is tempting to suggest that he may be the Barsabbas of Acts i 23. The two suppositions are not inconsistent, and the name Justus, though its Latin form would call for further explanation, suggests that here, too, we have a strict observer of the Law.¹ Nevertheless, as regards this brother, we cannot go beyond mere conjecture. Ought we to suppose any relationship between this Barsabbas and that of Acts xv? And is the name a patronymic?

That the whole family had a strong attachment to Old Testament tradition, such as, at the crisis in which they had a part, would not unnaturally range them among the more conservative, may be deduced from the four brothers' very names. The firstborn receives Jacob's name—unfortunately English usage tends to obscure the fact, just as it tends to obscure the identity in biblical and other languages of 'brothers' and 'brethren'-and the other sons those of the greater patriarchs. There are, of course, many who refuse to identify the three who remained of the third group of Apostles with the brothers mentioned in the visit to Nazareth; but everything fits so well that it seems more than superfluous to multiply persons with the same name. Dr Mayor, in his otherwise admirable edition of St James's epistle, not merely represents James a brother of the Lord and James a cousin of the Lord playing Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde, so to say, with one another, but sees no difficulty in their both having brothers called Joseph and Simon.² The recurrence of as many as three names is improbable, especially when we find James ever taking the precedence, and St Matthew's variation from St Mark's order in the visit to Nazareth 3 supported by the Lucan lists of the Apostles. To all this should be added the argument from I Cor. xv 7,4 and from the ἔτερον . . . εἰ μή of Gal. i 10, which is stronger than any of the examples used to explain it away. The ἔτερον refers back to Cephas, but cannot be altogether cut off from what follows.

Naturally this group of the Lord's brethren is sometimes mentioned along with His mother; the brethren, however, are not brought into direct relation with her, but both together are related to Christ. Naturally, again, they are found in the company of the Apostles, but their peculiar position would entitle them to the same particular mention as is accorded to Christ's mother among the women. From this point

¹ James was called 'the Just': Hegesippus ap. Eus. H. E. ii 23. 4.

² Op. at. pp. xvii, xix.

³ Mt. xiii 55; Mk. vi 3.

⁴ It seems more likely that the word ἀπόστολοι, used with reference to the period before the Ascension, is to be taken in the narrower sense. In any case, the use of 'James' without any further qualification is significant. To take ἀπόστολοι in the wide sense in Gal. i 19 appears to spoil the meaning. Doubtless there were already apostles in the wide sense of the term at Damascus itself (Ac. viii 1-4, ix 1-2, xi 19).

of view the climax in 1 Cor. ix 5 is instructive: 'the rest of the apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas.' Perhaps we might reasonably complain that those who seek to exclude the Lord's brethren from the Twelve, like those who would exclude the beloved disciple, either do not realize sufficiently the dignity of the apostolic college, or else that of those whom they are excluding. Yet the fact of there being a fourth brother, Joseph, might complicate matters. Possibly but for him his more eminent brothers would not have been mentioned apart, even after such a mere list as is found in Ac. i 13.

It has seemed necessary to offer these few remarks in justification of the view here adopted as to the Lord's brethren; for a more adequate exposition the reader may be referred to Dom Chapman's careful article in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for April 1906.¹ It is difficult to see, however,² that Hegesippus 'clearly means' that 'Mary of Clopas' is the sister of the Lord's mother. He seems rather to reckon the relationship through Christ's foster-father,³ and it appears easier to take His mother's sister to be Salome, the mother of the sons of Zebedee.⁴ St John naturally pairs the two sisters together, and the two Maries.

Thus both the first and the third apostolic group would contain cousins of the Lord. It was doubtless because their mother was Christ's aunt that James and John instigated her to petition on their behalf.⁵ We are also prepared to find St John taking the Blessed Virgin to his own home after the crucifixion.⁶ This need not have meant any very new arrangement. The removal from Nazareth to Capernaum at the opening of the ministry may have been a change from life with the cousins on the father's side to life with the cousins on the mother's side; and this would explain the great detail with which St John in his first five chapters narrates the events just before and after the removal.8 The Baptist, we may notice in passing, was also a relative of Christ through his mother, and, but for the explicit statement in Lk. i 61, we might have been led to suspect a fairly close relationship with his namesake the son of Zebedee. In any case, the latter may well have been the forerunner's beloved disciple before passing from him to Jesus. St Paul, too, is possibly mentioning six relatives of his own

¹ Unfortunately the writer of the somewhat airy article in the *Church Quarterly Review* for April does not even mention this previous treatment of the subject.

⁴ Cf. Jo. xix 25; Mt. xxvii 56; Mk. xv 40. 5 Mk. x 35 ff; Mt. xx 20 ff.

⁶ Jo. xix 27. Mt. iv 13-16; Jo. ii 12.

⁸ I have explained how I take these chapters in the Expositor for May 1906: 'The Structure of the Fourth Gospel.'

⁹ Yet it is possible that the stir at the Baptist's birth itself caused a kinsman to be named after him.

in Rom. xvi, and five of them appear to be fellow workers. It seems a little weak to take 'kinsmen' merely to mean Jews, and somewhat precarious to suppose that none of the others mentioned are Jews. There must have been plenty at Rome, and a priori it seems as likely as not that St Paul would avoid making distinction of Jew and Gentile. Of St Paul's nephew, spoken of in Ac. xxiii 16, nothing further is known. It would be a datum of great importance if we could suppose that at the time when he wrote the epistle two Jewish Christians 'of note among the Apostles' were in prison at Rome; but in what precise sense they were his 'fellow prisoners' must remain uncertain.

In conclusion, part of what has been said may be briefly confirmed from the fragments of Hegesippus. From the point of view of the historian, Hegesippus is one of the most important figures of the second century. Himself a Jew of Palestine, he had travelled widely, and thus in more ways than one supplies a welcome link between the Church and her Founder. He tells us that James the Just, the brother of the Lord, was martyred shortly before the siege of Jerusalem.1 On his death 'Symeon, the son of the Lord's uncle, Clopas, was appointed the next bishop. All proposed him as second bishop, because he was a cousin of the Lord'. Again, 'the same historian (Hegesippus) says that there were also others, descended from one of the so-called brothers of the Saviour, whose name was Judas, who, after they had borne testimony before Domitian, as has been already recorded, on behalf of faith in Christ, lived until the same (Trajan's) reign'.3 We cannot say for certain that the addition of 'so-called' is due to Hegesippus rather than to Eusebius, but at least Symeon is definitely called a cousin of the Lord, and he is Clopas's son. Nor can it be positively proved that Hegesippus looked upon these three as Apostles: yet he speaks of James taking over the Church 'along with the Apostles',4 and appears to have connected Symeon's death with the final disappearance of the apostolic college.⁵ At any rate, he speaks of James and Symeon as the first two bishops of Jerusalem, and connects Judas with Jerusalem through his descendants. Thus we have further evidence of the judaistic tendencies of the three. are details in Hegesippus's narrative which it is a little difficult to accept as they stand; but it would be unsafe to reject any important part of it. It can scarcely be doubted that he is a Jew of Palestine, and

4 Ibid. ii 23. 4.

5 Ibid. iii 32.

¹ Ap. Eus. H. E. ii 23, iii 18.

² Ap. Eus. *H.E.* iv 22. This translation, from the Oxford and New York Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers, appears the more correct. Some would take 'second' with 'cousin'. 'Brother of the Lord' was James's regular title. It is hard to see why Jude did not use it too, if he was brother of the Lord in the same sense that he was brother of James.

³ Ibid. iii 32: same translation.

is giving the traditions of his native land, very likely of the church of Jerusalem itself. Besides, he appears to have taken a special interest in the $\delta\iota\alpha\delta\circ\chi\alpha\iota$, the lines of bishops to which Irenaeus and Tertullian appeal so confidently.¹ His use of the word is a little rough, for he makes it stand alike for the catalogue of bishops, and for the see itself²; but this may be only an example of what Eusebius calls his 'very simple style'.³ There are difficulties about the Jerusalem lists, but Hegesippus's testimony about James and Symeon is above reasonable suspicion.⁴

The permansi of Rufinus's Latin version of Eusebius's Church History 6 may simply be due to a natural misunderstanding of the Greek. It is curious, however, that $i\pi\iota\mu\nu\nu\dot{\eta}\nu$, a conjecture palaeographically strong in a well-known passage of Clement of Rome, 6 just gives that meaning. Should we conjecture back $\delta\iota\alpha\delta\circ\chi\dot{\eta}\nu$ into the text of Clement of Rome, to suit the $\delta\iota\alpha\delta\dot{\epsilon}\xi\omega\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ that follows? The influence of the preceding $i\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\sigma\eta\dot{\gamma}s$ might account for an intermediate stage. Indeed, $i\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\sigma\eta\dot{\gamma}\nu$ itself may possibly be the right reading.

CUTHBERT LATTEY.

¹ Iren. Haer. iii 3. 1; Tert. Praescr. 32, 36.
² Ap. Eus. H. E. iv 22. 3.

³ Ibid. iv 8. 2.

⁴ With this view Mr Turner agrees (J. T. S., July 1900, The Early Episcopal Lists: Jerusalem: p. 553). It hardly seems correct, however, to make Eusebius say in his Chronicle that James was ordained bishop by the Apostles (ibid. p. 535). The Latin has ordinatus, but Syncellus, as given ad loc. by Migne, has καθίσταται, and the other passages referred to imply no more than appointing or entrusting.

⁵ i. e. for διαδοχήν ἐποιησάμην Η. Ε. iv 22, 3: Harnack reads διατριβήν

⁶ Clem. Rom. i 44.

THE STAR OF BETHLEHEM.

THE following explanation of the Star of Bethlehem occurred to me a few years ago, and, as it does not appear to have been noticed by any one else, I now venture to offer it to the public for what it may be worth. My explanation is based on the assumption that the question 'Where is he that is born king of the Tews?' is to be taken literally, and that the Magi were in search not of a Messiah or of any unique person, but of a king such as might be born in each generation, the omens for whose birth might be found in astrological works. I take it that the Magi were professional astrologers. They came from the east $(a\pi \delta a\nu a\tau o\lambda \hat{\omega}\nu)$, where they had seen a star in the east $(\epsilon\nu \tau \hat{\eta} a\nu a\tau o\lambda \hat{\eta})$. The difference in number between ἀνατολῶν and ἀνατολῆ probably indicates that they are to be taken in different senses. In that case in the \dot{a} νατολ $\hat{\eta}$ should mean 'in the eastern quarter of the heaven'. It is in the east that the sun and the stars rise, and an omen for a birth would most naturally be found in the eastern sky. It may be supposed then that an observation was made of a star in the east fulfilling the conditions which. according to astrological science, would constitute an omen of the birth of a king of the Jews. The Magi formed the resolution to offer salutations to the newborn king, and proceeded to the place where such a birth was most likely to take place, namely, Herod's palace. When they arrived, Herod, knowing that no birth had taken place there, suspected that the star betokened the birth of the Messiah, who, he feared, was destined to dethrone his family. It is only at this stage that any reference to the Messiah is introduced into the account. chief priests and scribes informed Herod that Bethlehem was to be the Messiah's birthplace, and Herod consequently sent the Magi on a secret mission to Bethlehem. The Magi took the road to Bethlehem. and, on the way, they observed the star again. After a time it appeared to stand over a particular house, as it might well do if low on the The Magi noticed the particular house and followed, and there they found the object of their search. Astrology had guided them to the country, prophecy to the town, and a happy omen to the house.

So much had occurred to me without consulting any astrological work which bore on the subject. The second half of the problem was to discover whether, in what remains to us of ancient astrology, there is anything to indicate what sort of observation would be thus interpreted. It is not likely that the evangelist knew enough astrology to say what precise observation would be interpreted to mean the birth of a king of

the Jews, but he may have known the general type of observation from which such omens were drawn. Some tablets suggesting the method of interpretation are to be found in The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon, edited by Professor R. C. Thompson (Luzac & Co., 1900). The work is in two volumes, the first of which contains the cuneiform text, and the second, which alone is partly intelligible to me, contains translations, transliterations, and a vocabulary. In this book there are no predictions of births, but there are predictions of the deaths of kings of particular countries, and we find different planets, different portions of the zodiac, different quarters of the moon, and different months of the year allotted to different countries. Now we may be sure that the heavens that blazed forth the death of princes would be quite as likely to render answers about their birth, and that when astrologers began to seek omens for the birth of princes they would look for the same indications of the countries affected, provided that the observations contained those elements, whatever they may have been, that indicated that the omens were those of birth and not of famine or pestilence or victory or death, Among the countries most frequently mentioned on these tablets is one whose name Professor Thompson read as Aharrů. Professor Sayce informs me that Amurrû is now considered the proper reading of this name. Amurrû, as Professor Thompson informs us, was identified by the later Babylonians with Palestine and Phoenicia. In other words, it almost exactly coincided with the kingdom of Herod the Great. Now among the deaths of kings predicted on these tablets, there is in No. 44 the death of the king of Amurrû; so that there is every reason to believe that an astrological work including predictions of births would include predictions of the birth of the king of Amurra.

There is a remarkable variety about the different phenomena of which similar interpretations were given. The death of the king of Amurrû was inferred from a planet (GUD, UD), which Professor Thompson identifies with Mercury, standing within Kumal, apparently a part of Virgo, at sunset. Kumal, we are told in No. 101, is the star of Amurrû, and, as

Aries; Kugler op. cat. pp. 31, 32, 229, 260, leans to this view.

¹ Kugler Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel i (1907) p. 10, regards this interpretation as certain. I append, throughout, the Babylonian names of the planets, because there has been some doubt as to the identification of the names for the period to which these tablets belong, though there is no doubt that Professor Thompson's identifications are those which held good among the later Babylonians. Kugler op. cit. pp. 215-225, appears to have demolished the arguments in favour of a transference of names. If no other evidence were available, the observation-tablet of 523 B.c., which can be checked by modern computations, would prove that the names had the same meaning at that date as among the later Babylonians.

² Jensen Göttingische Gelehrte Anzagen (1902) p. 370, identifies KU. MAL with

Mercury is always in close attendance on the sun, Mercury at sunset must have been in the west. In this case, then, a king's death is predicted from an omen in the west, and the kingdom is identified by means of the position in the zodiac of the star from which the observation is taken. It would, therefore, be quite analogous for some sunrise observation to be interpreted as the birth of a king. But the predictions of kings' deaths are by no means all connected with the west, and the predictions of kings' births need not all have been connected with the east.

In the following instances reasons are given for connecting omens with Amurrû:—

- (i) In Nos. 67, 268, 270, 271, we read 'Siwan = Amurrû', and in 272 we read 'The eclipse of the moon and sun which happened in Siwan—these omens which are evil for Akkad and the kings of Amurrû are for Akkad'.
- (ii) In No. 268 we read that 'the top of the moon is Amurrû'. Several omens for Amurrû are drawn from the moon, but whether these observations were connected with the top of the moon or not, we are not informed.
- (iii) In No. 101 we read that 'Dilgan-after-which-is-Mulmul is Kumal: Kumal is the star of Amurrû'. Professor Thompson thinks this refers to a part of Virgo. Omens for Amurrû are drawn from observations of Dilgan or of Kumal in Nos. 44 (Mercury in Kumal), 101, and 211 (Venus [Dilbat] in Dilgan).
- (iv) In one passage, No. 167, we read:—'When Mars (Muštabarrûmûtânu), (the star of?), Subartu (Assyria²), grows bright and assumes a brilliance, it is lucky for Subartu. And when Saturn (LU. BAD. SAG. UŠ), the star of Amurrû, grows dim and its brilliance is smitten, it is evil for Amurrû: there will be a hostile attack on Amurrû.' I have found no other tablet where Saturn is connected with Amurrû, or Mars with any other country.
- (v) The star most frequently connected with Amurrû is Mars (Muštabarrû-mûtânu). In Nos. 101 and 107 Mars is said to be the star of Amurrû, and omens for Amurrû are drawn from Mars in Nos. 98 and 99. Professor Thompson is of opinion that it is by a forced interpretation that the omen in No. 44 is applied to Amurrû.³ Mulmul according to him may mean either 'two stars' or 'Mars', and hence 'Dilgan-whose-back-part-is-Mulmul', i.e. Kumal, is given the reference which properly belongs to Mars, and the observation in

¹ Kugler op. cit. p. 263, thinks DIL. GAN is probably a star in Pisces. Mulmul is certainly Alcyone (ibid. p. 32 et passim). If Kugler is right, as seems probable, we must substitute Aries for Virgo.

² So Professor Thompson. Professor Sayce informs me that Subartu really means Mesopotamia.

⁵ Kugler op. cit. p. 32, disputes this view.

question is made to mean the slaughter of the king of Amurrû, doubtless an enemy of the Assyrian king at the time. It is rather curious that the identification of Kumal with Amurrû is deduced in No. 101 from an argument beginning with 'Mars is the star of Amurrû'. At all events, it is clear that in this case the planet Mars and the part of the zodiac called Kumal were connected in the mind of the astrologer, and therefore the instances mentioned under (iii) above, belong to the same group of identifications as those in this paragraph.

There are several other omens about Amurrû, where the reason for selecting that country is not given.

Now there can be no doubt that in the story of the Magi the evangelist contemplates the star as belonging to the king of the Jews. It is not an omen drawn, because of some incidental circumstance, from another star. It is 'his star', and it is the reappearance of the star, probably no longer in its original position, that causes the Magi to rejoice. It is of course impossible to say for certain which star this was, but it is clear from what has been said above that Muštabarrûmûtânu, which is identified with Mars, was the star most frequently regarded as the star of Amurrû, and the star most likely to herald the birth of its king. It is, moreover, when favourably situated, a conspicuous star, and therefore the more likely to have struck the attention of the Magi on their journey to Bethlehem. The evangelist may have known nothing of Mars, but he may have known that there was a star of Amurrû, and it is interesting, if not exegetically important, to know what star was so regarded. If any one asks further, what observation of Mars would be interpreted to mean the birth of a king of the Jews, the question can only be answered, if at all, when more tablets have been deciphered. All that we know is that the wise men saw the star in the east, and it is only wise men from the east that can give us information about it.

J. K. FOTHERINGHAM.

THE CODEX VERONENSIS.

The two Old-Latin MSS of North Italy, a and b, being both of great age, have long been of extreme interest to all students of the Western Text. Three times I visited Vercelli in the hope of being allowed to collate a. The first time I did not even succeed in seeing the MS; the second time, in 1906, after waiting many hours for the librarian, I was quite late in the afternoon allowed a glimpse of the MS, but only through its glass case. My request that the librarian would himself turn one of the leaves was denied on the ground that the Archbishop's permission was necessary. I applied by letter twice to the Archbishop, but no answer was received, and I was obliged to quit Vercelli with my hopes frustrated.

Last May, encouraged by a letter from dom Pierre de Puniet, I again presented myself at Vercelli only to be informed 'The MS has been taken to Rome; if you desire to see it you must go thither'. I gathered that the MS would now be more accessible to students than it had ever been before. This is something gained for the cause of sacred study. I did not go to Rome, but contented myself with finishing my collation of b in the Cathedral Library at Verona. I was rewarded by discovering two whole leaves at the end of the MS which had never before been known to be in existence. In addition I found that more than half of Fol. 384 uerso and nearly the whole of Fol. 385 uerso had been left unpublished by Bianchini. Also part of Fol. 380 uerso and small parts of other leaves had not been deciphered.

The Codex originally contained 418 leaves. St Matthew took up 120, St John 96, St Luke 127, and St Mark 75. Of these, 386 now survive, three being lost from St Matthew, two from St John, eleven from St Luke, and sixteen from St Mark. The MS to-day contains thirty-five quires, and was normally compacted in quires of twelve leaves or six sheets. The exceptions were Qs. IV and XXV containing eleven leaves, Qs. XX and XXXIII with ten leaves, and Qs. XXXII and XXXV with eight leaves. Q. XXXVI, which has entirely perished, was the last, and must, like its predecessor, have contained only eight leaves. Though I searched carefully, I could find no signatures anywhere on any of the last leaves of any gathering.

There are no Capitula in b, and, allowing for this, two leaves in b contain almost exactly the same amount of text as one leaf in f. It is

remarkable that in the case of both these ancient MSS, such a large proportion of the whole has been preserved—in f 192 leaves out of 221 and in b 386 out of 418. Except for the first ten verses of St Matthew, it always happens that where b is wanting f is available, and vice versa.

The Eusebian Canons occur in b, but they are not by the first hand. The original scribe followed a division of the text differing in many places from that of Eusebius. The learned scribe who subsequently inserted the Canons and Sections employed gold ink for punctuating and for quotation marks, and his pointing and that in silver of the original scribe are often found side by side. He punctuates likewise in the middle of the last letter, and his ink is similar in colour to such gold ink as there is of the first hand; also his 'carets' marking paragraphs and O.T. quotations are of the same shape and size as those of the copyist. For these reasons his work is probably not more than a century later. He doubtless gathered the Eusebian Canons from a copy of Jerome's Vulgate; for the absence of the Canons in $a \ b^* f$ proves that they came into Old-Latin texts from the Vulgate, and not independently.

A curious feature in the paleography of b is the sporadic occurrence of square capitals side by side with the ordinary round uncials. The scribe, there is reason to believe, had before him a copy written in square uncials. At the end of a line, when pressed for space, he not unfrequently employs E for ϵ , V for U, M for ϵ . The Roman D and Q, as well as A and H, are also found occasionally, and have the same shape and angulation as the letters found inscribed on Roman stones of the third century. The archetype of b, it seems probable, was possessed by a Roman church (or family) in Verona at the end of the third century when Diocletian was building his famous Roman amphitheatre, and when Verona was the home of many wealthy Roman families. From this now perished archetype our MS was copied in the fifth century. That b was in Verona about the year 600 is certain from an uncial lectionary inscription in red ink by a hand of that period at the bottom of Fol. 99 uerso:

+ II. ID. APRILIS. ADSUMTIO. SCI. ZENONIS. EPI

Now a. d. ii Idus Aprilis would be April 12th, and this is the date on which the Festival of San Zeno is still celebrated in Verona. The Gospel anciently read on St Zeno's day from Codex b was St Matthew xxv 14-23, and this has been repunctuated in red ink.

Bianchini in 1769 edited the MS with care and accuracy, but considered it his province to correct not a few of its readings, thus *locutus est* (St Lk. xiv 22) becomes *locus est*; prode erit (St Mk. viii 36) becomes

¹ He miscopies cluditis as clyditis &c.

proderit; malachus (St Jn. xvii 10) becomes malchus; secur (St Mt. iii 10) becomes securis; bus becomes bos. The reading tritticum which is invariable in the MS is always changed to triticum. Such forms as sante, defunta, arta, talantum, praegnate, frettum, proferit, demmensurabitur, conouerunt, have been silently corrected to sancte, defuncta, arcta, talentum, pregnante, fretum, profert, demensurabitur, cognouerunt.

In Bianchini's work which I have carefully collated, I have noted in all 583 corrections; these are for the most part concerned with variant spellings, but a certain number are of deeper import, viz. pecunia (St Mk. xii 44) is edited for penuria, cum ira indi (St Mk. iii 5) for cum iracundia, crudelis (St Lk. xix 24) for o infidelis, cadentes (St Mk. ix 14) for gaudentes.

Moreover, the points inserted by Bianchini, where the MS is slightly mutilated, often mislead the student and furnish no idea of how much of the text is missing. The contractions and paragraphs and punctuation of the MS are also highly important, and these Bianchini does not attempt to give. It is clear there is need for the MS to be represented as it is—line for line and page for page. In so ancient and valuable a witness to the text of the Gospels every iota is of consequence.

It will suffice for the present to give to the readers of this JOURNAL the most important of the portions of St Mark that Bianchini left unedited:—

SEC

Fol. 385 uerso

signa et os
tenta ad se
ducendos
homines si
fieri potest
eletos sedu
cere 23 uos er
go uidete ec
ce praedixi
uobis om
nia•
24 Sed in illis di
ebus post
tribulatio
nem illam
sol contene
bricabitur
et luna non

dabit splen dorem suum 25 et stellae quae sunt in cae lo cadent et uirtutes quae in cae los sunt mo uebuntur 26 et tunc uide bunt filium hominis ue nientem cunubibus cum uirtute mul ta et gloria 27 et tunc mit tet angelos

xiii 22-27

(four leaves lost)

MARCVM

Fol. 386

est sanguis meus qui est noui testa menti qui pro multis ef fundetur-25 Amen dico uobis quod iam non bi bam de gene ratione ui tis usque in diem illucum illud bi bam nouum in regno di-26 Et hymno dic [to exierunt]

oliueti²⁷ Tunc ait ad illos
ihs- omnes
uos scanda
lum patiemi
ni quia scrip
tum est
> percutiam
> pastorem
> gregis et dis
> pargentur
> oues²⁸ Sed postquaresurrexe
ro praeceda-

uos in galile am. 29 petrus

in montem

xiv 24-29

SEC

Fol. 386 uerso

uero ait illi et si omnes scandaliza ti fuerint in te sed ego nuquam scan dalizabor. 50 Cui dixit ihsamen dico tibi quod hac nocte prius quam gallus cantet ter me negabis. 31 Ad ille ampli us loqueba tur et si opor tuerit simul

me commo ri tibi non te negabo si militer au tem et om nes dicebant. 32 Et ueniunt in praedium cui nomen gethsama ni. et ait discipulis suis sedete hic donec orem. 33 et ad sumpsit pe trum et ia co bum et io]ha-

xiv 29-33

124 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

	MARCVM	Fol. 387
nen [secum	set ut transi	
et coepit pa	ret a]b eo illa	
uere et tedi	hora 36 et dice	
ari 34 tunc ait	bat∙ abba pa	
illis contris	ter possibi	
tata est anima	lia tibi om	
mea usque	nia sunt•	
ad mortem	Transfer	
sustinete hic	hunc calice	
et uigilate.	a me sed no-	
³⁵ Et cum pro	quod ego uo	
cessisset	lo sed sicut	
paululum	tu uis et ite	
procidit in	rum ipse abi	
faciem su	it 37 et uenit et	
per terram	inuenit eos	
et orabat.	dormientes	
Si fieri pos	et ait petro	

xiv 33-37

SEC		Fol. 3	387 uerso
	_		

	·
s[imon]dor	erant enim
mis n[on po	oculi eorum
tuisti ho	degrauati
ram unam	et ignorabant
uigilare	quid respon
ss surgite et o	derent ei-
rate ne intre	⁴¹ Et uenit ter
tis in temp	tio et ait illis
tationem.	dormite ia-
Sp̄s· quide [—]	et requiescite
promptus	adest finis ue
caro autem	nit hora et
infirma·	ecce tradetur
39 Et iterum a	filius homi
biit orare 40 et	nis in manus
ueniens in	peccatoru [—]
uenit eos	42 surgite ea
dormientes	mus ecce ad

xiv 37-42

The Codex Muratorianus. In July 1907 I published in this JOURNAL (vol. viii, pp. 537-545) some leaves from the Milan MS. Last May I collated the printed text with the MS, and found a few slips which I hasten to correct: Fol. 10 l. 13: pro enarremus lege ennarremus; Fol. 11 l. 2; pro laudicensis l. laudecensis; l. 9: pro apocalypse l. apocalapse; l. 12: pro nuperimmet l. nuperim et; Fol. 75 l. 14: pro pratre l. pratris; Fol. 75* l. 3: pro fictus l. factus; l. 17: pro queres l. quaeres.

I believe on Fol. 10 singulis and singula are correct, and I would now edit Fol. 10* 1. 12 gallatis, and 1. 15 singolis; Fol. 11 1. 6 congruit, and 1. 24 catafrygum. A close examination of the clearest readings shews the tail of the letter G to have been restored in every case. Several hands have touched up the writing of the Muratori Canon, and this it is that gives the ink on these pages a piebald appearance. Thus on Fol. 10* 1. 18 Ioh has been obviously inked again. Moreover, I could find no vice versa confusion of G for C in any of the pages I examined.

Mr C. H. Turner has suggested salute on Fol. 75 l. 28 for salutē; but I am confident it is ē, not e. In this connexion I examined the terminal e's in the MS, and discovered on Fol. 10 l. 7 that m* wrote In carne—, and in ll. 21-23 denatiuitate—de passione—de resurrectione—de conuesatione—and also de geminu—eius aduentu—. An early corrector erased the lineola, but in every case it can still be detected. I also noticed that the word cuntis in l. 15 has been corrected in the same way as cunta in the next line by a suprascript c; and further that in Fol. 10* l. 18 m* wrote semptae and m² supplied the lineola.

On Fol. 10 l. 4, where the MS has utiuris, it is probably for ati[ut]uri-(= adiutorem), m and s being often confused in early MSS.

Old-Latin Biblical Texts: No. V. I am indebted to Professor Burkitt for a critical notice in the J.T.S. for January. I do not, however, agree that Berger has demonstrated the order of the primitive contents of h. I believe the Catholic Epistles preceded the Acts (as in Codex Bezae) and the Apocalypse was last. Berger says the Apocalypse would fill twenty-one leaves. Professor Burkitt adds 'then the Acts (Quires C-L)'. This is to allow at least eight quires for barely fifty leaves, which is all the text of the Acts could have occupied. A careful counting has convinced me that the Catholic Epistles must have occupied twenty-one leaves; why should not they, then, have come first on Berger's shewing? The Apocalypse would then begin the tenth quire and follow the Acts.

Since the appearance of Professor Burkitt's criticisms and others I have been to Paris and revised again the whole of h.

All that perseverance can do has thus not been wanting on my part to reach accuracy in the matter of this difficult MS. I have resolved at

least all my own hesitations, and the following corrections, some of which have appeared before, are the result:—

Fol. 129* ll. 10, 11 pro uenerit l. appa]ruerit; ll. 12, 13 pro aete]rnae coronam similiter l. co]ronam similiter (sic). Fol. 123 l. 12 pro commonere de l. commemorare de; l. 18 pro abere l. habere; l. 19 pro esec[uti l. sec[uti. Fol. 128* l. 1 pro fili l. filii; l. 2 pro remituntur l. dimittuntur; ll. 19, 20 pro sto et [nostis o]mnia· (= hb) l. sto [Nostis quo]niam; l. 23 pro \(\bar{n}\) filium l. negat filium (uoluit non habet filium hb). Fol. 122 ll. 11, 12 pro quia [translati s]umus l. quo[niam transi]bimus. Fol. 118* l. 23 pro uocem· ut tubam l. uocem uelut tubam. Fol. 115 ll. 5, 6 pro front[ib· datum l. frontib· [et datum. Fol. 114 l. 22 pro audite per l. audituri per. Fol. 126* l. 10 pro unti l. tinti; l. 17 pro ut finctos l. uti uictos. Fol. 117 ll. 20, 21 pro ani [as l. ani [mas. Fol. 116 l. 2 pro unti sun]t l. tinti sun]t. Fol. 127 ll. 14, 15 pro agri]ppa l. qui]ita; l. 23 pro ad [caesarem l. ca[esari. Fol. 127* l. 20 pro possent l. possent (nt in ligatura).

In the following instances the letters have been wrongly divided, and I now give the right division: Fol. 128* !!. 5, 6 cog|nouist]is; !!. 13, 14 permane|bit. Fol. 121 !!. 7, 8 uo|catur; !!. 21, 22 pepe|rerat. Fol. 114 !!. 19, 20 pro|fetarum. Fol. 116 !!. 13, 14 fa|cinus. In the case of missing letters supplied I would make the following changes: Fol. 129* !. 5 pro sun[t obtestor !. sun[t obsecro. Fol. 118 !!. 6, 7 pro mam[illas !. mam[mas. Fol. 114* !. 4 pro adspic[e dixit !. adspic[e inquit. Fol. 119 !!. 19, 20 pro qui sedeb]ant !. qui er]ant. Fol. 124* !!. 10, 11 pro conuer[it !. conuer[tit. Fol. 127* !!. 16, 17 pro trans[isset !. trans[sisset. (I noted also on Fol. 119 !. 7 ba in small uncials high above the en of reuincentur.)

Also in f: Fol. 74 col. 2 l. 33 pro ista l. ipsa. Fol. 89 col. 2 ll. 42, 43 should be euntibus ad uillam | et apostolis etc. Fol. 172 col. 1 ll. 32, 33 pro m|isertus l. m[i|sertus. Fol. 190 col. 2 ll. 13, 14 pro confirma[nte l. confirma[te.

E. S. BUCHANAN.

THE 'THREE WEEKS' ADVENT' OF LIBER OFFICIORUM S. HILARII.

I would endeavour to throw a little light upon the passage from Liber officiorum S. Hilarii by Berno of Reichenau, referred to by Dr Mercati in his notes in J.T.S. of April 1907 (vol. viii, p. 429), by a consideration of the baptismal customs of the Spanish and the Gallican Churches.

In the Spanish Church the period of preparation of the Competents for baptism at Easter lasted three weeks, and was styled in traditione symboli' (Concil. Bracarense ii A.D. 572, canons ix, xlix). In the oldest Mozarabic service-book (the Orationale Gothicum) the series of services of instruction for the Competents (Missae Catechumenorum) is confined to three weeks, and not, as in the Ximenean printed service-books, extended to six weeks. And even in these latter services, when we examine them, we find clear indications that the whole series of missae catechumenorum, which extends throughout the six weeks of Lent, consists of two distinct parts, one for the first three weeks in Lent, and the other for the last three—'in traditione symboli'. It appears to me that the first series of services is generally later than the second, but that the series of lessons originally belonging to the second series has been transferred to the first, and a new series added for the second half of Lent.

It is also well known that the Epiphany was in Spain and Gaul the second great day for public baptisms—an imitation, doubtless, of the Palestinian custom of baptism on that day in the Jordan: and the Fourth Canon of the first Council of Saragossa, A.D. 381, seems to refer to a period of three weeks' preparation for the Epiphany baptism, although it mentions only the continuous devotion of the people. 'Item legit: Viginti et uno die quo a XVI Kalendas Ianuarias usque in diem Epiphaniae, qui est VIII Idus Ianuarias, continuis diebus nulli liceat de ecclesia absentare' (Bruns Canones ii p. 13). Just as in the case of Lent the period of preparation of the candidates for Baptism would easily develope into a period of solemn preparation of the faithful for the festival.

- ¹ I would suggest also that it is to this Western custom that Socrates refers (H. E. v 22), when he alleges the custom of a three weeks' fast before Easter at Rome. Socrates was not personally well acquainted with Western customs, and may easily have supposed that an established Western custom was the custom at Rome.
- ² After the adoption of the feast of the Nativity on December 25, this feast appears to have become (in both Gaul and Spain) a baptismal day, although the

128 THE IOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

It seems quite possible that the passage ascribed to St Hilary refers to such a time of solemn preparation of three weeks before the Epiphany. The writer is speaking, not of any season of Advent, but of the coming of Christ, which was celebrated at the Epiphany before the Nativity was separated off as a separate commemoration of the birth of Christ; and he gives a reason why the Church annually arouses herself to celebrate the coming of Christ by a preparatory period of three weeks—'sancta mater Ecclesia Salvatoris adventum annuo recursu per trium septimanarum secretum spatium sibi (lege sese) incitavit'. ¹

I do not know whether Dr Mercati has other reasons for rejecting the alleged authorship of St Hilary for this fragment, but I would submit that the interpretation suggested above is a legitimate one, and that it would fit in with the circumstances of St Hilary's time.

The period of three weeks mentioned in the Canon above is expressly stated to begin on XVI Kalendas Januarias, i.e. on December 17: it would be interesting to discover whether this fact has any connexion with the (later) commemoration of the Annunciation on December 18, and the use of the Advent antiphons from December 17, first evensong of the Annunciation, up till Christmas.²

W. C. BISHOP.

fact has left no traces in the existing service-books, such as we find in the services for the Epiphany. Still it is possible that (at least in some places) the three weeks' preparation before the Epiphany may have been transformed into three weeks before Christmas, and that the fragment refers to this custom and not that suggested above. In the lack of evidence this possibility, however, is hardly worth considering.

- ¹ May not ad vocationem gentium (l. 11 of the fragment) be accepted as equivalent to ad vocandas gentes?
- ² In some of the French diocesan sequences of colours, white is found for the last week of Advent. Can this be a reminiscence?

ON SOME EARLY EDITIONS OF TINDAL'S TRANSLATION.

THE first three numbers in Darlow-Moule's Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society, vol. i, English (1903), are—

- (1) 1525. Facsimile (The New Testament). [Peter Quentell: Cologne, 1525.] 4to.
- (2) 1525. Facsimile (The New Testament). [Peter Schoeffer: Worms, 1525.] 8vo.
- (3) 1531 (The Pentateuch). *Hans Luft: Malborow*. '17 Jan. 1530' [= 1531]. 8vo.

The next three numbers are (4) a Facsimile of Tindale's translation of 'The Prophet Jonas, supposed to be printed by Martin de Keyser, Antwerp, about 1531; (5) a revised edition of the New Testament, printed at Antwerp, 1534, by Marten Emperowr (= de Keyser); and (6) another edition of the New Testament, considered to be the last revised by the translator himself, and supposed to be printed by Martin de Keyser for Govaert van der Haghen, Antwerp, 1535-4.

It is very difficult for an outsider to enter into the intricate history of the first printed editions of the English Bible; I believe, however, that I can contribute two notices touching these questions. First about No. 3, the *Editio Princeps* of the Pentateuch, which is at the same time the first portion of the Old Testament printed in English.

Darlow-Moule says about the colophon:-

'The colophon at the end of Genesis alone supplies date and printer and place. There is no need to treat this colophon as intentionally misleading; for books extant, bearing a similar colophon, support the view that Hans Luft really was printing books at Marburg about that date, though his chief press was certainly at Wittenberg. Notwith-standing the variations of type, it is probable that all five sections of this volume issued from one press. One woodcut border is used for most of the title-pages, and the watermarks throughout are the same.' (Cf. Athenaeum, April 18, 1885.)

Now, there is a monograph on the early printing-presses at Marburg by A. v. Dommer, the Librarian of Hamburg, an authority on the early history of printing: Die ältesten Drucke aus Marburg in Hessen, 1527-1566 (Marburg, 1892). He confirms the doubt, first expressed by J. Mombers in The Churchman, Dec. 10, 1881, and again in his book English Versions VOL. X.

of the Bible, 1883, about this colophon, and enforces it by the fact that it is also found in a Dutch translation of Luther's Articles of Marburg. The character of the types, too, is, according to v. Dommer, not German, but points to England, or more probably to the Netherlands, because only there the interest for a Dutch translation of Luther's work is to be sought. Perhaps this hint may help others who have occasion to compare books printed in Holland to find out the real place where the first portion of the Old Testament in English was printed.¹

To Holland points also the second notice which I can give. Prof. Paul Fredericq in Ghent has been long engaged in publishing with his 'Leerlingen' a great Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae. In the fifth part (Tijdvak der hervorming in de zestiende eew, Erste vervolg, 24. Sept. 1525—31. Dec. 1528), forming the ninth volume of the Werken van den practischen Leergang van vaterlandsche geschiedenis published by the Hoogeschool van Gent (Ghent and s'Gravenhage, 1903), there occurs a prohibition of English New Testaments PRINTED AT ANTWERP. The piece runs thus, 184-185.

567

1527, Januari 16, Antwerpen. Verbod van den Magistraat Engelsche Nieuwe Testamenten, te Antwerpen gedrukt, en die nu aldaar, als alom in Engeland verbrand worden, te bewaren.

Geboden ende vutgeroepen by Heeren Clause van Lyere, riddere, Scouteth, Bourgermeesteren, Scepenen, ende Raide vander stadt van Antwerpen, opten XVIen dach van Januario anno XXVI (oude stijl).

Men cundicht ende gebiet, van s'Heeren ende vander Stadt wegen, dat nyemant, van wat state oft qualiteyt hy zy, hem en voirdere, int heymelyc oft int openbaer, by hen te houdene ennige Nyeuwe Testamenten alhier inder stadt in Engelsscher talen gedruct, daeraf de gelycke alomme in Engelant verbrant ende jegenwoerdichlic alhier oic verbrant worden, ende dat alle de ghene, die diergelycken boecken by hen hebben, deselve bynnen acht dagen naestemoende brengen in handen vanden Heeren, opte pene van scherpelic gecorrigeert te worddene, na inhout der geboden ons genadighen heeren Keyzers, dien ende gelycke saken aengaende, alhier geplubliceert.

567

[1527, January 16. Antwerp. Prohibition of the magistrates, against possessing the English New Testament, printed at Antwerp, and which has now been burnt there, as everywhere in England.

¹ As even Lupton's article, 'English Versions,' in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* (1904), betrays no knowledge of the Monograph of v. Dommer, and makes Tindal stay at Marburg, there to be joined by Frith, it is the more necessary to call attention to it. Also the question touched by my second notice is unknown to Lupton.



Decreed and proclaimed by the Heeren, Clause van Lyere, knight, major, burgomasters, aldermen, and council of the city of Antwerp, on the 16th day of January, year 26 (old style).

Warning and command are given, on behalf of the Heeren and the city that no one, of whatever position or quality he be, venture to possess either privately or publicly any New Testaments, printed here in this city in the English language, since similar (New Testaments) have been everywhere burnt in England, and now rightly here also; and that all those who have similar books bring them within the next eight days to the Heeren, under penalty of being severely punished, after the tenor of the commands of our gracious Emperor published here concerning these and similar things.]

To this the Editor has attached the following Note:

Stadsarchief te Antwerpen, Gebodboeck, vol. A, fol. 129; afgedrukt bij Génard, Antwerpsch Archievenblad, deel II, blz. 319-320. —Hier wordt William Tyndale's bekende vertaling van het Nieuwe Testament in t'Engelsch bedoeld. Hans van Roermonde, drukker te Antwerpen, was zeer warschijnlijk de uitgever van eene dier vertalingen, die hij in Engeland aan den man zocht te brengen en waarvoor hij aldaar gevangengezet werd. In 1529 uit zijne gevangenis ontslagen kwam hij naar Antwerpen terug, en waarschijnlijk is het aan hem te danken, dat toen aldaar eene nieuwe uitgaaf van Tyndale's Nieuwe Testament verscheen. Zie de Hoop Scheffer, Bijzonderheden omtrent de oudste drukken van William Tyndale's vertaling van T'Nieuwe Testament, in Moll en de Hoop Scheffer, Studiën en bijdragen op't gebied der hist. theologie, deel II, blz. 415-424.

[City Archives of Antwerp. Law Book, &c. Printed by Genard, &c. Part II, pp. 319, 320. Here is meant William Tyndale's well-known translation of the New Testament into English. Hans van Roermond, printer of Antwerp, was very probably the publisher of one of these translations, which he tried to dispose of in England, and for this he was imprisoned there. In 1529, released from his imprisonment, he came back to Antwerp; and apparently we owe it to him that a new edition of Tyndale's New Testament appeared there at that time. See de Hoop Scheffer, Details concerning the oldest editions of William Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, in Moll and de Hoop Scheffer, Studies and contributions to the department of historical theology pt. ii pp. 415-424.]

The investigation of de Hoop Scheffer, just referred to, is not at my disposal, but the publication of Fr. Heinr. Reusch, Die Indices librorum prohibitorum des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts gesammelt und herausgegeben (Tübingen 1886 = Literarischer Verein vol. clxxvi), opens with

'Mandate of the archbishop of Canterbury to John Voysey, bishop of Exeter, to search for English translations of the New Testament as containing heretical pravity. Lambeth, 3 Nov. 1526. A list of the books prohibited.'

The third number in this list is

'The New Testament of Tindall.'

Reusch refers to Calendar of State Papers: Henry VIII Vol. iv, No. 2607. The third paragraph of Reusch repeats from Wilkins Concilia Magnae Britanniae iii 727, 'A publick instrument made A.C. 1530 May 24: in an assembly of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Durham, and others, by order of King Henry VIII, containing divers heretical and erroneous opinions considered and condemned.' In this list the last two items are 'The matrimony of Tyndall' and 'The Newe Testament in Englissche of the translation whiche is nowe printed.'

There can be no doubt that the decree of Antwerp (Jan. 16, 1527) is the sequel to that of Lambeth (Nov. 3, 1526), and therefore the question arises, whether No. 2, the edition of Tindal's New Testament of 1525, which in Darlow-Moule's Catalogue is ascribed to Peter Schöffer of Worms, be really by that printer, or whether it does not come from Antwerp.

A second possibility is, that besides this No. 2 in Darlow-Moule there was an Antwerp edition of 1525 or 1526, of which no other trace as yet seems to be known¹; and the third and last possibility, that the Magistrate of Antwerp was mistaken, when in January, 1527, he speaks of English New Testaments printed 'alhier in der stadt'.

Already on October 30, 1526, 'Hansken van Remunde, boeckprinter', at Antwerp, has been condemned to make a 'pelgrimagie ten Heyligen Bloede te Wilsenaken', because he 'contrarie ende in verachtinge der mandementen ende bevelen van onsen allergenadichsten heere den Keyzer, alhier te poeyen af gepubliceert, hem gevoirdeert heeft te printene zekere boecken, inhoudende de leeringe der Lutheriaenscher ketteryen, daeraf de Heere ende de Stadt te vollen geinformeert zyn' (Fredericq, l. c. No. 542, p. 155).

¹ Postscript: A trace of it I have found since in Giffor's Memoir of W. Tyndale (prefixed to the reprint of Tindale's New Testament, London, S. Bagster, 1836; enlarged edition by T. P. Dabney, Andover, 1837). Here it is said (p. 26 of the American edition):

'Many pirated editions of this book were printed by the Dutchmen, particularly at Antwerp.... The most accurate was by the exile, George Joy.... This edition was printed by the widow of Christopher of Endhoven in Antwerp: her husband had died in an English prison for selling a pirated edition in 1531. Three years previously, John Raymund, a Dutchman, severely suffered for causing 1500 of Tyndale's New Testament to be printed at Antwerp, one-third of which were conveyed into England.'

[Already on October 30, 1526, Hans van Remund, book-printer of Antwerp, has been condemned to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Blood at Wilsenaken, because, contrary to and in contempt of the commands and orders of our most gracious Emperor, published here at the town hall, he has ventured to print certain books containing the doctrines of the Lutheran heresy, of which the Heeren and the city have been fully informed.]

I am not in the position to follow up these points, but since in that fine catalogue no mention of these documents is made, it seemed worth while to call attention to them.

The Catalogue of the British Museum mentions as next edition after Darlow-Moule's No. 1 (Cologne, 1525) and No. 2 (also ascribed to WORMS), one By one wydowe of Christoffel of Endhouē: Antwerpe, August, 1534, 16mo., mentioned by Darlow-Moule under No. 5.

EB. NESTLE.

REVIEWS

EARLY ISRAELITE HISTORY.

Critical Notes on Old Testament History: The Traditions of Saul and David, by Stanley A. Cook, M.A. (Macmillan & Co., 1907.)

This book consists of a series of articles which have appeared from time to time in the Jewish Quarterly Review. Mr Cook deals with the old sources for early Israelite history from an historical standpoint, devoting special attention to the history of Saul and David, and the traditions of the Exodus which connect themselves with Meribath-Mr Cook's work presents the results of close and indefatigable study, and merits the careful attention of students of this period of Old Testament history. He believes that he has recovered 'two main groups of tradition, one of which links together the entrance of the ancestors, and the older accounts of Joshua and Saul, while the other pointed to a movement from the south into Judah and Israel. The latter could not possibly be reconciled with the ordinary views of the "Israelite" invasion, and contained a number of perplexing features which could only be discussed when later periods of the history had been handled; they appeared to be due partly to the specific traditions of that caste known as the Levites, partly to Judaean and Davidic traditions, and partly to some fusion, apparently with the former group' (Introd. pp. xi f).

The assumption of an entry into Palestine of Judaean and allied clans from the South, distinct from the Israelite invasion under Joshua from the East, is undoubtedly correct; and it is highly probable that, as the writer argues, separate traditions emanated from this southern source and were afterwards modified through fusion with the larger mass of traditions which associate themselves with the settlement in central Palestine through invasion from the East. Section V, which deals with the original pre-eminence of Kadesh in the traditions of the Exodus, is an admirable piece of work, and the following section, entitled 'The Calebite Tradition', contains suggestions of importance as regards the relation between the Kadesh-traditions and the southern clans, and the very difficult question of the origin of the Levites.

It is when Mr. Cook deals with the older narratives of Samuel, and seeks to recover his double tradition in the history of Saul and David, that the reader is likely to find himself most at variance with him. The grounds upon which he argues for a double and divergent tradition in

the older stratum of narrative, or casts doubt upon its historical value, are often trivial and unconvincing. What, for example, can carry less conviction than the argument of pp. 31 f:- '1 Sam. ix 16 states that the Philistines are oppressing the Israelites, and that Yahweh will send a deliverer. This can be no other than Saul, and therefore not his son Jonathan, whatever the sequel of the latter's exploit may have been. But xiii 3 apparently anticipates the feat (Geba, not Michmash), and if xiii 4 inconsistently ascribes it to Saul, this is only what Samuel's charge (x 5^a) would lead us to expect.' Or if, in the closing scene of Saul's life, 'Israel is at Jezreel, the Philistines at Shunem and Aphek, and the battle is on Mount Gilboa,' these facts do not provide adequate basis for the query 'Was Saul's original home in this district?' (p. 50). It is purely gratuitous to suggest that Joshua's southern campaign has its historical basis in Saul's defeat of the Philistines (p. 28). To most minds Jeremiah's allusion to the destruction of Yahwe's sanctuary at Shiloh (Jer. vii 12, xxvi 6, 9) will be taken as confirmation of the substantial truth of the narrative of I Sam. iv, rather than as proving that 'the fall of Shiloh was a recent event in Jeremiah's day' (pp. 24, 99, 127). Few readers, again, will feel the necessity for distinguishing 'three separate phases' in the early history of David; (1) David the son of Jesse of Bethlehem, (2) David the outlaw, and (3) the David who goes to Ziklag, &c. (p. 6).

These are merely a few points in the course of an extended argument which must be read at length in order to be criticized fairly, and which, to do it justice, contains many useful and keen-sighted suggestions among other arguments which are open to debate. The work which Mr Cook has set himself to do in sifting the historical value of the oldest narratives of the Books of Samuel is largely that of a pioneer; and he will be the last to believe that he has attained finality, and reached conclusions which must in all respects commend themselves to students of the early history of Israel.

C. F. Burney.

DR CHARLES'S EDITION OF THE 'TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS'.

The excellence of a work of learning may be measured by its usefulness to those who cannot accept the special conclusions of the writer. Tried by this severe test, Dr Charles's edition of the Greek text of the

¹ The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, edited from nine MSS, together with the variants of the Armenian and Slavonic Versions and some Hebrew Fragments, by R. H. Charles, D.Litt., D.D. (Oxford, 1908).

Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is a most excellent work. Dr Charles has put a vast quantity of new material into our hands; he has arranged it clearly on the page, and if some of his textual theories appear hazardous, it is our duty to remember that the problems have been to a great extent raised by the new evidence which he has brought towards the elucidation of this most interesting relic of Jewish and early Christian literature.

Dr Charles starts his investigation of the *Testaments* from the consideration of minute textual points. I shall venture here to reverse the process, and begin from more general historical considerations, before coming to the text itself. The problems to be considered are mainly two, viz. the date and original language of the *Testaments*, and the history of their textual transmission. It is in the second of these problems, that of the textual transmission, that I am obliged to differ from Dr Charles's solution; in the very important question of date and original language it seems to me that he has a very good case.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs professes to be the dying speeches of the patriarchs to their descendants. It is extant in Greek. and in subsidiary translations into Armenian and Slavonic. In the West the work seems never to have been known till the thirteenth century. when it was translated into Latin by Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, 'under the misconception that it was a genuine work of the twelve sons of Jacob, and that the Christian interpolations were a genuine product of Jewish prophecy' (p. ix). This view naturally disappeared with the advent of the New Learning. The Testaments was regarded as a Christian forgery, and was accordingly neglected. But now, as Dr Charles says, it is time that the work came into its We have learnt to study ancient documents less for their authenticity than for the light they can throw upon the writers' times, and the work before us is obviously very ancient. It is referred to by The prevailing opinion till quite recently has Origen with respect. been that it is a product of Jewish Christianity, and to be dated early in the second century A.D. Dr Charles puts it much earlier. He regards it as having been originally written in Hebrew in the days of John Hyrcanus, i.e. some time between B.C. 137 and 109.

A work dealing with the Twelve Patriarchs might in itself be either Jewish or Christian, inasmuch as the Church regarded itself as the true Israel of God. The Christian is the true Jew, and therefore the prophecy of future glories for Judah and Judah's line need not imply a Jewish origin. But it is difficult to understand what the insistence upon the future glories of Levi would mean, if the work proceeded originally from a Christian hand. These glorifications of Levi really fit nothing but the Maccabean dynasty. To quote Dr Charles

(§ 14, p. xlii):— 'Reuben (R vi 10 f) admonishes his sons: πρὸς τὸν Λευὶ ἐγγίσατε ἐν ταπεινώσει καρδίας ὅμῶν ἴνα δέξησθε εὐλογίαν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ . . . ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξελέξατο Κύριος βασιλεύειν ἐνώπιον παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ.¹ Here a high-priest who is also a king is referred to. Such a combination of offices naturally makes us think of the Maccabean priest-kings of the second century B.C. The possibility of doubting this reference is excluded by the words that immediately follow: καὶ προσκυνήσατε τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ ὅτι ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀποθανεῖται ἐν πολέμοις ὁρατοῖς καὶ ἀοράτοις καὶ ἐν ὑμῶν ἔσται βασιλεὺς αἰώνιος. Thus the high-priest is not only a high-priest and civil ruler, but also a warrior. That the Maccabean high-priests are here designed cannot be reasonably doubted.'

We may all here agree with Dr Charles. No doubt Jesus Christ is to the Christian both High-priest and King, and the translator of the *Testaments* may even have supposed that our Lord was here meant. But it seems to me that the whole cast of phraseology is Jewish and secular, and alien from original Christian ways of speaking.

The Testaments, then, is a work written originally in Hebrew and designed to glorify the Maccabean dynasty, more particularly John Hyrcanus (p. xliii). This conclusion carries with it the corollary that the obviously Christological passages in the existing Greek and its daughter-translations are all Christian interpolations. Thus, for instance, in Levi iv 4 we read in all the MSS:

'And there shall be given to thee (i.e. Levi) blessing and to all thy seed, until the Lord shall visit all the nations in His [Son's] mercy for ever. [But thy sons shall lay hands upon Him to impale Him (τοῦ ἀνασκολοπίσαι αὐτόν).]'

Here Dr Charles brackets the marked words as a Christian interpolation, and doubtless he is right in supposing that they form no part of the original matter of the *Testaments*, whether they were first added by a later editor or by the Greek translator of the *Testaments* himself. But in that case all our texts must have a common origin. All our texts, including the Armenian version, attest some form of ἀνασκολοπίζειν, and they all insert a reference to God's Son.

But Dr Charles will have it that there were two recensions of the Hebrew text of the *Testaments* and two translations of these into Greek, represented respectively by the MSS chi on the one hand, and abdefg with the Armenian and the Slavonic on the other.² If that

We may notice by the way the use of $\ell\kappa\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\nu$ with $\ell\nu$, after the manner of with 2, the sense being 'for the Lord hath chosen him to be king in the sight of all the people'.

² Dr Charles calls the two recensions a and β . These signs are a little confusing: is not X the natural compendium for chi?

be the case, how did this Christian gloss invade all the texts of both recensions? Then, again, as to the date of the Greek translation, Dr Charles claims that the text represented by chi must have been made before 50 A.D., because it is twice quoted by St. Paul (p. xliii). The most striking of the two alleged quotations is from Levi vi 11, where we read, after a description of the slaughter of the Shechemites by Levi and Judah, ἔφθασε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τέλος. This is found in all the MSS with a few minor variations, and is of course identical with 1 Thess. ii 16, according to the inferior Western text.1 Dr Charles concludes that St. Paul took this sentence out of its context and applied it to the Jews. But we have already seen reason to bracket certain clauses in the same Testament as Christian additions: why should we not regard this clause also as a Christian addition, or at any rate as having been modified in language by the translator, or by an editor who was familiar with 1 Thess. ii 16? The same textual circumstances that caused an intrusive Christian clause to find its way into all MSS and versions of the Testaments in Levi iv 4, may very well have caused this clause to find its way into all MSS and versions of Levi vi II.

The other passage is of less importance. In Asher vi 2 we find: 'The double-faced shall be punished double, because they do the evil and consent with them that practise it,' and it is claimed that this is the original of Rom. i 32b. But the context is quite different and, after all, there is not a very great similarity of language.² Until therefore further evidence is produced, I do not think the case is made out that the Testaments was used by St. Paul. As long as the Testaments was supposed to be a Christian work, the resemblance of Levi vi 11 to 1 Thess. ii 16 was striking—indeed it was noticed by Grabe in 1698. But as soon as we have reason to suspect that a large number of other passages are Christian interpolations, it is only likely that this is a Christian interpolation also.

Dr Charles's theory that there were two Hebrew recensions of the *Testaments* and that both are represented in the extant Greek MSS is very difficult to prove. It appears to me that he puts too high a value on the Vatican MS c and its associates hi at Sinai. For instance, in *Levi* v 4, *Asher* ii 10, vii 5, the 'heavenly tablets' are mentioned. This name is known from the *Book of Jubilees* and from *Enoch*; for the meaning of the phrase it is sufficient to refer to Dr Charles's admirable notes on *Enoch* xlvii 3, *Jubilees* iii 10. But the common ancestor of chi seems to have been produced by an editor

¹ The better MSS of St Paul omit τοῦ θεοῦ.

² It should be added that the words which more or less coincide with St Paul are omitted by two MSS and the Armenian.

who did not understand what the $\pi\lambda\dot{\alpha}\kappa\epsilon_5$ $\tau\dot{\omega}\nu$ $o\dot{\nu}\rho\alpha\nu\dot{\omega}\nu$ were, and so he altered the phrase into 'tablets of the Fathers' (Levi v 4), 'tablets of the commandments' (Asher ii 10), or omitted it altogether (Asher vii 5). The Testaments was not canonical Scripture; editors and copyists evidently felt themselves free to emend and alter hard phrases as much as they pleased. Dr Charles generally tries to explain the origin of all these variations by referring them back to a pair of Hebrew terms which look more or less alike to the Aryan eye, but I very much doubt if palaeographical error be the most frequent cause of the variations. I imagine that the most frequent cause was deliberate alteration. The alteration was sometimes suggested by the look of the original reading, sometimes it was not. And the only reason that our MSS do after all agree so much together is simply that it is much less trouble to copy out a text than to rewrite it.

Another passage where, against Dr Charles, I cannot but think the text of chi altogether inferior is Levi ii f, where the Patriarch is led up into the heavens. According to most of the MSS there are seven heavens, but according to chi and one much curtailed form of the Armenian there are only three. On the whole this suggests that chi are due to a Christian reviser, for the Jewish notion of the seven heavens did not find favour everywhere in the Church, as we may see from Augustine. In fact the impression I have gained from weighing a large number of variations between chi and the other texts, is that chi represents nothing more than an edition of the Testaments made by an editor who did not scruple to alter, and alter for the worse, a Greek text which he did not fully understand.

One set of passages here calls for special examination. In Benj. xii z we read that Benjamin 'died in a good old age', according to most MSS, but according to c he 'slept with a good sleep'. Dr Charles thinks it certain this variation goes back to one between שובה (old-age) and שובה (sleep). 'Sleep,' for death, comes again in $Zabulon \times 6$, and it would seem to me just as likely that c should adopt from Zabulon the phrase about sleep, as that its text should have been derived from a hypothetical palaeographical error in Hebrew. But what makes the

¹ In some cases the readings seem to me to be more easily explicable from the Greek itself than from Dr Charles's conjectural Hebrew variants. Thus in Naphtali iii 2 chi read καλύψουσι, where the other authorities have ἀλλοιοῦσι. Dr Charles suggests that καλύψουσι may correspond to το, written ιτο, which arose from a corruption of ιτο, i. e. ἀλλοιοῦσι. But when we notice that a negative precedes the word, so that the choice is really between ογκαλγψογει and ογκαλλοιογει, it is difficult to avoid the inference that the variation arose in the Greek. The old scribes were not really such slaves of the ductus litterarum. 'T-r-i-u-m-p-h-s', said the Methodist Elder in the story, as he was reading out the hymn—'a very hard word, brethren; let us sing the Trumpets of His grace.'

palaeographical error much less probable than Dr Charles considers, is that the variation in *Benj.* xii 1, 2 is not merely one between $\tilde{v}\pi\nu\varphi$ and $\gamma\dot{\eta}\rho\epsilon\iota$. The texts run thus:

καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐκτείνας τοὺς πόδας αὐτου ἐκοιμήθη ὔπνφ καλῷ καὶ ἀγαθῷ. other MSS, and versions
καὶ ὡς ἐπλήρωσε τοὺς λόγους αὖτοῦ εἶπενἘντέλλομαι ὑμῖν, τέκνα μου καὶ ἀπέθανε Βενιαμὶν ρκέ ἐτῶν ἐν γήρει καλῷ.

Does it not seem probable that 'stretching out the feet' goes with 'sleeping with a good sleep'? In any case we have here to do with something that goes beyond an accidental confusion of שׁנבה and שׁנה and שׁנה (or שׁינה). Nor are we obliged to assume that the same phrase would be repeated mechanically at the death of all the Patriarchs. In fact at the end of the Testament of Isachar (Is. vii 9) we actually find both expressions combined. It says: καὶ ἐξέτεινε τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέθανε ἐν γήρει καλῷ, πᾶν μέλος ἔχων ὑγιές, καὶ ἰσχύων ὕπνωσεν ὕπνον alώνιον. Here c has a rather shorter text, but it also combines the 'stretching out the feet' with the 'eternal sleep' in a 'good old age'. Joseph also (Jos. xx 4) 'stretched out his feet' and 'slept with a good sleep' (c), or 'slept an eternal sleep' (other MSS). It is not very easy to emend שינת עולם into שיבת מובה . In other words Dr Charles's hypothesis of rival Hebrew recensions of the Testaments is not really indicated by this series of passages.

It may not be out of place to notice here two other passages of rather special interest. In Levi iv 1 we read

'Now therefore know that the Lord will make a judgement upon the sons of men. For when the rocks are being rent and the sun quenched and the waters dried up and the fire sinking down and all creation fleeing in confusion, and the invisible spirits pining away and hell being despoiled at the suffering of the highest, mankind in disbelief will abide in iniquities: wherefore in punishment shall they be judged.'

The clause about the 'suffering of the highest' ($\hat{\epsilon}\pi\hat{\iota}$ $\tau\hat{\varphi}$ $\pi d\theta \epsilon \iota$ $\tau o\hat{\iota}$ $\hat{\iota}\psi(\sigma\tau o\nu)$ is bracketed by Dr Charles as a Christian interpolation. If it be such it is certainly very interesting, for it can only have been made by a Patripassian, which is in itself improbable. It is not very likely that early heretics with interesting dogmas of their own spent their time in glossing our Apocryphal literature. Of course those who support the theory of a Patripassian phrase—and here Dr Charles is not by any means alone—do so on the assumption that the writer of the 'gloss' took the preceding clauses to refer to the Crucifixion. But is this really so? Does it not rather describe the convulsions of the

¹ καταπτήσσοντος.

world in the days of the Judgement? Then the $\pi \acute{a}\theta os$ is not the Passion of Christ, but the pangs of the skies when 'the powers of the heavens shall be shaken' (cf. Lk. xxi 25, 26). Is it not therefore quite likely that the clause is genuine, and that $\tau o \hat{v} \ \dot{v} \psi i \sigma \tau o v$ is merely a translation of Din, i.e. 'the height of heaven,' as in Mic. vi 6, Isa. lvii 15, and in the 'Gloria in excelsis'?

The other passage touches quite another set of considerations. In Levi iii 6 the Patriarch is shewn the Angels of the Presence offering to the Lord for the offences of just men 'a savour of sweet smell to be a reasonable and unbloody sacrifice'. This phrase occurs again in the Apostolic Constitutions II 7 (τὰς λογικὰς καὶ ἀναιμάκτους θυσίας), where it appears to belong to a comparatively late stratum of the text, as the words are absent from the Didascalia. The words, together with much other matter, are also absent from one form of the Armenian version of the Testament of Levi. It would be interesting to trace, if possible, this liturgical formula to a yet more remote source, but in any case it shews a real point of contact between our Testaments and the Constitutions. Is it possible that in the prominence given to Levi the redactor of the Constitutions saw a prophecy of the Christian clergy?

It would not be fair to leave the *Testaments* without once more calling attention to the great debt of gratitude which all students of the quasi-canonical writings must feel to Dr Charles. He has introduced to all students, and to English scholars in particular, a whole series of works which go a long way towards making up the background of Bible ideas and Bible phrases. And if all the theories and reconstructions which he brings forward do not carry conviction to some of his readers, we shall do well to remember that it is in very great part due to his unwearied labours that the discussion of these questions has been made possible.

F. C. BURKITT.

THE ATHOS HERMAE PASTOR.

Facsimiles of the Athos Fragments of the Shepherd of Hermas, photographed and transcribed by Kirsopp Lake, M.A., Professor of Early Christian Literature in the University of Leiden. (Clarendon Press, 1907.)

OF the ten leaves which contained the Athos MS of the Greek text of the *Shepherd*, the fifth, sixth, and ninth are at Leipzig, the tenth is lost, and the rest are still in the monastery of St Gregory on Mount Athos. Photographs of these last by Prof. Lake enlarged to the size of the MS were published last year at Oxford. The twelve plates have

from sixty-six to seventy-two long lines each, in a small script with abbreviations which is not easy to read.

The recent history of the MS is given succintly in the Preface. There is something to be said for the monks' tradition that Minas Minoides abstracted the missing folio, although Prof. Lambros of Athens is satisfied that they confused him with the famous forger and discoverer, Constantine Simonides. Some time before 1855 Simonides saw the leaves 1-9 on Mount Athos, took possession of 5, 6, 9, and made an 'apographon' of 1-4, 7, 8. Out of this, with his emendations he made a second apographon at Leipzig, and he sold it to the University as genuine together with the leaves 5, 6, 9. Lambros employed his pupil Georgandas to make a copy of the six Athos leaves, and himself collated it with the first apographon of Simonides as used or quoted by Gebhardt and Harnack, or rather with their text (1877) which he cites by page and line, and so implicitly with the apographon (abbrev. as). His 'Collation of the Athos Codex' was published at the Cambridge University Press in 1888 (ed. J. A. Robinson). In the following notes Lake's readings are referred to by plate and line, and A denotes Lambros.

Ι 10 θυγατέρα ἡγούμην (al. θεὰν ἡγησάμην). 11 πορνείας (al. πονηρίας). 15 πολλὰ μεταμελήσουσιν (? μεταλγήσουσιν). 19 λευκῶν (al. χιονίνων). 34 ὃν ἀγαπῶ δυνάμει (al. ὁ ἀοράτῳ δ.). 61 πάροδος (Λ περίοδος with ιο for ο. MS προδος with additions above).

ΙΙ 3 'Ελὰδ καὶ Μωδάδ (for 'Ελδ. κ. Μ. ας ἐλάλη κατὰ μωσῆ δαβίδ).
11 χρονίζεις (κ χονδρίζεις). 14 συνώψισα (al. συνεψήφισα).

ΙΙΙ 47 ἀσυγκρισία (for —ασία). 71 κόμην (for κοίμησιν).

IV 15 Καμπήνη (Λ καμπύλη). 61 εἶς ἐστὶν θεός (al. ὁ θ.). 63. ἀρετὴν καὶ δικαιοσύνην (al. ἀ. δικαιοσύνης).

V \mathbf{I} τί δ $\hat{\boldsymbol{\varphi}}$ (al. τινί δ.). 6 γὰρ ῥύπ $\boldsymbol{\varphi}$ (for γὰρ ὑπὸ).

VI 51 φόβον δύναμιν (al. om. φ.).

VII 46 ταχύνουσι καὶ νοοῦσιν (τάχιον νοῦσι κ. συνίουσιν). 58-9 ἐπιτυγχάνων (for ἐντ.).

VIII 16 προφητοῦ (al. προφητικοῦ πνεύματος). 25 θειότατον (al. τῆς θεότητος).

XI 45 $\pi\lambda\hat{\eta}\theta$ os with query (Λ $\pi\acute{a}\chi$ os).

XII 2 σάρον (al. conj. -oυs). 3 τοῦ πύργου (al. conj. τῷ π.). 65 οὐ-δόλως (= οὐδ' ὅλως. as οῦ δούλως).

The Oxford facsimiles as edited by Lake are indispensable for the critical study of the six Athos folios, and supersede previous collations of them, except that, in the passages where the MS 'has become damaged and illegible' since 1885, as still 'has a certain value' (Lightfoot-Harmer).

C. TAYLOR.

REVIEWS 143

LATIN HYMNOLOGY.

Der Cursus s. Benedicti Nursini und die liturgischen Hymnen des 6.-9. Jahrhunderts in ihrer Beziehung zu den Sonntags- und Ferialhymnen unseres Breviers. Eine hymnologisch-liturgische Studie auf Grund handschriftlichen Quellenmaterials, herausgegeben von Clemens Blume, S.J. (O. R. Reisland, Leipzig, 1908.)

Gregor der Grosse als Hymnendichter (Sonder-Abdruck aus den 'Stimmen aus Maria-Laach', Jahrgang 1908, Band 74, Heft 3). Freiburg im Breisgau. Herdersche Verlagshandlung.

THESE treatises of Fr Blume, who has done so much in co-operation with Dr G. M. Dreves to extend our knowledge of Latin hymnology, are full of interesting material and most valuable. No future student of the subject will be able or willing to ignore their facts or the conclusions gathered from them.

Benedict in his Rule, the cursus of which, taken from ch. viii-xix, Blume prints out of two ninth-century MSS, prescribed the singing of certain hymns. Only unfortunately, as he does not give their first lines, merely saying *inde sequatur ambrosianum* or *hymnus eiusdem horae* or *hymni earundem horarum*, it is difficult to say for certain which these hymns are.

Hitherto liturgists have agreed to think that they are to be found in the body of those hymns that are contained in practically all MSS later than the tenth century and still survive, most of them in an altered form, in the Roman breviary. This opinion is maintained by Batiffol, Chevalier, and Bäumer in particular.² Blume thinks, and gives good reasons for thinking, that this opinion is wrong.

Caesarius, who was Bishop of Arles 503-543, compiled two Rules, one for Monks about the year 503, another for Nuns in 534. In the former of these he mentions no hymns by name, probably, like Benedict, presupposing a knowledge as to which the regular hymns were. But in his Regula ad uirgines he constantly, although not invariably, gives the first line. Thus, e.g. Ad sextam: psalmi sex cum antiphona, hymnus Ter hora trina uoluitur, lectio & capitellum. And about A.D. 550 Aurelian, the successor of Caesarius in the see of Arles, compiled similar Rules, one for Monks, the other for Nuns. In both these he also usually, but not invariably, gives the first line of the several hymns. It is important to remember that both these men were contemporaries of Benedict, who, in 529, wrote the Rule for his community at Monte Cassino, where he died in 543.

We now come to the witness of MSS. There are four, and only four, MSS containing a body of hymns written in or before the ninth century



¹ St Gallen 914, Munich elm 28118.

² Cursus p. 94 f.

144 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

not in an Irish or English hand. The oldest of these is Cod. Vaticanus Regin. 11 written at the end of the eighth century. The other three, written in the ninth century, are Junius 25 in the Bodleian, Cod. Parisinus lat. 14088, and Rheinau 34 now at Zürich.

A comparison of the Rules of Caesarius and Aurelian and of these four MSS gives us a body of thirty-five hymns.

C = Caesarius, A = Aurelian; v = Vat. reg. 11, j = Oxford Junius 25, p = Paris bn lat. 14088, r = Rheinau 34.

A. Hymni Communes de Tempore.

- (a) ad nocturnas horas.
 - 1. Mediae noctis tempus est C v j r
 - 2. Rex aeterne Domine CAj
 - 3. Magna et mirabilia C A v
 - 4. Aeterne rerum conditor C j
 - 5. Tempus noctis surgentibus j p
- (b) ad matutinas laudes.
 - 6. (Te Deum laudamus [Dominica] CAvj
 - 7. Deus qui caeli lumen es [Dominica] j p r
 - 8. Splendor paternae gloriae [Feria II] A v j r
 - 9. Aeterne lucis conditor [Feria III] Avjpr
 - 10. Fulgentis auctor aetheris [Feria IV] C A v j p
 - 11. Deus aeterni luminis [Feria V] vjp
 - 12. Christe caeli Domine [Feria VI] v j p
 - 13. Diei luce reddita [Feria VII] v j p r
- (c) ad paruas horas.
 - 14. Post matutinis laudibus [ad primam] jpr
 - 15. Certum tenentes ordinem [ad tertiam] vjpr
 - 16. Dicamus laudes Domino [ad sextam] vjpr
 - 17. Perfectum trinum numerum [ad nonam] v j p
- (d) ad uesperas.
 - 18. Deus creator omnium CAv
 - 19. Deus qui certis legibus CAvjp
 - 20. Deus qui claro lumine j p
 - 21. Sator princepsque temporum v
- (e) ad completorium.1
 - 22. Christe qui lux es et dies Cj
 - 23. Christe precamur adnue C
- B. Hymni proprii de tempore.
 - 24. Intende qui regis Israel [in nat. Domini] v
 - 25. Inluminans altissimus [in epiphan.] v
 - 26. Dei fide qua uiuimus [in quadrag. ad tertiam] j p
 - 27. Meridie orandum est [in quadrag. ad sextam] j p

¹ Caesarius and Aurelian call this duodecima,

- 28. Sic ter quaternis trahitur [in quadrag. ad non.] j p
- 29. Hic est dies uerus Dei [in pascha] CAvj
- 30. Iam surgit hora tertia [ad tertiam in pascha] CAvj
- 31. Iam sexta sensim uoluitur [ad sextam in pascha] CA v
- 32. Ter hora trina uoluitur [ad nonam in pascha] CA v
- 33. Ad cenam agni prouidi [in pascha] j p
- 34. Aurora lucis rutilat [in pascha] j p
- C. Hymnus de communi ss martyrum.
 - 35. Aeterna Christi munera j.

In these hymns (amongst which we find eight hymns by St Ambrose, viz. 4, 8, 18, 25, 29, 30, 35) according to Blume we have the old Benedictine hymnal.

But now we notice a most extraordinary phenomenon. For excepting some of those by Ambrose, and one or two others which have survived in their integrity or in part, these Benedictine hymns (which may be denoted as A) entirely vanish from sight, are, as it were, swept at once away. The Mozarabic and Ambrosian liturgies retained some few of them, it is true. But in all ninth-century MSS written in an Irish or English hand and in all MSS of the tenth century onwards an entirely different set of hymns takes their place. These may for convenience sake be denoted as B.

That the A hymns are older as a whole than those which superseded them is capable of proof. For it is clearly to be seen that all the A hymns ad matutinas laudes, with the exception of the Te Deum and of Ambrose's Splendor paternae gloriae—the model on which the rest are formed—were the work of one man, whoever that man may have been. Aurelian mentions two of them (9 and 10 in the above list); therefore they must all have been written before his time.

And, again, the vesper-hymns of A are evidently part of a night-office, all dwell upon nox horrida, noctis caligo, somnus, fessa curis corpora. The corresponding hymns of B, describing the several six days of the Creation, make no mention of night or nightly rest. They were written at a time when Vespers was a day-office, that is to say after the time of St Benedict, who gave it this new character.

How are we to account for the remarkable circumstance that the older hymns disappear thus suddenly and completely—that they are superseded in all parts of Europe by a body of hymns connected up till then merely with the far-off British Isles? Now, if the new hymns were known to be written by a great Roman bishop who was also connected with those far-off parts, the phenomenon becomes at the least less difficult of comprehension.

And so Blume at once thought of Gregory the Great as the writer of the vesper and nocturn hymns of B 'were it not for the fact that up

VOL. X.

to the present time nothing pointed to Gregory as a writer of hymns'. Scarcely, however, had Blume as Dr Dreves had recently urged. written these words, when he came across an interesting statement in the Irish Liber Hymnorum, in the preface to Altus prosator, which runs thus:

'Locus huius hymni Hi [i.e. Iona] Tempus of Aedan mac Gabrain, King of Scotland & of Aed mac Ainmerech, King of Ireland; Mauritius autem uel Phocas was King of the Romans tunc. The person was Colum Cille de nobili genere Scotorum 'Columba' dicitur Well, this hymn was taken eastward to Gregory as a return for the gifts that had been sent by him, viz. the cross, whose name was the Great Gem, and the Hymns of the Weck.'1

In the so-called Leabhar Breac (or 'Speckled Book', a MS collectaneum of the fourteenth century) we read:

'When Colum Cille was in Hi . . . it was then revealed to Colum Cille that guests were coming to him, viz. seven of Gregory's people came to him from Rome having presents for him, namely the Great Gem of Colum Cille—and that is a cross extant to-day—and the Hymn of the Week, a hymn for every night in the week.'1

Is this statement worthy of belief?

The indications of date given are fairly consistent. Aedan mac Gabrain was King of Scotland from 574 to 606; Aed mac Ainmerech was King of Ireland from 572 to 599; Mauritius was emperor at Byzantium from 582 to 602, and was succeeded by Phocas; Gregory was pope from 590 to 604; Columba died on June 9, 597.

Then, if the statement is a statement of fact, what are 'the Hymns of the Week' or 'the Hymn of the Week'? Bernard and Atkinson say: 'Of the Hymnary we know nothing; Todd suggests that it may have been a copy of the Liber Antiphonarius of Gregory.' This it could scarcely be. What then? Blume suggests the ferial hymns of B. These, as appointed for Vespers, are:

- 1. Lucis creator optime.
- 2. Inmense caeli conditor.
- 3. Telluris ingens conditor.
- 4. Caeli Deus sanctissime.
- 5. Magnae Deus potentiae.
- 6. Plasmator hominis Deus.
 - (a. Deus creator omnium.
 - b. O lux beata Trinitas.

The first six of these do, in fact, compose one hymn on the works of the Creation.

A. S. WALPOLE.

¹ Irish Liber Hymnorum H. B. S. ii 23, 141.

MANICHEANISM

Recherches sur le Manichéisme. I. La Cosmogonie Manichéenne d'après Théodore Bar Khôni, par FRANZ CUMONT. (Lamartin, Brussels, 1908.)

This short pamphlet is the first of a series of works on the subject of Manicheanism, of which two more by MM. Cumont and Kugener are announced as shortly to appear, and contains a translation with interspersed commentary of that portion of the Liber Scholiarum of Theodore Bar Khuni which relates to the Manichean cosmogony. The Syriac text published by M. Pognon in 1800 is, in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining accurate transcripts of the Eastern MSS, in many places unintelligible; but for the purpose of this study M. Kugener has collated a MS at Berlin, and added valuable philological notes, by which light is thrown on many obscure points. Theodore's accounts of heresies are in general drawn from Epiphanius, who, in the section devoted to Manicheanism, relied upon the Acts of Archelaus, but his description of Manicheanism comes at least in part from another source, which M. Cumont believes to have been Mani's own Epistola Fundamenti, of which extracts are given by Augustine. With the help, therefore, of the trustworthy text of the Acts of Archelaus recently published by the Berlin Academy, and the fragments lately discovered in Turkestan, we have now ample material for the study of Manicheanism. That it was a mixture of Zoroastrianism and Christianity is obvious: and M. Cumont makes it probable that some elements in it were also borrowed from Gnosticism and the religion of Babylon, while its moral system was in part derived from Buddhism, noting that Mani himself in the preface to the book which he addressed to the Persian king, as quoted by Al Biruni, terms Buddha, Zoroaster, and Jesus alike emissaries of God: it might also have been noted that in the Acts of Archelaus one of Mani's precursors is termed Boυδδûs, and, though he is identified with a Persian named Terbinth, and brought down to the third century A.D., it can hardly be doubted that Buddha is meant.

At p. 44, note 2, the substitution of 'Adam' for 'Ashaqloun' by a slip of the pen in the last line but two makes the sentence unintelligible.

E. W. BROOKS.

MODERNISM.

Modernism: A Record and Review, by A. Leslie Lilley. (Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1908.)

It is hard to exaggerate the value of this book at the present moment. In this country, and not least within Mr Lilley's own communion, many are trying to understand the Modernist movement, and to discriminate between the different tendencies of which it is made up, and the various conclusions to which it seems to point. Mr Lilley's knowledge of the movement, his personal friendship with many of its authors and his enthusiasm for their work render him peculiarly fitted to supply his readers with the background and the sympathy necessary for better understanding and right judgement. His book gains also from being, in the main, reprints of articles published in various periodicals during the last six years: it brings out the more clearly the recent rapid developement of the crisis in the Roman communion and the factors which have brought it about.

Prefaced by a dedicatory letter to Fr Tyrrell, Mr Lilley's book is divided into two parts—the first dealing with 'The Literature of Modernism', the second with 'Facts and Forces'. The former contains among other essays one on 'Precursors of Liberalism' (and especially Fr Hogan and Mgr Mignot), four on the Abbé Loisy's works and their critics, one on M. Laberthonnière's religious philosophy, and two very important articles (which are published for the first time)—one on the 'Lettres Romaines' and Baron von Hügel's 'Du Christ Éternel', the other on M. le Roy's conception of dogma. In the second part Mr Lilley includes essays on the French elections in 1902, on France and the 'Affaire Loisy', on the Church of England and the Church of France, on the separation law, on the Syllabus and on the encyclical Pascendi gregis. As a result we obtain from an enthusiastic believer in Modernism an account of the intellectual forces at work in it, and a criticism and account of the situation they have produced.

Probably many who have followed the controversy will feel that, however considerable their substantial agreement with the Modernists, the Vatican is not without claim on their sympathy; and they may feel that not the least value of Mr Lilley's volume is the opportunity it gives for concentration of attention on possible dangers in the position of the Modernists.

In his letter to Fr Tyrrell (p. xi) Mr Lilley quotes with enthusiasm a sentence of the former—'The present is older and wiser and better than the past which it incorporates and transcends'. Taken by itself

it is not clear whether this sentence means that the present is wiser and better than so much of the past as it transcends and incorporates; or that by succession the present necessarily incorporates the whole of the past and so is better and wiser. Much that Fr Tyrrell has written in Between Scylla and Charybdis seems to make it almost certain that, if he desired to imply the latter sense and not the former, he has elsewhere insisted on a complementary truth; but I venture to suggest that the latter sense, and that almost without more than verbal qualification, is so accepted by some Modernists as to constitute a tendency which, in a measure, justifies the papal censure of their love for what is new.

There is, among Modernists and those who incline to such positions, a tendency to emphasize the unity of truth and the element of imagery in dogma, and to use these as a ground for denial that dogmas can be taken and treated as dealing with distinct and different 'truths'. In a large measure such a view may be as true as it is important; but it can surely be misapplied. If truth is indeed one, men perceive it as a plurality, nor is this the less so because any complete analysis would reveal a truth, division of which must imply imperfection. So long as man is unable to attain a complete and unified vision of truth, every belief has separate value, and that because the truth or falsity of a position depends on whether the component beliefs are balanced, are complementary, and cover all possible points of view. A man's conception may not be merely the sum of his separate beliefs, but it is the effect of his separate beliefs, and his vision of truth may be enlarged or diminished by the presence or absence of any one.

It follows that, even if successive ages advance progressively in their vision of truth, yet, so long as they have to express and receive that vision as a plurality, we have still to consider whether various reasons may not make now one age and now another blind to certain components. Now two such reasons surely exist in dominant modes of thought and characteristic temperaments. Each age tries to explain and determine all truth by its own method and in terms of the current philosophy; each inclines to deny what it cannot so explain and determine. The result might be satisfactory if modes of thought and philosophies were fitted or unfitted to indicate all aspects of truth, and utilize all methods of approach, in the same measure; but is this so? Should we not rather think of such modes of thought and such philosophies as instruments fitted each to resound peculiarly to certain notes, even if they represent the attempt—perhaps in a measure the progressively successful attempt—to secure an instrument which shall Again, each age feels the value peculiarly of certain aspects of truth and each tends to proclaim these to be the whole, and declares its deepest convictions truth, and those of other ages incidental, unnecessary, or misleading. If we apprehend truth as a plurality, and if different ages may be blind to certain components, we have need to be very careful lest realization that others saw through a glass darkly leads us to forget that, where they saw darkly, for us the glass may at times be blackened to obscurity.

It is of course obvious that we cannot be called upon to accept unreservedly all the beliefs of former ages: the question arises as to what credentials a belief must have that its prevalence in the past may command our acceptance of it in the present. Here, not least, the views advanced by some of the Modernists are peculiarly suggestive. We are not without a basis for the solution of the problem in so far as Scripture or philosophy leads us to hold that in the realization in the individual of the Christlike character the sense of fitness is educated, in respect of questions affecting the spiritual life, to choose from the conceptions which current philosophy provides those which best indicate truth. The result is to give great weight to the cumulative witness of those who manifest conformity to Christ's character, even while we regard such witness as conditioned by available conceptions.

The scholastic philosophy, for example, may have gone, and rightly gone, but it does not follow that the twentieth century can afford to deny what the schoolmen felt deeply and strove to express in terms of their philosophy. Unless we return to identifying dogma with its expression, seeking to see in it a scientific theology, we are bound to seek, if in different terms, that which will justify any direct appeal by a dogma, however scholastic, to the spiritual life and aspirations of the Again, if the Christian consciousness has by divers Middle Ages. methods and phrases tried to affirm a fundamental difference as well as a fundamental identity between the being of our Lord and the being of every other man, no mere apprehension of the imperfection, it may be the philosophic absurdity, of much of the language employed carries with it a right to deny the necessity, for true belief, of an idea so mediated. In so far as the position or line of thought embodied in a dogma owes its existence, as apart from its expression, not to mistaken logical association or the supposed necessities of a dominant philosophy or undue deference to some authority, but to the exigencies of the spiritual life or the demands of the deepest aspirations in the age which produced it, we are informed, at least, of the greater inadequacy of any rejected alternative and of any view which, translated into the philosophic conceptions and the language of the age in question, would have more closely approximated to such an alternative than to the Church's conclusion. Nor is such a criterion indecisive; taking the case last mentioned, it could hardly be maintained that there is not precluded the denial of a difference between our Lord's being and that of every other man, at least as fundamental as the identity. In short, while it must be remembered that agreement may result not only from the selective action of the Christian consciousness and endeavour, but also from other factors such as have been suggested, yet, on the other hand, as the latter possibility is eliminated, if, for example, a tendency of thought is present in widely different ages, in different communions, or pre-eminently among the saints, no synthesis is valid which claims to transcend, but fails to justify that tendency.

If there is danger that some Modernist writers may obscure the need of seeking from past learners conceptions which shall balance our vision of truth, there is also risk that the effect of the writings of Modernists may be to suggest that the Catholic faith is only a successful code for It would be unnecessary as well as impertinent to self-suggestion. praise M. le Roy's discussion of dogma or Mr Lilley's summary of M. le Roy's views, and I can only express my own admiration and acknowledge a real personal debt: nor is the least part of that debt a greater realization that the questions which most concern the spiritual life are those the answers to which directly affect our action, demanding that we should follow one course and not another; that in consequence dogmas embody truths which have most relation to such questions. But there seems at least a danger in the direction indicated when the intellectual value of dogma is subordinated to the practical. M. le Roy and Mr Lilley acknowledge the intellectual value of dogma is of course clearly indicated, but it would bear a greater emphasis at least by the latter. It is no doubt as right as it is necessary to make clear that in an authoritative dogma we have not a truth available as the basis of any argument, or capable of being utilized as a premiss in any syllogism. A dogma is not a statement given ab extra to provide a basis for search after unknown truth; rather it is only trustworthy as replying to those questions the agitation of which led to its rise and survival. If we would seek truth in respect of other issues we must look, not to decisions which may be irrelevant in fact if not in appearance, but to the process which has produced those decisions. If in the meantime we would argue from dogma, then we can only argue that xis so if it follows from assuming x not to be so that the appeal, to the Christian consciousness, of the particular dogma would become illegitimate. Even so, we may only argue with the great reserve always necessary, if too often forgotten, in using a priori argument about questions so fundamental that they may well be beyond adequate treatment by human reason.

But when all has been said to deprecate the speculative misuse of dogma it becomes the more necessary to emphasize the fact that dogma has its own high value because it has its justification in objective reality. We are told, for example, that the dogma of the Real Presence enjoins on us the necessity of 'preserving in the presence of the consecrated Host such an attitude of spirit as we should feel in the presence of Jesus if He were visible to us'. There is a real danger that such views of dogma, through rightly emphasizing its close relation to conduct, may come to be accepted in a sense in which they were never intended, and lead to this and other doctrines being regarded as valuable pieces of self-suggestion, or as edifying make-beliefs. A boy going to school might be usefully told always to speak as if in the presence of his mother; or—to take an illustration used by Dr MacTaggart—it might be well for a man shooting at a tiger (which was attacking a friend) to believe the prospective victim to be a stranger. In proportion as we are told that the questions to which dogma supplies the answers are of the nature of 'how must I act?' it becomes possible to argue that these answers have only such value as we may ascribe to beliefs of the type instanced. It becomes possible to say that the reason why you should so act as if our Lord was uniquely present in His own service is not that such a view is true in any sense in which 'true' is ordinarily used, but that the conception is nevertheless edifying.

Both M. le Roy and Mr Lilley (in summarizing his views) counteract such a tendency by affirming the direct, negative, speculative value of dogma. They tell us that the doctrine of the Real Presence precludes us from regarding the Mass as merely commemorative symbolism. Surely, however, this involves going further and saying that, however inadequate the imagery in which dogma is couched, our thought as well as our conduct will be less adequate as we fail to realize that objective truth, in respect of questions vital to our spiritual life, is better enshrined and imaged in the dogma than in any conception the Catholic process rejected in its favour. If the above view of the Real Presence is to be upheld it must be because the Divine action in the Mass is unique in certain fundamental respects which are paralleled least inadequately by those of our Lord's presence in the streets of Ierusalem, on Calvary, and in the post-Resurrection appearances. have to emphasize the fact that the value of dogma as a basis for life arises precisely because it indicates ultimate truth—in respect of the point as to which knowledge is essential to determine our actions. It is not for a moment suggested that M. le Roy or others are not justified in holding, as no doubt they would hold, that they prove more for dogma than the value it would have as make-belief-rather the very Dogmas survive because they assist the spiritual life, because they create beliefs which are justified in experience, and because they appeal to the Christlike character. The truth of a dogma rests on

more than its survival. It depends on a fundamental belief that in vital questions what survives is that which best mediates absolute truth: that such survival reveals, although it does not create, truth. This fundamental belief must of course be justified: I believe that it can be fully justified, although neither easily nor briefly, and that M. le Roy has pointed the way. At a moment, however, when pragmatism is much in the air, and when many are somewhat confused as to what it means, it is very necessary that those who hold such views as have been indicated should be careful to make their position clear. To take an example—one of those dealt with by M. le Rov—there is need to maintain clearly that the personality of God means more than the fact that it is good for us to say our prayers. It involves the assertion that this fact is objectively and not subjectively conditioned. the assertion not merely that a mechanical conception of the universe is untrue, but that the ultimate reality claims our prayers from the fact that His nature is in some fundamental respect least inadequately paralleled by human personality, if we are to parallel it—as indeed we must—by conceptions with which we are familiar.

Some attempt has been made to indicate two possible dangers in Modernism—exaltation of the outlook of our own age, and minimizing of the intellectual value of dogma. If, however, there are these and other dangers, they arise from what constitutes the great value of the movement—a close connexion with modern thought inseparable from some touch of its weakness. It is this close connexion and the sympathy underlying it that lead many to hope for much from that new apologetic which Modernism is endeavouring to provide.

W. SPENS.

APOLOGETICS.

The Apologetic of the New Testament: by E. F. Scott, M.A. (Williams & Norgate, Crown Theological Library, London, 1907.)

Evidential Value of Prophecy: by E. A. Edghill, M.A. (Macmillan, London, 1906.)

ALTHOUGH these two books are unlike in scope and treatment, they are kindred instances of a form of reaction in the tendencies of current apologetic literature. In recent years the demand has been for Christian evidences in the light of modern needs, and they have been set aside as antiquated unless they definitely face the new issues raised by biology, evolution, and anthropology, and consciously take into account such tendencies as those of materialism and agnosticism. The

older study of apologetics in the light of history, and the consideration of such primitive evidences as the argument of prophecy, have been for the most part relegated to general and scientific treatises on Christian evidences, the interest of which is chiefly academic. It therefore comes as a refreshing change to be reminded that there are other aspects of the subject, which are not unscientific because they are historical, or out of date because they are primitive. There have already been many indications of this reaction, and it is coming to be recognized that it is possible to use and adapt to our own times those older evidences which do not primarily consider modern needs. Six years ago the Hulsean Lectures were an application of the arguments of Tertullian against Marcion to our own times under the title of Some Christian Difficulties of the Second and Twentieth Centuries. And among last year's S.P.C.K. publications was Dr Redpath's little book. Christ and the Fulfilment of Prophecy.

And now Mr Scott has taken us back yet a century earlier than Marcion, and teaches us to go back to the New Testament, not only to find the position which should be defended, but to find also a conscious and reasoned defence of it. He insists that the apostolic age and the age of the apologists cannot be separated, and the design of his book, which represents a series of lectures given at Glasgow, is to consider the question 'How far can we still derive guidance, in our controversies to-day, from a study of this earliest and most authoritative defence of the Christian religion?' The answer of so original and independent a writer is bound to be of interest, and the conservative tone of it is remarkable. He declares the New Testament proofs to be almost undisturbed by the great changes in men's views of nature, comparative religion, and biblical criticism, and sees a clue to the meeting of modern difficulties in the Apostles' facing of Judaism, Heathenism, and Gnosticism.

Mr Edghill has gone a step further back, and traverses the wide field of Old Testament Prophecy in the light of its use as a Christian defence. His work, like that of Mr Scott, partly consists in the study of the various New Testament books in order to find their apologetic position, though of course the question is narrowed to their use of prophecy. After a careful study of all the evidence, he maintains that the argument from prophecy remains of permanent value, if restated in modern terms. And he is able to say that those terms correspond with a true estimate of Christ's own attitude, which he expresses thus, 'our Lord altogether repudiates the notion that He fulfils a few isolated predictions here and there. He takes prophecy as a whole, and claims to fulfil it all.'

A few words must be added as to the working out of these theories.

There is much in Mr Scott's book which cannot commend itself to many They will view as both dangerous and unwarranted his argument that there is a development of doctrine within the New Testament itself which justifies a similar development, which may almost mean a supersession of all but general principles, from age to age. Nor will they accept so nebulous a theology as that which seems to be summed up in the statement, that all that is required of us is to acknowledge the supreme worth of Jesus. And surely the case for the apologetic element in the New Testament has been somewhat weakened by overstatement. Of some of the Epistles it may be true that their primary intention was apologetic, and the suggestion is ingenious that, since we know St Paul 'disputed daily', his arguments may well have found their way into his Epistles, with little change either of substance or But can it really be said of the Gospels that, though at first sight purely historical documents, they were 'largely composed in a special apologetic interest? Some of us who are prepared to admit this of the fourth Gospel, and might allow that whole chapters of it 'reflect the current discussions between church and synagogue', were under the impression that the proof partly lay in the difference of its tone from the other three Gospels. But here the latter are placed in the same category, and the language concerning them is in quaint contrast with Mr Edghill, who says on p. 415, that 'the non-Marcan document is at least as free from apologetic tendencies as St Mark'.

Of Mr Edghill's book it must certainly be said that it contains a scholarly and exhaustive examination of the real meaning of prophecy, and perhaps it is ungrateful to suggest that it is somewhat exhausting also. When p. 574 is reached, it is stated that 'our task is now almost finished,' but even further on the reader is bewildered by a tabulation of argument, which reaches part β of division (V) of sub-section A of section (3). But it is kinder to use the language of the Bishop of Winchester in his preface to the book, that 'he has worked out his design with thoroughness and care.' And we cannot be too grateful for the tone which runs throughout, and reveals the inner meaning of prophecy and its spiritual significance, even amid the intricacies of argument and the discussion of technicalities. This latter-day resuscitation of the argument from prophecy is in striking contrast with Paley's use of it as the first of his 'Auxiliary Evidences', where his mechanical discussion of the predictions of Isaiah liii ends with the general remark that 'there is no other eminent person to the history of whose life so many circumstances can be made to apply'. Since then ideas have so far changed that we were probably all taught in our school-days the conventional and time-honoured formula that 'the function of a prophet is not so much to foretell as to forth-tell'.

156 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

But it is doubtful whether we have yet fully applied prophecy to the defence of Christianity, as a proof that the Incarnation was not an isolated event, but a climax that had been spiritually prepared for by the instincts and utterances of holy men of old, so that when God spoke 'in His Son', it was the natural sequel of what He had spoken 'in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners'.

We therefore welcome back to the field of apologetics the very argument, in its most spiritual form, which began to be expressed on the birthday of the Christian Church with the words 'This is that which was spoken by the prophet Joel'. And in the fresh insistence on the Apologetic of the New Testament as still a guide in facing the controversies of to-day (even though one might wish for a somewhat different treatment of the subject), one may learn the very lesson that prophecy teaches, namely, the solidarity of spiritual principles, and the permanent linking of past and present. It is much to be wished that this may prove a first instalment in the fresh study of Apologetics in the light of history.

T. W. CRAFER

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

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The Journal Theological Studies

JANUARY, 1909

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

II. THE CONTENTS OF THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT: (A) THE FOUR GOSPELS.

OF what books, then, or groups of books, was this New Testament Canon, the origin and developement of which we traced in the last chapter, composed? That is the question to which the present and the next chapter are intended to give an answer, and we shall find that even problems of date and authorship are not without direct bearing on the ultimate object of our investigation, the critical reconstruction of the New Testament texts.

For instance, if the Gospel of St John had been written, as Baur used to maintain that it was written, between the years 160 and 170 A.D., we ought to have been able to restore with almost infallible certainty the ipsissima verba of the author, since, as the argument of these lectures will shew us, we can carry back the history of at least three lines of transmission of the Gospel text in the West, at Edessa, and at Alexandria-to the end of the second or beginning of the third century, that is to say just about a single generation from the time of the supposed composition of the Gospel. But if on the other hand it was written seventy years earlier, in the last decade of the first century, it is obvious that we have the lapse of two more generations to take into account, in estimating the possibilities of textual degeneration, before we arrive at the point where direct and continuous textual history really begins. In other words, the earlier we put the New Testament books, the more difficult we may naturally find the restoration of their original text. The more conservative the VOL. X.

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position we adopt as historical critics, the more radical we must be prepared to be as textual critics.

Again, the line of enquiry proposed in this and the succeeding chapter will not be unfruitful of result if it serves to convince us at the start how misleading it is, in the department of Textual Criticism, to think of the New Testament always as one single whole. Even in the Middle Ages it was relatively uncommon for the New Testament to be copied out complete within the boards of a single codex. Still more was this the case with the larger handwriting of earlier centuries: at least four-fifths of our uncial MSS of the Gospels contain the Gospels only. Even the use of the vellum codex itself does not go back as far as the time of the composition and first circulation of the New Testament books: down to the middle of the third century the papyrus roll was the universal form in which books were published, and three at least of the writings which go to make up the New Testament—the Gospels according to St Matthew and St Luke, and the Acts—attain by themselves the average length of a roll (volumen, τόμος). It is hardly likely that any of the Gospels was ever written other than on its own separate roll: though of course as soon as the Four were recognized and marked off as canonical, the custom would naturally grow up of keeping them all in a common case or satchel.2

And these technical considerations only reinforce a conclusion

¹ A few vellum rolls continued to be written for liturgical purposes during the Middle Ages. I have seen (and with difficulty handled) in the library at Frankfort one of the oldest extant, written under King Hludovic and Queen Hemma—therefore before 876—and probably, since the name of St Nazarius is written in gold letters, for the great monastery of St Nazarius at Lorsch, which lay between Frankfort and Heidelberg. The roll, which is over eight feet long, contains a list in three columns of 534 names of saints, followed by a litany: but as the writing is in continuous columns down the roll, there is space for more matter than if the ancient method had been followed of writing in short columns across the roll. The older method was the only possible one if convenience of reading be taken into account: the roll lay along the table before the reader, who unrolled with his right hand and rolled up with his left, while on the system of the Frankfort roll the reader has to unroll it towards himself, and roll it up as best he can.

² In the Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs (A. D. 180) both Gospels and Pauline Epistles seem to be already kept together in a single case: 'Saturninus proconsul dixit: Quae sunt res in capsa vestra? Speratus dixit: Libri et epistulae Pauli viri iusti.' An interesting illustration of one boy with a satchel, and another reading from a papyrus roil, occurs among the splendid series of Neumagen sepulchral sculptures in the museum at Trèves (Saal 4, No. 21 a).

TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT 163

to which we are already impelled by what we know of the diversities of origin and acceptance between the various component parts of our present New Testament Canon. Some few of the shorter books, like the Second Epistle of Peter, are of uncertain date, and seem nowhere to have arrived at canonical status before the third century. Others, whose time of writing must indisputably be placed within the limits of the first century, were received into the Canon much sooner in one part of the Church than in another: and it cannot but be of some moment textually—it must affect the grouping, and alter our estimate of the relative value, of the authorities—if we find that the Epistle to the Hebrews was refused admission to the New Testament of the Roman Church till the days of Jerome, or that the Apocalypse was unanimously rejected by the Asiatic Churches, whether Greek or Syriac, during the third and fourth centuries.

But if the textual history of each book is thus not only independent of that of the rest up to the time of its admission into the Canon, but even afterwards is largely independent at least of all groups of New Testament writings other than that to which it itself belongs, there is no need for further apology if we proceed to prefix to our investigations of the text some account of the genesis and early history of the books whose text we are going to consider.

The material already collected in the last lecture offers us some starting-points and sign-posts in the prosecution of the study of the contents of the Canon. We saw in the first place (p. 19), that Christians from the very beginning regarded the Lord's Words and the teaching of His apostles as authoritative: and though both of these were originally conveyed only in oral form, it is obvious that we have here, from the moment when written tradition began to be preferred to oral, the germs of the two groups of Gospels and Epistles. The same classification was even more distinctly adumbrated by the parallelism (p. 21) of Gospel and Apostles with Law and Prophets. As soon as the idea emerges of a written New Testament, it becomes at once natural to conceive it as twofold in the same way as the Old Testament was twofold: as the Law is the foundation of the Old Dispensation, so is the Gospel, or record of the Lord's life and words, the foundation of the New, while to the messages of the prophets of the Christ in the one Dispensation correspond

the letters of the preachers of the Christ in the other. And just as last time we noted (p. 21 n. 8) the antiquity of the terminology of Christian worship in the phrase 'the Gospel', so here again let us note how the double lection in the liturgy, Gospel and Epistle—in the older language 'Gospel' and 'Apostle'—reproduces faithfully the two groups out of which and round which the Christian Canon grew. Gospels and (Pauline) Epistles are the invariable nucleus, the essential contents, of the primitive New Testament.¹

But Gospels and Epistles, though they are the central and most important element of the Canon, are yet not the whole. We shall perhaps be able to account better for all the various constituent parts of the New Testament, if we approach it from a different point of view, namely from a consideration of the various forms in which the literary activity of the apostolic and sub-apostolic age found expression: for it was by necessity out of these classes of documents that by process of selection the Canon of New Testament writings had to be evolved. Bearing in mind, then, what was said in the last lecture (p. 23) of the relatively late developement of bookwriting as such among the early Christians, we need to distinguish, before the end of the first quarter of the second century, not more than four departments of ecclesiastical literature. (1) It corresponds with what was said, in the passage just referred to, of the transitory character of the age as conceived by the first generations of Christians, that their literature was more than anything else epistolary: it was evoked by, and was intended to satisfy, the immediate needs of the moment, without any thought of a wider horizon or a more permanent meaning. Not only the epistles of St Paul, but some at least of the Catholic epistles, as well as the epistles of the three 'apostolic fathers', Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp, are letters in the proper and limited sense of the word.² (2) Catechetical instruction in the 'traditions' held a foremost place, as we have seen, in the system of St Paul's provision for his converts: and as these traditions consisted of the savings and doings of the Lord, they partook in some degree of the nature of a Gospel as we mean it. As the Christian movement spread to the Gentiles, that is to men less trained in retentiveness

¹ Compare the quotation from the Scillitan Acts, p. 162 n. 2 supra.

² See chapter I p. 19.

of memory than were the Jews, it was almost inevitable that attempts should be made, whether by preachers or by converts, to commit the traditions to writing. 'Many' had experimented in this direction before our third Gospel was composed: and it is not impossible that the earliest Gospels or collections of Savings may have been written down at a date previous to even the earliest of the epistles of St Paul. (3) One of these writers of Gospels, gifted beyond the rest with literary sense and historical insight, and responding (it would seem) to the wants of a convert of the second Christian generation, to whom the early fortunes of the Church were no more matter of contemporary knowledge than the life and teaching of Christ Himself, appended to his work a sequel, in which he described the preaching of the Gospel by the Apostles and the extension of the Church from the capital of Judaism to the capital of the world. Regarded as a history of the Christian Society, the book of Acts remained isolated and unique till the work of Eusebius of Caesarea at the beginning of the fourth century: regarded, however, as the story, or 'Acts'. of individual Apostles. Peter or Paul, it found, like the canonical Gospels, numerous imitators, and new Gospels and Acts—books professing to be by Apostles, and books professing to be about Apostles—followed one another in quick succession all through the second century. (4) Lastly—and with this fourth class we practically exhaust all the directions in which Christian activity is known to have taken literary shape during the first century after Pentecost—there appeared sporadically in the Church, and especially in Jewish-Christian circles, specimens of that characteristic product and expression of contemporary Judaism, the Apocalyptic vision: in which the seer both depicts the sufferings of the present moment, and foretells the triumphant retribution which in the near or immediate future is to compensate for them.

Material for the Canon lay ready to hand as soon as ever the Christian consciousness demanded a New Testament: but in each department a process of selection was a necessary preliminary. There were books to reject as well as books to accept: books that could be accepted without question, and books that were only accepted after doubt and hesitation. And all these different experiences may be expected to leave their mark, in one way or another, upon the purity of the texts.

A. THE GOSPELS.

Whatever else may be obscure about the Canon of the New Testament, this much is certain, that it contained always and from the first four Gospels, neither more nor less. There is absolutely no trace anywhere, from the time that the conception of the Canon matured at all, of any inclination either to add another to the canonical Four or to omit any one of them. almost be said, in spite of the paradox, that the canonization of the Four Gospels was earlier than any formulation of the conception of the Canon itself: almost by the middle of the second century-so far we may argue back on the joint evidence of the old Latin and old Syriac versions, of the Alexandrine Clement, Irenaeus, and Tatian—these Four Gospels had become the official documents of the Church. To question any of them was itself an indication of heresy. We cannot, in fact, get back to a period which reveals a stage of growth of these particular Gospels in public estimation: as soon as the feeling of the need of authoritative writings grew up. Christian sentiment took to the Four as instinctively as a child to its mother's milk. This undesigned and unargued agreement as to what Gospels were the Gospels of the Church—or in later phrase 'canonical'—is surely one of the most striking things in early Christian history.

For it was not that there were no other Gospels in circulation during the second century. The Protevangelium of James was certainly known to Origen and possibly to Justin Martyr. The Gospel according to the Egyptians was used not only in Gnostic writings like the Acts of Judas Thomas, the Excerpta of Theodotus, or the Exceptica of Julius Cassianus, but by Clement of Alexandria and, half a century before him, in the so-called Second Epistle of Clement of Rome. The simple-minded church people of Rhossus were reading the Gospel according to Peter in the days of bishop Serapion of Antioch at the end of the second century: and Justin Martyr apparently made use of the same book. The Gospel of Marcion owes its existence, as its name implies, to the great Gnostic teacher, and its composition may be placed in the decade 140-150 A.D. Perhaps more primitive than any of these was the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which was employed by

Hegesippus and may well have been the literary source of some of the best known non-canonical Sayings of our Lord.

Here then are five Gospel documents, all of them presumably older than the middle of the second century, and yet we know that not one of them, whatever sporadic use may have been made of its contents, was ever a serious rival to the canonical Four. Either in date or in authorship or in character, there was something in each which distinguished it sharply enough from the Gospels of the Church. The majority of them were produced in Gnostic circles, and betrayed more or less obvious and systematic traces of their origin. Even the slender fragments of the Gospel according to the Egyptians indicate clearly its connexion with the Encratite revolt against marriage. Of two others we know quite enough to estimate with some certainty their dogmatic prepossessions. The Gospel of Marcion is described to us in considerable detail both by Tertullian and by Epiphanius, and we see it to be an arbitrary recension, from a point of view which denied both the reality of Christ's humanity and the dependence of the New Dispensation upon the Old, of that one of the canonical Gospels which seemed least unfitted for the purpose. The account of the Passion and Resurrection in the Gospel according to Peter is among the most striking of the trouvailles which the retentive soil of Egypt has at length yielded up to the spade of the explorer: and Serapion turns out to be amply justified in accusing it of an underlying Docetism. If we had as much left of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, we could doubtless give the reason why it too was set aside. As it is, we can only conjecture that, if it really was a genuine product of the first century, it was the absence of a name to guarantee its apostolic origin which proved fatal to its recognition by a society which was founded upon the 'apostles' doctrine and fellowship'.

Thus from whatever external aspect we treat the question, we find more and more striking evidence of the unique reception accorded to the Four, and we can only account for it as resting upon a combination, in each case, of primitive date and competent authorship. Let us conclude this section of the enquiry by looking at our Gospels for a moment at an earlier stage of their history, not as Four making a single whole accepted by the Church, but as individual documents of separate age and circumstance.

The first element of distinction within the Four is obviously that between the Synoptists and St John: and in no respect have we of the present generation so marked an advantage over our immediate predecessors as in the matter of the Synoptic problem. Critical theories about documents needed to be, and have been, simplified. The complicated webs which the fertile ingenuity of the professorial brain evolved, like the spider, out of itself, have been remorselessly brushed aside. Common sense has reasserted its rights, and has justified them by reaching a conclusion which has been truly called 'the one solid contribution of the nineteenth century towards the solution of the Synoptic problem'. We no longer need 'Ur-Marcus' theories, for it was the Gospel of St Mark itself which lay before our first and third Evangelists. goes without saying that this conclusion is of supreme importance for the historical criticism of the Gospels: it is not so self-evident that it is important also for the purposes of textual criticism, and some pages will be devoted to the elucidation of this point later on in the present chapter (p. 177).

But if this Gospel was already in the hands of Matthew and Luke, no more need be said about its antiquity: nor is there now any inclination to deny the substantial truth of the tradition of the early Christian generations, which attributed the authorship of it to Mark, and to Mark in the character of interpreter or disciple of St Peter. It is hardly likely that the Gospel should have been written down so long as the Apostle was alive to preach his 'good news' by word of mouth: we shall rather find its origin in the desire of the Apostle's converts to compensate for his removal from among them by the acquisition of a permanent record of his teaching; and as St Peter fell a victim to the early days of the Neronian persecution in A.D. 64, St Mark may have written out his Gospel in the years immediately following-probably before the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. That it was published in Rome is suggested by its relation with St Peter, by the evidence of its Latinisms, and by the absence of arguments in favour of any alternative locality. It might indeed be urged that if the Gospel were brought into connexion not with Rome, but with the

¹ The Gospel History and its Transmission, by F. C. Burkitt (London, 1906), p. 37. Further references to this unequal but fascinating book will be found below, p. 177 seqq., and in the next chapter.

later scene of St Mark's labours at Alexandria, we could account in this way for the comparative neglect into which it fell almost from the first: for Alexandrine Christianity, during more than a century and a half after Christ, stood almost as completely aloof from the main current of Church life as it has in the centuries which followed the triumph of Mohammedanism. But while one aspect of the fortunes of this Gospel would thus be satisfactorily explained, it would be certainly less easy to account for the deference which St Matthew and St Luke independently pay to it by making it the basis of their own work, if it had been put into circulation at Alexandria, rather than at so prominent a centre of Christian intercourse as Rome.

One peculiar feature of this Gospel, as it was known to later scribes, and even (it would seem) to the first and third Evangelists. is so important for textual history that it merits notice at once. The end of the roll containing it was-accidentally, no doubttorn off and lost either from the autograph itself or from some copy which became in fact the ancestor of all those copies which have survived. No direct trace remains of the original conclusion. Some few of our most ancient authorities represent faithfully the second stage of the text, and are content to let the Gospel break off with the words εφοβοῦντο γάρ. One or two preserve what is obviously a makeshift, written merely to give an appearance of a proper termination, and containing no new facts. All the rest append twelve additional verses—the recently discovered Freer MS of the Gospels expands them into fourteen—the provenance of which was unknown until Mr F. C. Convbeare discovered in an Armenian MS a title separating these verses from the rest of the Gospel under the words 'Of Ariston the Elder'. Ariston, or Aristion, was, it will be remembered, one of those personal disciples of the Lord whose recollections formed the main subject-matter of Papias's book (p. 24): and there is now no reason to doubt that either he himself, or some one else out of the material left by him, filled up the missing conclusion of St Mark's Gospel at so early a date that his supplement has found its way into almost all codices that have come down to us. It may be assumed that Aristion lived in Asia Minor; and the presence of his supplement is so far an indication of Asian influence, the more valuable because certain traces of any Asian text are few and far between.

Irenaeus is the oldest certain witness to any part of the twelve verses; and Irenaeus may have brought them in his copy of the Gospels from his original home in Asia to his later home in the West.

Not only the authorship of the Second Gospel but that of the Third as well belongs to the category of ecclesiastical traditions long disputed but at length, it may almost be said, established and admitted. Until lately agreement only existed over the common authorship of the Third Gospel and the Acts, and over the genuineness of the 'We' sections of Acts as the real diary of a travelling companion of St Paul. Now, those of us who have always believed that the 'We' sections proceed from no other author than the rest of the book, and that that author was Luke the physician, see our persistence justified at the bar of critical opinion. It follows, from this view of the authorship, that both books must fall within the lifetime of one who joined St Paul as his companion and medical attendant somewhere about the year 50 A.D.: and as these conditions are satisfied only by a grown man, the limits of St Luke's literary activity can hardly be extended beyond the end of the century. Of the terminus a quo we know that the earlier of the two books is not only later than St Mark, but later also than the fall of Jerusalem, which seems to be unambiguously indicated in Luc. xxi 20-24. These termini, 70-100 A.D., would be, at least for the Acts, sensibly narrowed down if it could be shown that St Luke made use of Josephus's Antiquities, since that work was only published in 93 or 94. But so strong and overmastering an impression of exquisite literary skill and craftsmanship is left upon the reader of St Luke, that it is hard to believe that his writings—at any rate the Gospel, which Renan, no mean judge in such matters, called 'le plus beau livre qu'il y ait '1-were not produced during the heyday of his maturity, and therefore not much later than A.D. 80. Where the Gospel was written is less easy to say than in the case of St Mark; there is something to be said for Rome, and something also for Antioch or the East.

St Luke's Gospel, we have already had occasion to note (p. 167), was the basis of the Gospel which Marcion, shortly before the

1 Les Évangiles 2 p. 283.

middle of the second century, set himself for his own purposes to compile. The Churchmen who refute Marcion delight to point out, section by section, his variations from his model, wherever the canonical record lay special emphasis on the reality of the human conditions of Christ's life, or teach with more than usual clearness the divine authority of the Old Testament. But some of his alterations appeared to them purely arbitrary, and no wonder: for they were not really alterations at all, they rather represented the Gospel text as Marcion inherited it. Gospel as it lay before Marcion, and the Gospel as it lay before Tertullian or Epiphanius, were not quite the same thing, and the text of Marcion has at least the advantage of superior antiquity. Marcion's evidence, where we can disentangle it, is, in fact, almost the earliest evidence we possess; it is of primary importance to estimate its bearing on the problem of New Testament textual criticism, and some attempt to arrive at such an estimate will be made at the end of this chapter.

With regard to the First and Fourth Gospels, the divergences of criticism from tradition are more acute; but they touch rather questions of authorship than questions of date, and it is possible to arrive at sufficient certainty about the latter without formulating any rigid conclusions as to the former.

St Matthew's authorship of the First Gospel is, with some approach to consent, rejected by modern critics; nor can it be denied that that Gospel contains, as in its story of the Resurrection. what seem, by comparison with the other Gospels, to be secondary features. Papias's statement, that the Apostle composed some form of Gospel in the Aramaic tongue, will come before us at a later point, when we try to gather up and focus the data which concern the varieties of language in the early Church. For the present we have only to do with the Greek Gospel as we have it, and its terminus a quo has been already fixed in the use it makes of the Gospel according to St Mark. Allowing time for the knowledge of that Gospel to spread to the East-for we cannot, of course, place our First Gospel at Rome — we may take A.D. 70-75 as about the earliest possible date. The terminus ad quem must be fixed by considerations less direct than in the case of St Luke, but leading in the end to a very similar result. For the First Gospel is of all the Four the Gospel par excellence of the

early Church. During the slow period of growth of the New Testament Canon, it is this Gospel of which we find the most frequent and the clearest traces; it is used to the comparative exclusion of the rest both by St Justin in the middle, and by St Ignatius 1 at the beginning, of the second century, and it is noteworthy that, in whatever order the Gospels are arranged among themselves by early authorities. St Matthew comes all but invariably first. Now this predominance of St. Matthew's Gospel is not at all what one would a priori have expected. (i) While the Gospels were being 'canonized', the two most influential Churches of the Christian world were unquestionably Ephesus and Rome-Rome, the birthplace of St Mark's Gospel and possibly of St Luke's also, Ephesus the birthplace of St John's; yet it is to neither of these, but to St Matthew's, that the place of prominence in the collection (ii) Or take another point of view: the two great apostles to whom Christian tradition, from Clement and Ignatius onwards, looked back as the twin foundations of the Church, were Peter and Paul; but it is not the Gospel of St Peter's disciple, nor the Gospel of St Paul's disciple, but the Gospel of the obscure publican—of whom, apart from his call, no facts are related in any one of the evangelic narratives—which the early Christians preferred in honour. (iii) Lastly, if there is one characteristic more than another which we can predicate with confidence of the Church of the second century, it is its profoundly anti-Judaic feeling; Justin even tells us that many of his contemporaries refused the name of Christian and the fellowship of the Church to any who observed the Law, however sound their faith in Christso completely were the tables turned since the days of St Paul. Yet it is the most Jewish of the Gospels of which this anti-Judaic community took first and most account.

There is only one explanation possible of these phenomena: the First Gospel, as we have it in Greek, must have been very early written, very widely known, and very universally credited with apostolic authorship. It is certain that its date must fall within the first century, and the facts of its reception cannot reasonably be reconciled with any date much later than A.D. 80.

In spite of all the dust of controversy raised over the Fourth

¹ Prof. Burkitt, op. cil. p. 276, is quite decided on this point.

Gospel, there is not really, for the questions which specially concern the textual critic, more uncertainty attaching to it than to the other Gospels. The evidence connecting it with Ephesus is more cogent than the evidence of place for any one of the three Synoptists. Even with regard to date, no sane criticism, of whatever school, will nowadays stray far in either direction from the decade 90–100 A.D. Once place and date are granted, it does not, for the limited purposes of textual criticism, matter very much who was the writer. It has become fashionable of late to substitute the authorship of John the Elder for that of John the son of Zebedee. As a problem of the Johannine tradition of Ephesus, the distinction has its own interest: as an element in the fundamental questions which the Fourth Gospel evokes, its importance may be easily exaggerated.¹

This rapid sketch of what seem to be the present tendencies of the saner sort of criticism of the Gospels justifies us in believing that each and all of these had been written before the end of the first century: St Mark about A.D. 65, St Matthew about A.D. 80, St Luke A.D. 80–90, St John A.D. 90–100—St Mark and possibly St Luke in Rome, St John in Ephesus, St Matthew in Palestine or Syria. Not much, if at all, later than the middle of the second century they came to be regarded as constituting a single *corpus*, a collection of the Church's authoritative records of her Founder's life on earth: and the formation of the collection must be ascribed, not so much to the initiative of a single individual or a single community—for in that case the Gospels would always have been arranged in the same order—as to the common instinct of Christians working in different quarters on parallel lines. But

¹ In what way is any of the really serious issues affected by this substitution of 'another gentleman of the same name'? If John the son of Zebedee was an eyewitness, John the Elder, according to Papias, was $\mu a \theta \eta \tau \eta s$ $K \nu \rho i o \nu$, a personal disciple of the Lord. If John the son of Zebedee was one of three apostles singled out for special intimacy with their Master, John the Evangelist was the disciple whom Jesus loved, who lay next Him at the Supper. If John the son of Zebedee is brought, in the Acts and in the Galatian epistle, into closest connexion with Peter, Peter is in the Fourth Gospel the special friend of the beloved disciple: they hold a whispered conversation at the Supper, they follow together to the Trial, together they run excitedly to the empty tomb: Peter, on hearing his own martyrdom foretold, turns at once to ask about the future of his friend, while conversely the Evangelist misses no opportunity of emphasizing the leadership of Peter among the apostles.

174 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

between the writing of the Gospels and the date when the evidence accumulates in sufficient mass to enable us to construct thenceforward the history of the transmission of their text, a period of about a century elapses—rather more for St Mark's Gospel, rather less for St John's—and it is just during this century, of which we know so little, that the most serious divergences arose between one manuscript copy and another.

Although, however, we cannot claim to push back the commencement of the direct and continuously traceable history of the Gospel texts behind the beginning of the last quarter of the second century, the summary account of the preceding pages has indicated possibilities of penetrating, at two earlier points, a little way within the obscurity which conceals the first developement of variae lectiones in the Gospels. The evidence of Marcion will tell us something about the form in which he was reading St Luke's Gospel before the middle of the century. More novel, and perhaps more far-reaching, are the deductions which can be drawn from recent advances in the investigation of the Synoptic problem.

The starting-point of this problem is the fact that there is a large amount of matter common to the first three Gospels. Where the three agree exactly, their agreements prove nothing as to their mutual relations. But besides these exact agreements we have also, in the matter which is common in substance to all three, a vast number of coincidences in detail between St Mark and St Matthew against St Luke, and a large number of similar coincidences between St Mark and St Luke against St Matthew. If now there were no coincidences between St Matthew and St Luke against St Mark, the conclusion would be obvious: no one would doubt, the moment that the mutual relations of the three were pointed out to him, that one of two things followed: either the First and Third Gospels lay before St Mark as he wrote an hypothesis which on other grounds is excluded—or the Second Gospel lay before St Matthew and St Luke, writing independently of one another. In fact, however, there are coincidences, not many, but still real and tangible, between St Matthew and St Luke against St Mark: and the conclusion ordinarily drawn from this state of things by enquirers of the last generation was that a fourth document, an Ur-Marcus, a something like St Mark vet not St Mark, lay

behind the work of all three Synoptists. But it is a sound rule of criticism, a rule of which the value impresses itself on one more and more, that if ninety-nine per cent. of the evidence points one way and the remaining one per cent. another way, then the one per cent. must not only be severely tested to see if it admits of some alternative explanation, but may, on occasion, even if it survives all the tests that we can apply, be safely neglected—on the ground that there must be some other explanation, although we ourselves have failed to find it.

In the case before us, agreements between our First and Third Gospels against our Second may be explained, consistently with their independent use of the work of the evangelist St Mark, in any one of three ways. (1) The agreements may be accidental: Matthew and Luke may both have hit upon the same modification of their exemplar. This explanation will apply especially in the case of some stylistic peculiarities of St Mark, where the two other evangelists when writing out his material in their own words might naturally wish to avoid his turn of speech, and if they avoided it would naturally make the same substitution. 'The two most constantly recurring causes of the agreement of Matthew and Luke are two preferences of Mark,' viz. his preference (i) for the historic present instead of a past tense (especially λέγει as against ε $l\pi$ εν), and (ii) for καί instead of δέ. Other instances of linguistic improvements common to both Matthew and Luke are ανεφχθηναι for σχίζεσθαι of the heavens opening, and κλίνη (κλινίδιον) for κράβαττος, 'a bed.' And the same consideration might account for the fact that when St Mark says that the new wine will burst the old wine skins, 'and the wine perishes (ἀπόλλυται) and the skins,' the other two both avoid the zeugma and speak of the wine being 'spilled' (ἐκχεῖσθαι) and only the skins 'perishing'.3 (2) Or again it may be the case that both St Matthew and St Luke knew St Mark's Gospel in a form which gave from time to time different readings from those which have come down to us in our copies of St Mark. The chances against accurate reproduction of Gospel texts must have been greatest in the earliest years after they were written, before professional copyists were employed, before any special

¹ See Sir John Hawkins Horae Synopticae pp. 113-122.

² Op. at. p. 106.

sanctity attached to the records, and while personal recollection and oral tradition were still disturbing influences. Just the fifteen or twenty years which separate St Mark's Gospel from St Matthew's and St Luke's will have been more critical years than any that followed, since the chief elements of danger to the texts tended to disappear with time. It is the opinion of one who has long presided over these studies among us that St Matthew's text of St Mark was a more corrupt one than our Now if St Matthew had what was in a certain degree a retouched copy of St Mark, it is not impossible that some of its alterations may have been present in St Luke's copy as well. Thus, in the instance given above, the insertion of ἐκχεῖσθαι may perhaps have been derived by both Matthew and Luke from a text of St Mark in which the correction had already been made, though it is not (fortunately) the text of St Mark which has come down to us. (3) Lastly, and here we approach the point which immediately interests us as textual critics, the supposed agreements between Matthew and Luke against Mark may not be real agreements at all, but may be due to later assimilation by scribes of the text of the First Gospel to that of the Third, or vice versa. St Jerome, whose critical insight was only exceeded by his robust common sense, long ago pointed out in the preface to his revision of the Latin Gospels that the cause from which more than any other the purity of the Gospel texts had suffered was the desire to supplement one Gospel from the parallel passage of another, and to alter the language of the less familiar into conformity with that which was better known. And since there can be no doubt that St Mark's Gospel was the least read of the three, it follows that the other two were very likely to be contaminated from one another, but not so likely to be contaminated from him. If we took as our standard the unrevised texts that St Jerome found in the Old Latin or that we ourselves have at hand in the Textus Receptus of the Greek Testament, we should certainly find a much longer list of agreements between Matthew and Luke against Mark than Sir John Hawkins has drawn up:1 for many of the false assimilations between the First and Third Gospels have already been displaced from the critical editions,

¹ Op. cit. pp. 174, 175.

and it is on Westcott and Hort's text that his calculations are based. And we have now to see—following on the lines of Prof. Burkitt's book 1—whether some of the remaining agreements against Mark will not disappear, if we carry the process of textual revision to a further stage than even Westcott and Hort have reached. As a matter of fact, we shall find that several of them vanish if we allow more weight than has hitherto been given to the Old Latin and Old Syriac evidence: 'multarum gentium linguis scriptura ante translata doceat falsa esse quae addita sunt.'

- a. Marc. iv 11 ύμιν τὸ μυστήριον δέδοται της βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ
 - = Matt. xiii 11 ύμιν δέδοται γνώναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τών οὐρανών
 - = Luc. viii 10 δμίν δέδοται γνώναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ.

Here we have two agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark: the insertion of γνωναι, and the plural μυστήρια instead of the singular μυστήριον. In the first case scribes have done their best to confuse the evidence, for they assimilated the text of Mark to that of the other two Synoptists, and credited him also with γνωναι: but the critical editions rightly omit it with half a dozen of the great uncials and a few cursives, and these are now reinforced by the Sinai Syriac and by St Jerome's Vulgate.2 Here it is easy to suppose that St Matthew and St Luke made independently the same obvious simplification of a rugged phrase. In the other case the editions, earlier and later alike, are wrong. That St Mark wrote μυστήριον and St Luke μυστήρια is indeed certain: in the original conception the 'mystery' is single, as the 'Gospel' was single; and just as τὸ εὐαγγέλιον became τὰ εὐαγγέλια, so, though much earlier, τὸ μυστήριον became τὰ μυστήρια. And if St Matthew too wrote μυστήρια, as all the Greek MSS witness, we should have again to account for the agreement of Matthew and Luke against Mark as the accidental coincidence of independent correctors. But many Old Latin MSS including k, the most important of them, and among Fathers Irenaeus and the Alexandrine Clement, have the singular in St Matthew³: and their evidence must be accepted, for assimilation of an original singular to St Luke's plural is much more likely than assimilation of an original plural to St Mark's singular.



¹ Gospel History and its Transmission pp. 42-58.

² The St Gall fragments (Sangall, 1395) give 'datum est mysterium', and the other MSS are divided between 'scire', 'nosse', 'cognoscere'.

³ I do not add the Old Syriac, since it has the singular in all three Gospels. VOL. X.

- β. Marc. v 27 ηψατο τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ
 - = Matt. ix 20, Luc. viii 44, ἤψατο τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἰματίου αὐτοῦ.

But neither in Matthew nor in Luke are the words $\tau \circ \hat{v}$ $\kappa \rho a \sigma \pi \acute{e} \delta o v$ above suspicion: in the former they are omitted by k, in the latter by the Greek of the codex Bezae and the three best Old Latin MSS here extant. The enlarged phrase may even be genuine in one Gospel and an assimilation in the other: or its ultimate source in both may be the parallel language in Matt. xiv 36 (= Marc. vi 56) $\~va$ $\mu\acute{o}vov$ $\~a\psi\omega v\tau a\iota$ $\tau o\~v$ $\kappa \rho a \sigma \pi \acute{e} \delta o v$ $\tau o\~v$ $\~\iota \mu a \tau \acute{e} v$ $\acute e v$ \acute

- γ. Marc. x 30 έκατονταπλασίονα, 'a hundredfold'
 - = Matt. xix 29, Luc. xviii 30, πολλαπλασίονα, 'manifold.'

In Matthew all authorities except B L, the Sahidic, and Origen, give 'a hundredfold' with Mark: in Luke D and the Old Latin (including e Cyprian) give 'sevenfold', and the Old Syriac again 'a hundredfold'. It would seem then either that Matthew and Mark wrote 'a hundredfold', and Luke 'manifold'—in which case 'manifold' in Matthew is an Alexandrine assimilation to Luke, and 'sevenfold' in Luke is an arbitrary 'Western' attempt at precision: or that each evangelist used a different term, Mark 'a hundredfold', Matthew 'manifold', and Luke 'sevenfold'—in which case the desire to increase the number is the dominant factor, and the scribes of Luke advanced one step to the 'manifold' of Matthew, while the scribes of Matthew advanced in turn another step to the 'hundredfold' of Mark.

- δ. Marc. xii 28 καὶ προσελθων εἶς των γραμματέων . . . ἐπηρώτησεν
 - = Matt. xxii 35 καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν εἶς ἐξ αὐτῶν νομικὸς πειράζων αὐτόν
- = Luc. x 25 καὶ ἰδοὺ νομικός τις ἀνέστη ἐκπειράζων αὐτὸν λέγων. In the critical texts of this passage there are two agreements between Matthew and Luke against Mark, νομικός and πειράζων (ἐκπειράζων) αὐτόν. In the Textus Receptus there were three, for the words καὶ λέγων stood in Matthew after πειράζων αὐτόν. But the addition καὶ λέγων was absent from the texts of & B L 33, the best Old Latin MSS and the Vulgate, the Sahidic and Origen, and even its reappearance in the Sinai Syriac cannot rehabilitate it. And the critical texts of the future will, it may be prophesied with confidence, remove one more agreement: for νομικόs, though given by all the Greek uncials of Matthew, is otherwise an exclusively and characteristically Lucan word, and it is omitted in the first Gospel by the Sinai Syriac, the African Latin, and the translator of Origen, as well as by the important Greek cursive I and its family. There remains a third agreement, πειράζων αὐτόν: it is too striking to be accidental, but the evidence at our disposal does not enable us to say which of the explanations open

TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT 179

to us should be adopted. It is possible that the phrase comes from the second common source of Matthew and Luke, now cited as Q.

ε. Marc. xiv 72 καὶ ἐπιβαλων ἔκλαιεν

= Matt. xxvi 75, Luc. xxii 62, καὶ ἐξελθῶν ἔξω ἔκλαυσεν πικρῶs. But the whole verse is omitted in St Luke by six of the best Old Latin MSS here extant, and should no doubt be regarded as an assimilation to Matthew. Even Westcott and Hort place the words within (single) brackets.

It will be part of the argument of these lectures that the chief modification which modern criticism has to make in the principles on which Hort constructed his text is that the versions not infrequently enable us to restore the true reading against the consensus of the leading Greek uncials, and sometimes even against all Greek MSS: and it is significant therefore to note, at this early stage of our enquiry, that cases such as those which we have just examined do indicate that the best recent work on the internal problems of the Gospels tallies with the conclusions which will be found to recommend themselves on quite other grounds of textual history.

These preliminary investigations into the transmission of the Gospel texts before 175 A.D. will be fittingly concluded with some discussion of the evidence of Marcion. In citing Marcion's testimony to variac lectiones in the Gospel of St Luke, only such instances are adduced as find him in the company of other witnesses, so that there is good reason to believe in all the cases—with perhaps one exception—that he inherited the reading rather than invented it.¹

1. Luc. v 14 'ut sit vobis in testimonium' Marcion-Tert. (ἴνα ἢ μαρτύριον τοῦτο ὑμῶν Marcion-Epiph.): with D and some Old Latin MSS. The Sinai Syriac and the African Latin MS e give the same reading, save that instead of 'to you' they read 'to them': conversely another good Old Latin MS / has 'vobis' with Marcion, but not 'ut sit'. The ordinary reading, found in all Greek MSS except D, is εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς, words which recur without variant in the parallels Marc. i 44, Matt. viii 4. There can hardly be any doubt that the Greek MSS of Luke have suffered from assimilation to the other two Gospels,

¹ The cases adduced are selected from the somewhat longer list given in Dr Sanday's Gospels in the Second Century pp. 231, 232. A text of the whole of Marcion's Gospel and Apostolicon has been as far as possible restored by Dr Theodor Zahn Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons ii 455 seqq.

certainly in the omission of τνα η, probably also in the substitution of αὐτοῖς for ὑμῖν.

- 2. Luc. xi 2: Marcion read the Lord's Prayer with some special petition for the Holy Spirit in connexion with, or in place of, 'Hallowed be Thy Name': traces of a similar but not identical mention of the Holy Spirit survive in two Greek Fathers, Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus Confessor. Further, Marcion apparently omitted the petition 'Thy Will be done on earth as in heaven' with B L I and Origen among the Greeks, ff and the Vulgate among the Latins, as well as the Old Syriac. Here Marcion is clearly right, but the Old Latin evidence is for the most part on the other side.
- 3. Luc. xii 14 τίς με κατέστησεν κριτήν (or δικαστήν) εφ' ύμας; so Marcion-Tert. with D 33, one or two MSS of the Old Latin (but not the African Latin), and the Old Syriac. All other authorities have two nouns as alternatives with η: κριτήν η μεριστήν a smaller group headed by 🔀 B; δικαστην η μεριστήν the main body of Greek MSS with A; κριτὴν ἡ δικαστήν a single cursive. The variation is very complicated: but it is impossible not to believe that, if not St Luke himself, at any rate some of the scribes who copied out his Gospel, had in mind the words of Exod. ii 14 (cf. Acts vii 27) τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστὴν ἐφ' ἡμῶν; and the variation will therefore fall to be discussed in a later lecture, when the disturbing influence of the LXX on the text of the New Testament comes up for consideration. Meanwhile it may be well to point out that, as between variant readings, a certain suspicion will attach to any reading introduced with $\tilde{\eta}_i$, since it may suggest a correction originally placed in the margin and subsequently incorporated as an alternative with the reading of the text.
- 4. Luc. xii 38: the 'evening watch', ἐσπερινὴ φυλακή, is substituted for 'the second and third watch' by Marcion-Epiph. in agreement with the Old Latin MS b. It is perhaps more likely that Epiphanius has blundered, and that Marcion with D 1, the best Old Latin MSS and Irenaeus, the Curetonian (but not the Sinai) Syriac with the Acts of Thomas, really had both the 'first' or 'evening' watch and the 'second and third' watch: at any rate this latter reading would seem to be older than that which simply substitutes the 'evening' watch for the others. It is attractive to think that the fullest reading is original, and that omission by homoeoteleuton may account for the disappearance from the ordinary texts of the clause relating to the ἐσπερινὴ φυλακή: but the last word about it has not yet been said.
- 5. Luc. xvi 12 εἰ ἐν τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ πιστοὶ οὐκ ἐγένεσθε, τὸ ἐμὸν τίς δώσει ὑμῶν; is the reading of Marcion-Tert. supported by three of the best Old Latin MSS e i l. τὸ ἡμέτερον Westcott and Hort with

- B L Origen. $\tau \delta \, \hat{\nu} \mu \acute{e} \tau \epsilon \rho \sigma \nu \, \aleph$ and all other authorities, including Cyprian and the Old Syriac. The reading $\tau \delta \, \hat{\eta} \mu \acute{e} \tau \epsilon \rho \sigma \nu$ would best explain the genesis of the other two: but it is certainly also the most difficult reading of the three.
- 6. Luc. xvii 1, 2 οὐαὶ δι' οῦ ἔρχεται λυσιτελεῖ αὐτῷ εἰ λίθος μυλικὸς περίκειται περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ κτλ.: Marcion-Tert. adds (after λυσιτελεῖ αὐτῷ) 'si natus non fuisset aut' with all the best Old Latin MSS save the African e. The insertion is clearly an erroneous assimilation to Matt. xxvi 24 = Marc. xiv 21, and it serves to shew how soon processes of conflation between the Gospels began to affect the texts, even in passages that are not really parallel.
- 7. Luc. xxi 18 καὶ θρὶξ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν οὐ μὴ ἀπόληται. The whole verse is omitted (with Matthew and Mark) by Marcion and the Curetonian (but not the Sinai) Syriac. Assimilation to the other Gospels will hardly account for excision: it is more likely that Marcion was moved by the dogmatic motive of omitting a verse that might be misunderstood as a falsified prophecy of Christ.
- 8. Luc. xxi 27: μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς καὶ δόξης is the reading of Marcion-Tert. and substantially of D, of the Old Latin and Vulgate, and of the Old Syriac. It is certain that a reading in St Luke which agrees with St Mark (xiii 26) is to be preferred to one which agrees with St Matthew (xxiv 30): for assimilation to St Matthew is infinitely more probable than assimilation to St Mark.
- 9. Luc. xxiii 2: Marcion-Epiph. adds (after διαστρέφοντα τὸ ἔθνος ἡμῶν) καταλύοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας with the best Old Latin MSS, except apparently a; and (after κωλύοντα φόρους Καίσαρι διδόναι) ἀναστρέφοντα τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα, which words appear with other new matter in two only, but those the best, Old Latin MSS in verse 5. It would be difficult to suppose that any of our Old Latin MSS had been influenced by Marcion's Gospel; nor indeed have we elsewhere any reason that I know of for convicting Marcion of additions to his Gospel exemplar as well as excisions from it. The readings must be pre-Marcionite: they are not in the Old Syriac, and perhaps are real specimens of what we used to call the licence of interpolation in the (strictly and geographically) Western text.

In all these readings Marcion is found in company with Western and especially with Latin witnesses. He is generally supported by Old Latin MSS,¹ not infrequently by the Old Syriac, against the great Greek uncials: he is never on the side of the

¹ But it is noteworthy that he is often nearer to the other Old Latin MSS than to the African Latin of ϵ : unfortunately k, our best representative of the African Latin, is not extant for St Luke.

uncials against both the versions. If Hort is right, Marcion in all these cases is wrong: the separate examination of each instance has led us to the conclusion that Marcion is both sometimes right (nos. 1, 3, and 8), and sometimes wrong (nos. 6 and 7; but the latter is perhaps a reading introduced by Marcion himself), while sometimes the verdict must be held in suspense. From the faults of his text we learn that erroneous readings were established, in Rome if not in Asia Minor also, before his time, and we see how early the process of degeneration had begun and how deeply it had penetrated. From its better elements we are adding to the material, and helping further to establish the accumulating presumptions, which, in opposition to the hitherto accepted theories of the best known textual critics, suggest that the true text of the Gospels will never be restored by the help of our Greek MSS alone.

C. H. TURNER.

THE CANON OF THE BIBLE AMONG THE LATER REFORMERS.

In the previous paper I carried down the history of the Canon among the continental reformers until the death of Luther. Before continuing it further it will be well to survey the position as it then stood rather more definitely.

The main anchor of the Reformers' position was an appeal from the authority of the Church and from the cogency of its tradition as a criterion of Divine Truth. They professed to deny the authority of its corporate judgement and the paramount obligation to follow it when duly expressed, and appealed against it to the individual judgement of every truly pious man, who was alleged to be inspired for the task by the Holy Spirit. In order to give any stability or precision to this appeal and to prevent the chaos and anarchy which overwhelmed the mystics and illuminati who each professed to find a special gospel in his own heart, it was necessary to agree upon some fixed standard and criterion, upon which to base their corporate faith. This the Reformers all professed to find in the Scriptures, and their appeal was in fact from the Church to the written word of God.

This appeal necessarily involved another. It was very well to fall back upon the Bible, but who was to certify the Bible but the Church which had been its custodian for so many centuries? But to the Church as the ultimate witness in regard to the validity of the Bible the Reformers took exception.

As Reuss says:

'Nothing was further from the thoughts of Luther, Calvin, and their illustrious associates—nothing was more fundamentally opposed to their principles, than to base the authority of the holy books on that of the Church and its tradition, to have the Fathers turned out on guard, and to bring their catalogues on parade, with the reservation of removing their obscurities and contradictions by forced and violent interpretations, as is the custom now. They understood perfectly well that nothing could have been more illogical—nay, more ruinous—to

their system than to assign to the Church the right of making the Bible, when they had disputed her right of making dogma, for the one includes the other.' (History of the Canon, Engl. tr., p. 294.)

The position was a difficult one. The Reformers were speedily reminded that the Church existed before the Bible, and that to appeal from the authority of the Church to that of the Bible on questions like that of the Canon was in effect to appeal from the institution which collected the Bible books and first gave them authority, to its own handiwork. No one could seriously contend that the Bible as it stood had fallen from heaven as a complete whole. It is composed of various distinct works, professedly written at different times and by different authors, and the work of collecting and selecting them is a part of history to be studied and decided by the ordinary methods of historical enquiry. If the Bible was not to be accepted and taken over on the authority of a Church which claimed to be infallible and under the continual guidance of divine wisdom, the reasons why its contents were to be accepted as inspired must be extraordinarily cogent and conclusive since the book itself was in future to become the single pedestal upon which the Christian faith was to be planted. The early Reformers confessedly had to face a stupendous difficulty therefore when they set out to replace the authority of the Church by some other authority equally cogent by which to give an irreproachable sanction to their new Rule of Faith, for they were not like the fortunate founders of other religions who composed their own Bibles and could therefore certify them themselves. The Bible they planted themselves upon was no new book. They could not deny that it had been for fifteen centuries the groundwork of the Creed of Christendom.

They went through no process of analysing and dissecting afresh the ultimate data of Religion. They nowhere stopped to enquire whether Divine Revelation was a reality or not, and, if it was, whether it was contained in the Bible rather than in the sacred books of other religions making similar pretensions. They took their conclusions on both questions for granted as having been decided for them long before. What they were alone content to do was to try and substitute some sanction for the contents of the Bible as they stood other than the authority

of the Church or, as they phrased it, the traditions of men; and thus to avoid what they deemed the inconsistency of certifying a divine message by mere human testimony.

In prosecuting this end Luther formulated a theory of his own which was particularly inconsequent. He tested the canonicity or validity of any book in the Bible, not by its being contained in a recognized 'Bible Canon', but by the conformity of its teaching with what he a priori laid down as the essential element of Christianity. He began by making the contents of certain books the test and measure of what the others must be if they were to be accepted as genuine Scripture. He did this in the main by selecting from the Pauline Epistles a dogma which he claimed to be the dominating factor in true evangelical teaching, namely, the doctrine of Justification by Faith alone, and he applied this Pauline and Augustinian conclusion as a touchstone, and held that its 'canonicity was to be determined by what each biblical book (real or pretended) thus taught regarding Christ and the salvation of men'. This meant of course the testing of the canonicity of the several books by an entirely new, self-evolved and uncertain criterion, and one based only on what the writer himself judged to be the one cardinal evangelical truth among the many possibilities within the Bible teaching; that is to say, upon an assertion of personal infallibility.

On the other hand Calvin and his scholars, while avoiding any appeal to a general proposition, such as Luther's about Justification, chose a still more elastic and uncertain criterion. They claimed that the Holy Spirit speaking within them teaches men how to distinguish what is the true word of God from what is spurious.

This latter theory, which has pervaded the theological writings of that large portion of the reformers who claim Geneva for their Mecca, meant basing canonicity on the internal witness of the Holy Spirit speaking in the heart of each man, educated or simple, normal or excentric, and left the problem to be solved according to the caprice or prejudice of each individual enquirer who might claim to be internally illuminated, and it naturally led quite good Christian men to adopt the most contradictory and inconsistent theories on the authority of the Bible and its various parts.

It is a remarkable fact, not I believe hitherto noticed, that while rejecting tradition as a guide to the legitimate contents of the Bible, the early reformers should have accepted the Bible as preserved by the mediaeval Church at least as containing the maximum of canonical books. The contents of that Bible, there could be no doubt, were only a small selection from a great crowd of others with similar pretensions which had been examined and rejected by the Church in early days. Nowhere do we find any evidence, however, that the early reformers subjected these excluded books to a re-examination and to the potent test of their own new criteria. Whatever the Church had discarded as uncanonical they discarded too quite as a matter of course.

For those who entirely repudiated human tradition as having any legitimate voice whatever in the matter, this was assuredly most inconsequent, for it in fact meant that what had been brought together by the early Church after much patient discussion and enquiry constituted the whole of the documents which without further enquiry need be considered as worthy of any toleration when tested by entirely different criteria. Who was to say that among the literature both of the Old and of the New Testament rejected by the old Church from its Canon, and still existing in such profusion, there may not have been works entitled to be in the Bible if access to that distinction was to be measured by the reformers' new tests?

It seems clear that by accepting the old Church's Bible as the maximum of possible inspired literature, Luther and Calvin in fact conceded the position that the Bible as it stood had been originally certified by the Church; and this was going a long way towards giving the Church paramount authority to decide upon the legitimate contents of the Book, and it meant pro tanto an abandonment by the reformers of their exclusion of Church tradition as a support to the Bible. It is plain therefore that when they were content without further enquiry to treat the Church's Bible as containing all the inspired works which are of authority among Christians, they really abandoned their objection to tradition as having any voice in the matter at all.

Having so accepted it, and having placed the cardinal limitation on their choice that it must not go outside the contents of the accepted Bible of the Church, they were not content to stop there, but proceeded to resift the contents of the Bible as it had been thus handed down, and to discard from it several books as not having the critical characters by which an inspired work should be marked. That is to say, having accepted the Bible from the Church as a maximum of authoritative materials, they proceeded to separate from this maximum a minimum to which alone they were willing to adhere. In doing this they proceeded by various methods, and they treated the books of the New Testament and those of the Old in different ways.

Let us first consider their varying attitude towards the New Testament.

It is necessary to remember in this behalf that the fact of the Reformers applying criticism to the origin and contents of the New Testament books is in no way to be confused with their attitude towards the Canon of the Bible. Such criticism had been freely applied by the early Fathers, by the mediaeval theologians and by the men of the New Learning, notably by Erasmus, as it was now applied without stint or scruple by Calvin and his followers, no less than by Luther and Zwingli. Thus Calvin in his commentaries, while rejecting the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, refers to it continually as an authority of the first quality. He defends the Epistle of James as canonical, although doubtful as to its authorship. Of the Second Epistle of Peter, about which many of the Fathers had disputed, he says expressly:

'Quamvis aliqua notari possit affinitas, fateor tamen manifestum esse discrimen quod diversos scriptores arguat. Sunt et aliae probabiles coniecturae ex quibus colligere liceat alterius esse potius quam Petri. Interim omnium consensu adeo nihil habet Petro indignum ut vim spiritus apostolici et gratiam ubique exprimat. Quod si pro canonica recipitur Petrum eius authorem fateri oportet quando . . . ipse etiam testatur cum Christo se vixisse. Haec autem fictio indigna esset ministro Christi, obtendere alienam personam. Sic igitur constituo, si digna fide censetur Epistola, a Petro fuisse profectam, non quod eam scripserit ipse sed quod unus aliquis ex discipulis ipsius mandato complexus fuerit quae temporum necessitas exigebat . . . Certe quum in omnibus epistolae partibus Spiritus Christi maiestas se exserat eam prorsus repudiare mihi religio est.'



This also, says Reuss, determined the place he assigns to it; for he alone, among all the reformers, separates it from the first epistle by interposing those of John and James; a very curious peculiarity which modern editions, modified by orthodoxy, have taken care to efface. Reuss adds that, when he made this statement, he had six editions of Calvin's commentary on the Catholic Epistles before him, Latin as well as English, all issued under the author's own eyes between 1551 and 1562. Calvin again did not write any commentary on the Apocalypse nor on the two shorter Epistles of St John, but he certainly quotes the Apocalypse under John's name in the Institutes. The two epistles, however, he does not quote, and he refers to the first Epistle in such a way as to exclude them: 'Iohannes in sua canonica', he says of the first Epistle (Inst. iii 2, 24; 3, 23: see Reuss, p. 318 note 2). It is perfectly plain, therefore, that Calvin, the father of the so-called Reformed churches, no less than Luther and Zwingli, exercised the greatest freedom in commenting on the relative value of the New Testament books.

In regard to the New Testament Canon, however, he and his scholars differed widely from their rivals. This is best shewn by an examination of the contents of their respective Bibles, which are really the best test of such a question. In all the Bibles issued under the auspices of the Genevan reformers and their followers the New Testament Canon as accepted by the Latin Church is duly followed. It is the same with the official pronouncements of this school of reformers.

None of the Helvetic Confessions give any list of canonical books. Such a list, however, was contained in the Confession composed in French by Guy de Bres for the churches of Flanders and the Netherlands in 1565, and afterwards sanctioned by the Synod of Dort in 1619. In this the list of Canonical books of the New Testament follows that of the Vulgate explicitly. In the Confession of Rochelle, dated in 1571, the only difference (which is really an immaterial one) is that the Epistle to the Hebrews is treated as anonymous and separated from the other Pauline Epistles, and the Apocalypse is attributed merely to 'Saint Jean', and not to the Apostle John. This Confession was the handiwork of Calvin and his pupil De Chandieu, and was approved by Henry the Fourth of France.

It is plain, therefore, that whatever pious esoteric views the writers of the Reformed church of Geneva and its descendants, including the English Puritans, held in regard to canonical books proper and to Antilegomena in the New Testament, their views were excluded from their Bibles and Confessions, the contents of which constituted their official statement on the subject. So that a question about the legitimate contents of the New Testament Canon never rose among them, and has never done so since.

As we have seen, the Anglican Church in its Articles similarly accepts the old view of the New Testament Canon. In the sixth article it says explicitly, 'All the Books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them Canonical.'

Let us now turn to the theory of Luther and Zwingli.

Luther's own criterion of a Canonical book, as we have seen, was, inter alia, whether it conformed or not to his test of teaching the rigid doctrine of Justification by Faith alone. When thus tested, he claimed, as we said in the previous paper, that four of the New Testament books as hitherto received by the Church failed to comply with his condition, and he accordingly, as we have seen, discarded them from his strict New Testament Canon. His rejection of them was accepted, as we have further seen, by Zwingli, and was endorsed by the various schools of reformers who accepted Luther as their prophet, in Scandinavia, England, and Holland. The only voice raised against him on the subject by any of the early reformers was that of his early friend and later critic Karlstadt. Luther was, however, shortly called to book by the champions of Rome. Thus, within four years of the appearance of Luther's New Testament, Emser, in the preface to the Annotationes, speaks bitterly of his treatment of the New Testament books. Thus he says:

'Aber was solt der nit straffen oder tadeln der auch dem heyligen Apostel Sancto Jacobo sein Epistel verschumffirtt v\(\bar{n}\) spricht es sey ein rechte str\(\bar{o}\)rin Epistel die keyn Euangelische art an ir habe, w\(\bar{o}\)lche Blasphemien und lester\(\bar{u}\)g ich da\(\bar{n}\) verantwort\(\bar{e}\) wil so wir auff die selbe Epistel k\(\bar{o}\)men werden.'

Again he says:

'Und letzten verkurtzt Luther auch das nawe Testament unnd verwurfft unnd verstöst etliche bücher daraus, als nämlich die Epistel zu den Ebreern, die Epistel Jacobi, die Epistel Jude, und die heymliche offenbarūg Joannis welche doch die Christenliche kirch vor tawsent iaren canonizirt und dem testamēt Christi eingeleybt hat, wölchen mehr zu glouben, dan tawsent Luthern. Das aber Luther fur wēdet wie etzlich aus dē altē an disen vier büchern selber gezweyfelt habē, ist gar ein loss argument, Dann solte der gantzen Christenlichē kirchē eintrechtige ordnūg und bewarūg der canonischen bücher nit mehr stat oder glaubens bey uns habē, dañ etzlicher eintzeln personē wahn oder zweyfel. Ja wan man ein ding darūb verwerffen solt, das etzlich daran tzweyfeln, solten die ketzer zu letzt nit allein die canonischē bücher sonder auch wol Christū selber verwerffen wöllen, darumb das vil Judē und Heydē an ihm gezweyfelt, und in nicht fur den Son Gottes oder den warhafftigē Messiam gehaltē haben '(ff. xvi sq.).

Further on again, in his prefaces to the four books we are discussing, Emser enters at greater length into the question of their authority and authenticity, and speaks very plainly of Luther's method of criticism as applied to them.

Luther was similarly attacked by a still more persistent champion of Rome, namely Cochlaeus. Thus, in his work entitled *De Canonicae Scripturae & Catholicae Ecclesiae Autoritate*, addressed to Henry Bullinger, 1543, he says:

'Nos enim Catholici omnes novi testamēti libros pro Canonicis & sacrosanctis habemus, quos hactenus tota tenuit Ecclesia, quosque concilium Carthaginense tertium & S. Augustinus . . . At Lutherus in sua in nouum testamentum praefatione, & in plerisque prologis Canonicarum epistolarum atque Apocalypsis audacissimum sese scripturarum novi Testamenti censorē, iudicemque constituit, aliisque Suermeris ad temeraria de scripturis sanctis iudicia falsasque et impias censuras licentiae fenestram aperuit atque audendi ansam praebuit. Hae enim ipsius, non nostrae sunt propositiones' (cap. iii f. 14).

He then sets out in order the various propositions in regard to the four books in question to which Luther takes exception, and continues:

'Haec & id genus plura Lutheri, non nostra, de scripturis novi testamenti sunt iudicia. De quibus audatius adhuc magisque impie iudicavit post eum Otto Brunfelsius (quē tibi notissimū fuisse arbitror) in quodam problemate. Is em nullā uult scripturam dici sanctam praeterque vetus Testamentum. Ideo non censet inter sanctas scripturas Evangeliū, sed habet illud pro mera relatione Cabalistica, qua inuicē alius erudit alium. Atque huc omnia tendere affirmat, ut apostolos

hoīes fuisse credamus & labi potuisse, atque etiā pugnātia scripsisse' (ff. 15 sq.).

Again, in his Commentaria de actis et scripturis Martini Lutheri...usque ad anum M.D. xlvi, published in 1549, we find Cochlaeus, on page 60, writing:

'Optimis enim quibusque videbatur Lutherus nimis malitiose grassari in sacras literas novi Testamenti. E quorum Canone, audaci censura reiiciebat Epistolam ad Hebraeos, Epistolam Iacobi, Epistolam Iudae & Apocalypsin Ioannis. Quas sane & atrocibus infamabat calumniis in suis praefationibus. In praefatione vero generali, etiam in sacratissima Evangelia audacissime manum mittebat: volens in primis repudiandam esse vetustissimam hanc et omnibus Christianis notam ac receptam opinionem & sententiam . . . Evangelium enim non requirere opera, aut praecepta praescribere, sed solum fidem in Christum docere et dulciter consolari credentes affirmabat.'

These and other similar attacks by the champions of Rome. especially after the Council of Trent had emphasized the adherence of the Roman Church to the complete Canon, had to be met, and the Lutheran apologists found them very difficult to meet without qualifying their master's position very materially. Especially did they find it necessary to go behind his own pontifical pronouncements as to what ought and what ought not to be found doctrinally in a truly Canonical book, and to import into their arguments references to the opinions and decisions of the early Church, and, in fact, to abandon the rigid appeal to internal inspiration in regard to Canonicity and to wander into what Luther and Zwingli both denounced as an unpardonable fault, namely, to quote traditional and historical arguments in favour of their position. Thus, as we have seen, Oecolampadius at a very early stage, when giving advice to the Waldenses as to the New Testament Canon, did not quote Luther's Canon, but the Canon of some of the early Fathers who had raised questions about the authority of seven and not merely about four books as Antilegomena, but in a very different way from Luther's.

Thus again Flacius, the most devoted of Luther's champions, says of the Bible books:

'Distinguuntur quoque, in Canonicos, et dubios ac denique apocryphos, taceo enim iam plane supposititios atque adeo rejectos.

192 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

'Canonicos eos voco, qui plane accepti probatique sunt et in Canone Biblico semper censiti, quos supra recensui. Dubios eos dico, de quibus est dubitatum; ut sunt in N. Testamento Epistola Petri ii, ad Hebraeos, Iacobi duae posteriores Iohannis, Iudae et Apocalypsis.'

Again, in his tract on the New Testament in the first volume of the *Magdeburg Centuries*, having given a list of those writings which, according to Eusebius, had always been received as undoubted (*pro indubitatis*), he continues:

'Sunt autem et alia quaedam hoc seculo scripta, per ecclesias nomine Apostolorum aut eorum discipulorum sparsa: quorum quaedam in medio propter quorundam dubitationem, sunt aliquamdiu relicta, postea vero in numerum catholicorum scriptorum recepta: quaedam vero prorsus pro apocryphis rejecta. Prioris generis sunt: Epistola Iacobi. epistola Iudae, posterior Petri, et altera ac tertia Ioannis: epistola ad Hebraeos, et apocalypsis Ioannis. Eusebius de suo tempore loquens. epistolam Iacobi primam inter septem catholicas, et Iudae epistolam quoque inter eas unam, et publice in plurimis ecclesiis legi, dicit : sed tamen eas adulterinas esse ex eo affirmat, quod non multi ex veteribus mentionem earum faciant (Eusebius ii ch. 23). Praeter hoc vero argumentum, a testimonio antiquitatis sumptum, alia quoque sunt haud obscura indicia, unde colligi potest, earum autores non esse Apostolos Iacobum et Iudam. Nam Epistola Iacobi ab analogia doctrinae Apostolicae haud mediocriter aberrat, dum iustificationem non fidei soli sed operibus adscribit: et legem appellat legem libertatis, cum lex fit Testamentum generans in servitutem Galat iv. Deinde nec modum docendi Apostolorum observat. . . . Praeterea sententiis quibusdam Petri et Pauli utitur: nec se appellat Apostolum Christi, sicut Paulus et Petrus faciunt, sed tantum servum Christi. Non igitur est absimile vero, eam epistolam a quodam discipulo Apostolorum sub finem huius seculi, aut superiori tempore scriptum est.

'Iudae epistolam etiam haec arguunt non esse genuinam, quod non apostolum, sed servum se appellat: quodque ipse se post apostolos vixisse prodit, quum inquit: Vos autem dilecti, memores estis verborum, quae antehac dicta fuerunt ab Apostolis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quod dixerunt vobis, . . . Quod quaedam de verbo ex posteriori Petri describit, et quod citat sententiam de certamine Michaelis archangeli adversus diabolum de corpore Mosi, et ex vaticinio Enoch, quae in probatis ceteris scripturae libris non habentur . . . Et quod Iudam non in Graeciam, sed in Persiam venisse, memoriae proditum est, ubi Persice potius quam Graece scripsisset.'

Flacius then quotes the opinions of Eusebius in regard to the Second Epistle of Peter and the Second and Third Epistles of John as not legitimate works, a view in which he apparently concurs, as he does in regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews, of which he concludes:

'His et similibus rationibus mota prudens vetustas, quae omnia ad ἀναλογίαν fidei examinare solita est, de Epistola ad Ebraeos iure dubitasse videtur.'

In regard to the Apocalypse he also quotes Eusebius's phrase:

'Alios certis et authenticis sacrae scripturae libris adiudicare: alios vero eis non annumerare' (iii ch. 25).

He discusses the book in many aspects, generally favourably, but ends by putting it among those Works 'qui dubitationi obnoxii fuerunt' (*Centuriae Magdeburgenses* i 451-566).

It will be noticed how far Flacius in these paragraphs had shifted his ground from that occupied by his master, and how he had fallen back from the latter's largely subjective methods upon distinctions already recognized in the earlier centuries of Christianity between the homologoumena and antilegomena, and had thus really given up Luther's objections to any appeals to authority on the subject.

Flacius was not the only one to do this. Bucer (Enarr. in Evv. fol. 20) also insists that the early Church recognized only the twenty homologoumena as authoritative—that is, he also based his position on traditional arguments. The same was the case with Chemnitz, the most skilful and powerful of the anti-Roman controversialists at this time. Thus, in Exam. Trident. ed. 1578, p. 54, he says:

'Quaestio est ... an ea scripta, de quibus in antiquissima Ecclesia ... dubitatum fuit, ideo quod testificationes primitivae Ecclesiae de his non consentirent, ... praesens Ecclesia possit facere canonica? Pontifici ... illam autoritatem usurpant ... sed manifestissimum est ... ecclesiam nullo modo habere illam autoritatem; eadem enim ratione posset etiam vel canonicos libros reiicere vel adulterinos canonisare. Tota enim haec res ... pendet ex certis testificationibus eius Ecclesiae quae tempore Apostolorum fuit.

Here Chemnitz entirely abandons the subjective method of dealing with the problem of canonicity, and falls back upon VOL. X.

Church tradition, and is led by this guide not merely to question the four books which Luther virtually discarded from the Canon, but the whole of the seven antilegomena.

This point of view was pressed home with increasing force by subsequent controversialists, and at the beginning of the seventeenth century the whole antilegomena of the New Testament were actually pronounced by Lutheran controversialists to be apocrypha. Thus M. Hafenreffer, in his Loci Theol. De Script. Sacra, 1603, p. 140, says:

- 'Apocryphi Libri in Nouo Testamento sunt: Posterior Epistola Petri: secunda & tertia Iohannis: Epistola ad Hebræos: Epistola Iacobi: Epistola Iudae: & Apocalypsis Ioannis Theologi. Hi apocryphi libri quanquam in diiudicatione dogmatum canonicam authoritatem non habeant: quia tamen quae ad institutionem et aedificationem faciunt plurima continent, cum utilitate et fructu, tum privatim legi, tum publice in Ecclesia recitari possunt.'
- J. Schroeder, in his Aphorismi e comp. th. 1599, Disp. I, thes. 16, says of these books, 'Apocrypha N. T. sunt: Ep. ad Hebraeos', &c. Aeg. Hunnius, in his Disp. de Scr. can. 1601 (Dispp. Witt., 1625, vol. i. de S. Scriptura Canonica pp. 156 f), says:
- 'Fatemur haud gravate, Novi Testamenti Scripta apocrypha maiorem ecclesiae primitivae meruisse consensum et approbationem, quam apocrypha veteris Testamenti... Nos etiam de autoritate Epistolae ad Hebraeos, similiter secundae et tertiae Ioannis, posterioris Epistolae Petri et apocalypseos non magnopere cum quoquam pugnaturus.'

In a later paragraph he speaks of the Epistle 'of James and the remaining apocrypha of the New Testament', and adds of the former:

'Quod Christi et doctrinae de ipso tam rara fit mentio, de ratione autem consequendi vitam aeternam per solum Christum verbum nullum exstat in Epistola bene longa, quae non veteris Testamenti scriptum est ubi doctrina de Christo magis erat implicita.'

In paragraph cxvi of this work, in enumerating the canonical books of the New Testament, he excludes the Epistle of James as well as the five books above mentioned.

This view was not merely pressed by private theologians and doctors. Thus the faculty of Theology at Wittenberg, in its reply to the Socinian catechism entitled *Ausführliche Widerlegung des arianischen Catechismi*, 1619, p. 13, says:

'Gleichfalss von den Apocriphis Newes Testaments soll verstanden werden als da ist Epistola Judae, Jacobi, die ander Epistel S. Petri unnd dergleichen: deren Gewissheit man so eigentlich nicht als der andern Schriften darthun kan. Darümb hette hievon billig mit unterscheid sollen gehandelt werden.'

The attitude here adopted in support of Luther's method was clearly a dangerous one, and opened some very awkward questions in view of the persistent and very able polemics of the Jesuits, and we presently find the more advanced Lutheran theologians modifying their ground again. Thus Hafenreffer (l. c.) himself says that, while numbering the antilegomena among the Apocrypha, he holds that these New Testament apocrypha have a greater authority than those of the Old. F. Balduin, in his idea dispos. bibl. p. 68 sq., says:

'Est discrimen inter apocryphos V. et N. T. Ex illis nulla confirmari possunt dogmata fidei sed propter moralia tantum leguntur in ecclesia; horum autem maior est auctoritas ita ut nonnulli etiam ad probanda fidei dogmata sint idonei, praesertim Ep. ad Hebraeos et Apocalypsis.'

Similarly Dieterich, in his *Institt. catech.*, 1613, p. 19 f, says of these books:

'Dubitatum fuit de autore, non de doctrina. Errant autem pontificii qui absolute parem autoritatem cum canonicis apocryphos libros habere dictitant.'

In his Loci Comm., 1619, p. 17, L. Hutter 'claims for the Apocrypha of the N. T. auctoritatem quandam, arguing that they occupy a place intermediate between those of the O. T. and the canonical books' (Reuss, op. cit. p. 368 note 2).

Again, B. Mentzer De S. S., Disp. 1, th. 25 f, says:

'Libri apocryphi primi ordinis s. ecclesiastici N.T. in nostris ecclesiis fere eandem obtinent cum canonicis autoritatem.'

This modified attitude presently still further gave way as the more orthodox began to fear the dangerous approaches of a more active criticism, and the term apocrypha largely fell out of use as applied to the New Testament writings.

Thus Quenstedt Theol. did. pol. c. iv, qu. 23, p. 235, says:

'Disceptatum fuit de his libris, non ab omnibus sed a paucis, non semper sed aliquando, non de divina corum autoritate sed de autoribus secundariis. Sunt aequalis autoritatis cum reliquis non autem aequalis cognitionis apud homines.'

Instead of apocrypha the books were now generally distinguished as Libri canonici secundi ordinis; deuterocanonici, &c. The pietistic movement of the eighteenth century and the highly conservative influence (in this regard) of the reformed communities, caused the Lutheran writers to move nearer and nearer to the old accepted Canon of the New Testament, and to base its authority on the perpetual tradition of the Church. The following paragraph from Reuss condenses the later theories on the subject held by the more influential Lutheran divines:

'Buddeus, l. c. p. 146, says: "Dubitatum olim fuit; etiam nostri doctores aliquando haesitarunt; postquam autem cuncta adcuratiori studio et explorata sunt, nullum temere, cur recipi non debeant, superesse potest dubium." J. C. Pritii Introd. in N. T., 1737, pp. 37 f: "Inter canonicos libros nullum ordinem, nullamque eminentiam agnoscimus: etsi quoque daremus incertum esse auctorem, inde tamen immerito ad negandam libri autoritatem canonicam concluditur." J. W. Rumpaei Comm. Crit. ad ll. N. T., 1757, p. 188: "Hodie distinctio illa expiravit." J. A. Dietelmaier Theol. Beitr., 1769, 1. 377: "Heutiges Tages koennten wir diesen Unterschied zur Noth entbehren; weil er aber doch noch einigen Gebrauch hat und besorglicher Massen bald noch einen mehrern bekommen möchte (!), so ist fleissig zu erinnern dass die Zusätze proto- deutero- nicht einen verschiedenen Werth anzeigen sollen, sondern eine frühere oder spätere Aufnahme." Ch. F. Schmidt, Hist. et vind. canonis, 1775, p. 56: "Impune et sine ulla impietatis nota licuit priscis ambigere de ll. N. T. quorum divina origo istis temporibus nondum satis nota esset. . . . quod nunc post perspecta clarissima argumenta, traditionem perpetuam ecclesiae constitutumque publicum eorum usum indulgeri nequit."' (Reuss, p. 370 note 1.)

This attitude was still further emphasized as time went on. Thus Thiersch, in his *Versuch zur Herstellung* p. 17, says of Luther's theories about certain books of the New Testament:

'Diese Ansichten Luthers, deren bleibendes Denkmal die Hintanstellung des Briefes an die Hebräer, der Briefe Jacobi und Judä sammt der Offenbarung in unsern deutschen Bibelausgaben ist, wurden von seinen Nachfolgern, den orthodox lutherischen Theologen, theils eine Zeitlang, wenn gleich in gemilderter Form, festgehalten, theils wenigstens sehr schonend beurtheilt. Und während in mehreren reformirten Bekenntnissschriften der belgischen, gallicanischen und anglicanischen Confession der Kanon des neuen Testaments festgesetzt wurde, um den Katholiken feierlich zu erklären, dass man hierin auf Neuerungen nicht

sinne, wird in dem Concordienbuche der Lutheraner jede Bestimmung hierüber vermisst; ein Schweigen das freilich keineswegs als absichtliche, legislatorische Freistellung des Urtheils aufgefasst werden darf.'

Having traced the course which Luther's theory of New Testament canonicity passed through under the influence of the sharp polemics with Rome, when its dependence on a mere masterful *obiter dictum* about the real fundamental basis of canonicity was found to be untenable, it will be well to turn to the corresponding modifications which occurred in the Lutheran Bibles. These were almost entirely limited to those countries which in early days had largely accepted Luther's teaching, but were not immediately dominated, as Germany and Scandinavia were, by his pontifical authority.

The first actual departure from his example among those who had accepted his teaching was in England. England, as we have seen, was completely committed to the Canon of Luther's and Zwingli's New Testament Canon by Coverdale's, Taverner's, and Matthew's Bibles. It was in 1539 that we first find Luther's New Testament Canon abandoned. This was in the important new edition of the Bible known as 'the Great Bible', which was specially authorized as the Bible to be used in the public services, and in which we find a return to the New Testament Order and Canon as contained in the Vulgate. This reversion to the older theory of the New Testament Canon was carried out in the subsequent editions of the Great Bible, which appeared during Henry the Eighth's reign, and was probably due to the conservative tendencies which prevailed in the latter part of that king's reign.

After the accession of Edward the Sixth, while the Great Bible continued to be the Bible appointed to be read in churches, and continued the old Church tradition as to the New Testament Canon which had been reverted to in that edition (see editions of 1550, 1553, and of 1559), new editions of Coverdale's (1550), Taverner's, and Matthew's Bibles (1551) appeared in which Luther's and Zwingli's Canon and order of the books were still followed. It is a curious and little noticed fact that in these Bibles of Edward the Sixth's reign the appended table of lessons was declared to be that according to the Salisbury Use, although that Use had been abolished in 1550.

198 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

With the accession of Queen Elizabeth, Lutheran influence was replaced by that of Geneva in England. Then new editions of Coverdale's, Taverner's, and Matthew's Bibles ceased apparently to be published. The Great Bible continued to be the authorized Bible so far as the mere royal authority could give it that character, while in 1560 there appeared the first edition of the Geneva Bible, which became the principal Bible of the middle classes and of the Puritans in England and Scotland. This Bible was largely based on that of Calvin, who, as we have seen, like Lefèvre and Olivetan, his precursors in issuing reformed Church Bibles, never adopted the New Testament Canon of Luther and Zwingli, but remained attached to that previously prevailing in the Church. It is not strange, therefore, that the Genevan-English Bible shews no traces of Luther's and Zwingli's revolutionary attitude towards the New Testament Canon.

In 1568 the so-called Bishops' Bible was published, and replaced the Great Bible as the official Bible. It followed the example of the latter in regard to the New Testament Canon, and remained constant to the pre-Lutheran tradition. This again was the case with the authorized version of 1611, which finally became the recognized New Testament Canon of all sections of English and Scotch Reformers. We must not forget, however, that from 1536 to 1539 the only New Testament Canon current in the vernacular in England was that of Luther and Zwingli, and that this continental and sophisticated and mutilated New Testament Canon continued to prevail here alongside of the older Canon down to the end of Edward the Sixth's reign.

Let us now turn to the Church of the German-speaking Swiss Reformers. Dr Nestle calls attention to the fact that in several of the so-called Kombinierte Bibeln, in which Luther's and Zwingli's texts were combined, the Epistle to the Laodicenes is included. He mentions four such Bibles: one published at Worms in 1529; the so-called Täuferbibel which first among the protestants bore the common name Biblia, and was largely a reprint of the Zürich Bible of 1527; two editions of the Bible published at Strassburg by Wolff Köpphl in 1530; and Egenolph's Frankfurt Bible of 1534. In addition to these four there was

also an edition of Luther's Bible published at Strassburg by Wm. Köpphl in 1537. In all these there occurs without any warning among the Canonical books the Apocryphal Epistle to the Laodicenes. Professor Nestle says it was taken over from one of the pre-Lutheran German Bibles where it is placed after Philemon (*Urtext und Uebersetz. der Bibcl* p. 132).

After Zwingli's tragic death in 1531 his place at Zürich was taken by Bullinger, who was a more thoroughgoing opponent of the Lutherans than Zwingli had been.

In 1539 there was issued at Zürich a new translation of the Bible into Latin with the following title: Biblia Sacra utriusque testamenti et vetus quidem post omnium hactenus acditiones, opera D. Sebast. Munsteri evulgatum et ad Hebraicam veritatem quod fieri potuit redditum, collatis ubique vetustissimis et probatissimis eius linguae scriptoribus. Novum vero non solum ad Graecam veritatem, verum etiam ad multorum utriusque linguae et interpretum et codicum fidem opera D. Eras. Rot. ultimo recognitum et auditum. Additi sunt è LXX versione et Apocryphi libri sive Ecclesiastici, qui habentur extra Canonem.

This Bible does not follow the order of the books of Luther and Zwingli but maintains the Vulgate order, thus causing a break in what had been previously the practice at Zürich.

There is prefixed an introduction headed: De omnibus sanctae scripturae libris, eorumque praestantia et dignitate, Heinrychi Bullingeri expositio ad lectorem Christianum, which contains a paragraph headed De Canonicis libris veteris testamenti et corum ordine in which we read:

'Canonica scriptura est, quae intra controversiam afflatu sancti Spiritus prodita est, irrefutabilis existens autoritatis et de cuius fide nefas est dubitare et hoc dividitur in vetus testamentum et novum.'

Then follows a description of the various books as they occur in the Hebrew Canon ending with Ezra. It then continues:

'Intra hunc numerum concluserunt & Hebraei & prisci Christiani volumina veteris testamenti, et nephas erat de eorum fide dubitare. Nunc vero receptus est in usum ecclesiasticum Sapientiae liber, quem quidam suspicantur esse Philonis Iudaei: & alius qui dicitur Ecclesiasticus, quem putant esse Iesu filii Sirach. Receptus est & liber Tobiae, Iehudith et Machabaeorum libri duo. Receptae sunt et duae historiae, quae Danieli annexae sunt, una de Susanna & altera

de Belo et dracone. Accesserunt & duo alii libri ad librum Ezrae, tertius scilicet et quartus. Et hos omnes Hebraei ignorant, licet de Machabaeis . . . nonnihil in historiis habeant, sicut superioribus annis edito libello ex Iosippo ostendi.'

In his notes on the several Canonical books, Bullinger, in this address, does not say a word to shew that he in any way doubts their complete validity or that he shares the views of Luther and Zwingli on the subject. At the end of his notes on them, however, he adds the words:

'Plures libros non habet novi Testamenti Canon. Nec magnopere curandum existimo quod a quibusdam traditur quosdam veterum dubitasse de epistola ad Hebraeos, de epistola posteriore Petri et Iudae, de epistola Iacobi & Apocalypsi. Quid enim ad nos quod pauci aliquot suis affectibus corrupti de rebus certis et authenticis authoribus dubitarunt? Credendum est plane hos quos recensuimus libros testamenti utriusque a Spiritu dei profectos et a prophetis apostolisque domini ecclesiae dei esse traditos: atque in his doceri omnem veritatem certam nihil iis vel erroris misceri vel mendacii. Haec dicta est veteribus Canonica, id est regularis, quod a deo nobis data fit vitae & veritatis regula, qua omnia probemus & iuxta quam vivamus.'

In the Zürich German Bible of 1542 which appeared under Bullinger's influence, the Epistle to the Hebrews is assigned to St Paul and placed in its old position after the rest of St Paul's Epistles. The Epistle of James is not, however, restored to its old place. The same was the case in the editions of 1548 and 1560, in which it is immediately followed by Revelations.

In 1543 there appeared a fresh translation of the Old Testament at Zürich made by L. Juda, T. Bibliander, and P. Cholinus, and a revised translation of the New Testament by Gevalter, the whole being edited by Pellicanus. This Bible has also Bullinger's preface just mentioned. The New Testament books follow Luther's order. It is an interesting fact that in the British Museum there is a copy of this Latin Bible which belonged to Henry the Eighth, and has Queen Elizabeth's arms on the cover.

The Zürich German Bible of 1545 is preceded by a translation of Bullinger's preface from the Latin of Sebastian Munster's edition already named. In this Bible, curiously enough, Luther's order of the New Testament books is still retained in the

initial table of lessons, but not in the text, which follows that of 1542.

The Zürich Bible of 1560 contains a list of contents divided into two series of books; those of the New Testament being placed in the second list. The four books separated by Luther are printed at the end of the rest in his order, so that this Bible was a retrograde one.

In the Zürich Bible of 1638, however, Luther's innovations in regard to the New Testament were entirely abandoned, and the old Vulgate order was explicitly followed. This was also the case in the great three-volume edition of the Bible published at Zürich in 1711, and apparently in all subsequent Zürich Bibles; and this meant an abandonment of Zwingli's example as well as of Luther's by the church of Zürich, and was probably the result of the influence of the Genevan reformers.

In an edition of the Bible however, professedly following Luther, published at Basle in 1699 by Brandmüller, while the Epistle to the Hebrews is put at the end of St Paul's Epistles, James, Jude, and Revelation are put together at the end of the New Testament, so that in this instance the fashion introduced by Luther still survived; but this was quite an exception, and the Germano-Swiss Reformers of Zürich and Basle, in respect to their New Testament Canon, apparently assimilated themselves to the Reformed Church from the early seventeenth century.

Let us now turn to Holland. In Holland there was a considerable struggle between the Lutherans and the Reformed, which ended in the triumph of the latter, a fact represented in the Bibles. The earlier Bibles mainly apparently followed Luther's New Testament order. Thus, in the Bible published at Emden for the Memnonites in 1560, Luther's arrangement of the New Testament books is followed. In another Bible published the following year at the same place, the old Vulgate order of the New Testament and not Luther's is adopted, and Hebrews is attributed to St Paul. In another Bible, also published at Emden in 1562, by Nicolas Briestkens, Luther's order is again used. Again in a revised edition of the last-named Bible, published in 1648 at Amsterdam, and known as Vischer's Bible, Luther's order of the four critical books is followed as well as his various prefaces.

Other editions of Dutch Lutheran Bibles also appeared in 1655, 1657, 1662, 1671, 1701, and 1702. These Lutheran Dutch Bibles were, however, only meant for the small Lutheran communities surviving in Holland, where the greater part of the people belonged to the Reformed Church, and accepted the Bible authorized by the Synod of Dort, to which I shall revert presently; and this was also accepted by the Remonstrants after they had subjected it to a rigid examination. This meant the acceptance of the Vulgate Canon of the New Testament by the Dutch Reformers.

Let us now turn to the more strictly Lutheran countries of Germany and Scandinavia.

While the exigencies of the polemic with Rome necessitated a change of attitude towards the question of canonicity on the part of the Lutheran apologists, there was an almost rigid adherence to Luther's view in the Lutheran Bibles of Germany and Scandinavia. One singular exception, very singular considering the strong views in regard to inspiration which were held by the Reformers, was the insertion of the Epistle to the Laodicenes, which had no claims to canonicity, among the accepted books in several early German Bibles (see above, p. 199). With this exception, we have to go on for some time before we find any trace of change in the Lutheran New Testament. I first find one in a polyglot edition of the Bible published in 1596 at Hamburg, in which the table of contents divides the books into Canonical and non-Canonical; the latter including the Apocalypse without the author's name, and three Epistles, one that to the Hebrews of uncertain origin, the other two by known authors, 'certorum auctorum,'

A remarkable proof of the tenacity with which Luther's theory of the New Testament Canonicity still prevailed is to be found in an edition of the Greek New Testament published at Halle in 1740, in which his order of the books is followed, as it was in the first edition of the German Bible published in America in 1743. To revert, however; in the famous Weimar Bible, published in 1644, Luther's order of the New Testament books was duly maintained, and his prefaces to the several books were duly set out, and so they were treated in the Lutheran Bibles during the rest of that century. Lastly, in the revised and standard edition

of Luther's Bible of 1892, the Epistles to the Hebrews, of James, and of Jude are printed after all the other Epistles, but are not separated from them by any gap, but continuously numbered with them. The Revelation, however, is put into a separate class by itself, headed *Das prophetische Buch*, and printed at the end. In the list of lessons at the end of this Bible there are none from the so-called apocryphal books of the Old Testament, but lessons occur from the four New Testament books which Luther treated with contumely.

The only actual breach in Luther's Canon of the New Testament in a Bible still dominated by Lutheran theories was a very trifling one which took place in Scandinavia, in the great Swedish Bible published at Widerholm in 1703. While the Epistle to the Hebrews is not attributed to St Paul, it is put immediately after the Pauline Epistles, following directly on that to Philemon. James, Jude, and the Apocalypse are put together at the end of the New Testament, and the last is attributed to St Johann Theologus. The same order of the books is followed by Melius in his great Swedish Bible published at Lund in 1787. The Apocalypse is there headed in neutral fashion Johannis Uppenbarelse.

A curious example of the difference that prevailed between the champions of Luther's Bible text and the Apologists is to be found in the German Bible published at Tübingen in 1730, professedly as stated on the title-page after the translation of Luther with his prefaces and marginal notes, and edited with new prefaces by Christ. Math. Pfaffen. In this Bible we find that although the four critical New Testament books are all placed in Luther's order at the end, Luther's deprecatory introductions to them are supplemented or replaced by fresh ones, in which his views are largely abandoned. Thus, in regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews, we read in the new preface:

'Einige der Alten haben Barnabam, Clementem von Rom, Lucam, Apollom davor gehalten, denen auch einige von den Neuern beypflichten. Die gemeineste Meynung aber streitet vor den heiligen apostel Paulum.'

The author then sets out the reasons for the two opinions.

In regard to the Epistle of James he says:

'Der Urheber dieser Epistel ist Jacobus, nicht der grössere, Zebedai Sohn, den Herodes Agrippa enthaupten lassen, Gesch. 12. 2, sondern Jacobus der kleinere. Einige von Alten und Neuern (wie auch der seelige Lutherus anfanglich) haben diese Epistel nicht fur Göttlich halten wollen, weil besonders darinnen auch den Wercken die Rechtfertigung zugeschrieben werde. Es ist aber dieser Zweiffel bald gehoben, wie aus den Erklärungen des zweyten Capitels wird ersichtlich seyn: Der Brief ist nicht an eine gewisse Gemeine, sondern an die zerstreuten Bekehrten aus den Juden geschrieben. Wo und welcher Zeit er aber geschrieben worden, kan man nicht wissen.'

In his own text Luther attached a joint introduction to the two Epistles of James and Jude. In this edition there is a new introduction to each. In it we read:

'Von dieser Epistel ist der Urheber Judas, der Apostel, sonst auch Thaddäus und Lebbäus genannt... Es ist diese Epistel spät geschrieben, besonders aus Gelegenheit der schändlichen Ketzer, welche viel Aergerniss unter den Christen damals anrichteten... Ist eine Göttliche Epistel, ohngeacht sie vormals, aber ohne Grund, von einigen in Zweiffel gezogen worden. Denn das Judas die Prophezeyung Enoch und den Streit zwischen dem Erzengel Michael und dem Satan, und die Lehre der Apostel anführet, ist theils aus Göttlicher Offenbarung geschehen, theils bestärket es die Göttlichkeit des Briefes, wie wenn die Urheber der Bücher des N. Testaments die gleichstimmigen Worte der Propheten des A. Testaments anführen....'

In regard to the Apocalypse this edition contains a long new introduction in which we read:

'Es ist diese Offenbarung Jesu Christi ein recht fürtrefflicher Antheil der Bücher des Neuen Testaments, ein herrlich- und mit fürtrefflichsten Weissagungen angefülltes Wunder-Buch, ein Kern und Auszug, was zumalen die letzte Seiten angehet . . . man wohl mit Wahrheits Grund sagen mögen, dass der Geist alle die Fürtrefflichkeiten der alten Propheten, Mosis, Jesaia, Jeremia, Daniels, Ezechiels etc. in Johanne zusammen fliessen. . . . Dieses voraus gesetzt muss man sich fast wundern, dass man jemals in der Kirche gezweiffelt ob diese offenbarung Göttlich, und der Urheber derselben Johannes, der Apostel des Herrn, der Evangelist und Schoos-Jünger Jesu, derweil er gleich in Anfang seines Evangelii von der Gottheit ueberhaupt besonders Jesu Christi so herrlich geschrieben, Theologus von den Alten genennet worden seye? . . . Ist aber von einem andern Johanne Marco, oder Johanne Presbytero hier gar nicht zu gedencken etc., etc.'

Such were the methods by which the later Lutherans tried to make their master's words and arguments more acceptable to the students of rational and scientific theology. Their concessions

and their arguments were, however, by no means acceptable to the majority of those who had to guide the fortunes of the Lutheran church. The wave of free enquiry and rationalism which swept over Germany at the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century made pastors and congregations equally stubborn and determined to abide at all hazards by their founder and revered prophet, by his Bible, his Catechism, and his theology, as embodied in the Augsburg Confession and its supplements. Here they saw what seemed a safe anchorage where their church had outridden many a storm. Hence the Lutheran Bibles as we have seen everywhere followed the model of Luther's Bible, arranging the books after his fashion. separating them into the same classes as he did, and, generally speaking, preserving his prefaces. What is more important is to remember the fact that the Lutheran church continued to be, and is now, committed to a theory of New Testament canonicity. dependent not merely on subjective methods but upon an extravagant dictum the cogency of which in this behalf has been repudiated by the most learned Lutherans, and by all the other children of the Reformation, and which is only tenable on the theory that Luther himself was inspired.

Let us now turn to the Canon of the Old Testament. We have seen that the Reformers of all schools accepted the New Testament of the mediaeval Church as containing all the books which had a claim to be inspired, and with the exception of the strict Lutherans and the early Zwinglians, they continued to accept that New Testament without addition or curtailment.

In the case of the Old Testament matters were very different. There had been since the early centuries of Christianity a conflict between theologians on the subject of the Old Testament canon. The great bulk of churchmen supported the official and conciliar pronouncements on the subject, and accepted the longer or Septuagint Canon which had been accepted by the Church as legitimate from Apostolic times onwards. A certain number of theologians with Jerome at their head had agreed, however, that this Septuagint Canon was illegitimate, and that inasmuch as the Old Testament was confessedly the Jewish Bible it was rational to accept the Jewish or Masoretic Canon, from which several complete books and certain fragments of others contained

in the Septuagint were absent. This latter view had never been endorsed by the Church. It was endorsed, however, by the Reformers—Lutherans and Calvinists alike. While all the Reformers accepted the Jewish Canon of the Old Testament, the fathers of the movement did not avowedly base their acceptance of it on the ground of its being the Canon of the Jewish Church. As in the case of the New Testament, to do so would have been fatal to their contention that the Bible certified itself and needed no attestation from tradition either Jewish or Christian.

As in the case of the New Testament, however, while professing this pious opinion they in practice took over the Old Testament which had been previously used in the Church, as containing all the books with canonical authority, without a fresh analysis of the materials which had been rejected when the Old Testament Canon was put together by Jews and Christians in early times; and as in the former case they found themselves in the virtually miraculous position of formulating, by the exercise of a merely subjective choice, the same Canon which had previously been accepted by the Jews on entirely different grounds, and this while completely repudiating the authority of the Synagogue in its decisions on the Old Testament Canon, as they repudiated that of the Church in regard to the New Testament.

As a matter of fact the pretence was only a pretence to save their consistency; but it was pressed with the gravity which the ancient augurs used to assume in delivering their pronouncements. What was most singular in this extraordinary pretension was that the exact identity of the selection made by the Jews when they defined the contents of their Bible with the selection made by Luther and Calvin was avowedly reached by the employment of methods of selection entirely different in the two cases. The Jews put together their Bible (as we know from the Talmud) after long and intricate discussions as to the several merits of the books which they accepted or rejected as viewed from the point of view of strictly Jewish exegesis, and by a process (however elementary) of real historical and critical analysis. The Reformers on the other hand made no such examination, but professed that their subjective criteria in regard to the sacred books brought them to precisely the same conclusion

as the Jews had already arrived at. This was not all. As in the case of the New Testament Luther and Calvin employed different criteria. In regard to the Old Testament as well as to the New, Luther professed to measure the value of a book by the degree of evangelical teaching which he found in it. His disciples went further and professed the very dangerous view that the validity of an Old Testament book was to be tested by the fact that it was quoted in the New. Thus Flacius in his tract on the Old Testament in the first volume of the Magdeburg Centuries I ii 4, says:

'Etsi numerus librorum authenticorum Veteris Testamenti ab apostolis ex professo nominatim non est expressus, tamen haud obscure, ex citationibus coniectari potest quod eos pro certis et probatis habuerint de quibus antiquitas Iudaica nunquam dubitavit.'

What may well seem to ingenuous people strange and inconsequent is that having professedly reached the same conclusion in regard to the legitimate contents of the Old Testament as had been reached by the Jews, Luther and his followers should not have been more logical and entirely evicted from the Bible what was not inspired as he claimed the Canonical Scriptures to be, but should have retained in the same cover and in a book which was professedly the foundation-stone of the Faith under the name of Apocrypha what he deemed to be works of purely human invention and in no way to be used in polemics for the establishment of doctrines. Assuredly in this matter the more extreme Calvinists and the English Puritans were more consistent when they entirely excluded the Apocrypha from their Bibles. To the excuse he urged for this it may well be replied that if the Bible was to contain merely useful, as well as inspired books, why not insert the numerous monuments of Christian piety from the Apostolic Fathers which were once admitted down to the works of the Reformers themselves which were eagerly read by thousands every day (Reuss, p. 311). The inconsistency just mentioned involved others. Thus on what possible ground did he limit what he called the Apocrypha to the particular books which he printed under that title in his Bible? Here at all events he could not and did not profess to use his special criterion, nor did he make a special examination of the various Jewish Apocrypha whose claims to be included ought assuredly to have

been re-examined. Books like the Book of Enoch, the Book of Jubilees, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, all of which fulfilled the condition that they were profitable reading and being so might claim admission as much as Susanna and the Elders or Bel and the Dragon.

The fact is that as in other cases the process he actually followed was not covered by any rational theory. He merely seems to have separated from his Canon of the Old Testament all those portions of the Catholic Canon not contained in the Hebrew Bible, and then put them together under the name Apocrypha and included them in the book upon which his faith was professedly based and whose contents ought to be without reproach. Reuss who champions his method has no better justification for the retention of the Apocrypha in the Bible after its Canonical authority had been denied it than that 'it was a concession to ecclesiastical usage, the habits of the people, the opinion of the Early Fathers, and the fear of the storm which an innovation might cause'. None of them be it spoken reasons consistent with the basis of the Reformer's position. Let me call attention to still another inconsistency of Luther in selecting the contents of his Bible. One would have supposed, if the Old Testament Apocrypha were admitted at all as having been once acknowledged by the Church as canonical, that the claim would have been extended by him to all the books and fragments of the Vulgate Canon not contained in the Jewish Scriptures, but this was not so. Apparently on the ground, very inconsequent from his point of view, that Jerome had refused to translate the so-called books of 3 Esdras and 4 Esdras, and had spoken with extreme contumely of them. Luther not only excluded them from his Canon but even from the Apocrypha and left them out altogether. He also similarly excluded the Third Book of Maccabees, while he admitted the Prayer of Manasses which was contained only in some MSS of the Vulgate. In doing this he very dangerously and inconsequently separated himself from Zwingli, whose translation of the Apocrypha was published before his own, on the critical question of the legitimate contents of the Bible. In all this again he was exercising a purely arbitrary choice as to these contents and giving an excellent proof of the quicksand upon which he had ventured to set up his canonical

theory when he rejected the authority of tradition as its real criterion.

We have seen that Luther's subjective dogmatism on the question of the Canon of the New Testament was found to be untenable by the apologists of the Reformation who had to sustain the assault of the Jesuit controversialists after the Council of Trent had finally defined the contents of the Canon in the Roman Church. A similar difficulty was felt by them in defending his subjective criteria for the Canon of the Old Testament, and we speedily find his scholars disregarding these criteria more and more and falling back on more reasonable arguments. Thus as early as 1535 we find in the Confession of Bohemia, Art. I:

'Docent scripturas sacras quae in Bibliis ipsis continentur et a patribus receptae autoritateque canonica donatae sunt pro inconcusse veris habendas.'

In the Würtemberg Confession presented to the Council of Trent, on January 24, 1552, we read under the heading Dc Sacra Scriptura:

'Vocamus eos Canonicos libros veteris & Novi Testamenti, de quorum authoritate in Ecclesia nunquam dubitatum est. Hanc Scripturam credimus et confitemur esse oraculum Spiritus Sancti, coelestibus testimoniis ita confirmatum, ut si Angelus de coelo aliud praedicaverit anathema sit. Quare detestamur omnem doctrinam, cultum et religionem pugnantem cum hac scriptura.'

This view prevailed more and more among the so-called Lutheran dogmatists.

Chemnitz, in his Examen concilii Trident., 1578, p. 59, says of the Canon:

'Libros illos non proprie vocari canonicos, qui leguntur quidem in ecclesiis, sed non ad confirmandum ex his fidei autoritatem, et quorum auctoritas non idonea iudicatur ad roboranda ea quae in contentionem veniunt. Convenit enim appellatio (sc. canonici) proprie ad illos libros, qui sunt canon dogmatum et fidei; $\delta\pi\delta\kappa\rho\nu\phi\omega$ proprie vocantur illi libri, quorum occulta origo non claruit illis, quorum testificatione auctoritas verarum Scripturarum ad nos pervenit: sicut inquit Augustinus, de Civit. lib. xv capit. 23: Et contra Faustum lib. ii cap. 2. Dicit, vocari apocryphos, qui nulla testificationis luce declarati et prolati sunt. Haec explicatio appellationis recte convenit ad illos libros, qui in vulgatis editionibus habentur quidem sed non sunt in Canone. . . .

VOL. X. P

Ad tertium genus scriptorum, quae adulterina et falsa sunt, sive haec sive alia appellatio accommodetur, non pugno.'

Hollaz thus distinguishes them:

'Libri apocryphi sunt: 1. qui in codice quidem, sed non in Canone biblico exstant, neque in mediato Dei afflatu Scripti sunt: 2. qui continent fabulas, errores ac mendacia ac proinde non sunt in ecclesia legendi.'

John Gerhard writes:

'Prioris generis libri dicuntur Apocryphi, qui sunt absconditi i. e. origine absconditae et occultae; posterioris generis libri dicuntur apocryphi sensu eo, quod sint abscondendi nec in ecclesia legendi.'

Upon which Strack comments:

'Mit dieser Beurteilung der Apokryphen des A. T. ist das Verfahren der älteren Reformierten vollkommen in Einklang.' (Hauck Real-Encycl. ix 765 sq.)

Luther's Bible continued to be edited in Germany in its old form, as it had left his hands, until the year 1644, when a new edition of it appeared known as the Weimar Bible, from its having been issued under the auspices of Duke Ernest of Saxe-Weimar. This contains a preface addressed to the Christian reader, and dated at Jena in 1640, which states that it was the work of the theological faculty at Jena. In the list of contents of the Apocrypha in this edition three books are added for the first time in a professedly Lutheran Bible, namely the Third and Fourth of Esdras and the Third of Maccabees. They are put at the end of the rest of that section. The Apocryphal books in the Weimar Bible have a special title-page. They are thus enumerated: 1. Judith. 2. Das buch der Weissheit. 3. Tobias. 4. Syrach. 5. Baruch. 6. Maccabees. 7. Stuck in Ester. 8. Stuck in Daniel. Then follow the words:

'Warumb aber diese Schrifften nicht unter die Haupt Bücher des Alten Testaments zu zehlen ist Ursach I Weil sie erst nach Malachiae Zeiten welcher die Haupt-Bücher beschlossen und gleichsam versiegelt beschrieben worden, II Nicht in Hebraischer Sprach, III Weder von der Judischen noch der ersten Kirchen dess newen Testament dafur erkant, IV Weil sie widrige und Theils unverantwortliche Sachen erzehlen wie jedesmals an seinem ort soll angezeight werden.'

Here we have a complete departure from Luther's subjective tests of canonicity, and a reversion to tests similar to those

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employed by Karlstadt, and notably an appeal to the Hebrew Canon.

To some of the so-called Apocryphal books is prefixed an introduction explaining their contents and also a special exegetical preface. Thus of Judith we read:

'Der Christliche Leser wird sich allhier bescheiden dass wie dieses Buch in Ebreischer Sprach nicht vorhanden, also auch die Exemplar in der Chaldeischen Sprach darinnen es zu befinden gewesen nach Aussage dess alten Kirchenlehrers Hieronymi nicht miteinander wollen übereintreffen. Daher es auch kommen dass die Griechischen und Lateinischen dolmetschungen nicht allenthalben zusammenstimmen und eine bald mehr bald weniger hat denn die andere. Es sind auch über das wenn man gedachte beyde Dolmetschungen gegeneinanderhält die namen der hierinn benamten personen Länder und Oerter sowol als die Rechnung der Jahre fast ungleich: Welches aber drunten in der Erklärung mit Stillschweigen übergangen worden auff dass der gemeine mann nicht irre gemacht würde. M. Luth. hat in seiner deutschen Dolmetschung nicht dem griechischen sondern dem Lateinischen und zwar einem andern Exemplar denn wir jetzunder gemeinschaftlich brauchen gefolget.'

To the Wisdom of Solomon is attached Luther's preface, and then we read:

'Die Weissheit Salomonis an die Tyrannen Diss Buch so von Philone (wie etliche dafür halten) beschrieben worden.'

To Tobias there is no special note, nor yet to Jesus Sirach, Baruch, or 1 and 2 Maccabees.

The Fragments of Esther and Daniel are put together in this Bible after the Maccabees, with the heading 'Vorrede auff die Stucke Esther und Daniel D. Martin Luther'. Then follows Luther's introduction; then the Fragments of Esther in six sections; then the History of Susanna; then the Account of Bel in Babylon; then the Dragon at Babylon; then the Prayer of Azarias in the Third Book of Daniel; then the Song of the Three Men in the Fire from the same chapter; then the Prayer of Manasses. None of these has any special heading or justification.

After the Prayer of Manasses we have the words, 'Ende der Bücher dess Alten Testaments.' Then follows 'Anhang: Zugab dreyer bücher, Des dritten Buchs Esra, des vierdten Buchs Esra, des dritten Buchs der Maccabeer'. Then follow the words:

Vorrede ueber das dritte Buch Esra.

'Dass Buch ist auss den Büchern der Chronic wie auch auss Ezra. und Nehemias Buchern (nach welchen beide dess Buch das dritte Esra genennet wird) zusammengeschrieben aussgenommen die Fabel von den dreyen Leibdienern dess Könnigs Darii welche von die Frage was am allerstärcksten sey disputiren. Cap 3 und 4 Wiewol aber dasselbe Buch von etlichen Kirchenlehrern angezogen wird gehöret es doch nichts in die Zahl der Göttlichen unfehlbaren und bewärten Biblischen Bücher des Alten Testaments dieweil 1 es nicht in Hebreischer Sprache geschrieben 2 Im dritten Capitel vom Bau dess Tempels und der Stadt Jerusalem dem Propheten Haggai und der Historischen zuwider ist 3 Das Kirchen Zeugnis mangelt beides in Judenthum und in Christenthumb.'

The preface to the Fourth Book of Esdras is as follows:

'Dass Buch gehöret nicht unter die bewährten Canonischen Bucher dess Alten Testaments denn 1 ists nicht Ebreisch ja auch nicht Griechisch sondern nur Lateinisch geschrieben und wirde Gott nicht zugelassen haben dass es in der Grundsprach verlohren worden da es in derselben were beschrieben worden, 2 Wollen die 4 B Esi 10 v 22 und 2 B Maccab 2. v 4 wie Maccabeer Buch nicht Canonisch ist, 3 Mangelt diesem Buch nicht allein der Israelitischen sondern auch den Christlichen Kirchen Zeugnis, 4 Und weil Cap IV 40 dieses Buch Malachias der letze Prophet angezogen und sein name aussgelegt wird muss dasselbe nach Malachia Zeiten seyn geschrieben worden. 5 Es sind auch in diesem Buch Judische Fabeln begrieffen wie dann Lutherus in Vorrede uber de Baruch schreibt ohne dass in 4 Buch darzu eitel Traume sind wie Hieronymus selbst saget. 6 Darumb hat auch Lyra diss Buch keiner Ausslegung gewirdiget wie auch hernach Vortablus Osiander etc. Ja Lutherus hat es nicht wollen verdolmetschen wie er schreibt in gedachten Vorrede. 7 Und die verständigen Aussleger der H. Schrifft im Pabsthum schliessen diss Buch auss dem Canone welches wider die newen Traumer zu mercken die diss Buch so hoch halten. II Es hat fast das Ansehen dass diss Buch sev nach der Offenbarung Johannis geschrieben und dass der Dichter es dem heiligen Johanni habe nachthun und nachreden wollen doch mit sehr ungleichem Geiste. So gar auch dass er viel holz den Stopfeln mit untermenget und man ihm in allen dingen nicht helffen noch entschuldigen kan. Was aber guts daran ist das hat er auss andern Büchern entlehnet und so weit kan dasselbige gelten. Sonsten können wir dess ganzen Buchs ohn einigem Schaden leicht entrahten D. Cramerus - Wiewol wenn das was im 3. Cap VI gesetzt wird waar seyn soll diss Buch ehe muss seyn geschrieben worden als das Canonisch Buch Esra. Were also der Titul desselben unrichtig.

III Er ist aber solch Buch ein Prophetisch Buch und hält in sich erstlich zwo Predigten i Eine scharffe Straffpredigt Esra wider die ungehorsamen Juden 2 Eine liebliche Trostpredigt vom glucklichem Zustand dess Volcks Gottes im Reich Christi. Darnach wunderliche Gesichte durch welche die Predigten bekrafftiget und angezeiget wird warumb die Juden soviel Elend leiden müssen und was beides die Glaubige für Wolthaten die Gottlosen für Straffen von Christo zu gewarten haben.'

To the Third Book of Maccabees the following heading is attached:

'Dass Buch gehöret nicht unter die bewährten Canonischen Bucher das Alten Testaments Denn 1 ist es nicht in Prophetischer Hebreischer sondern in Griechischer Sprach geschrieben 2 Mangelt demselben das Zeugnis der Judischen Kirchen dero Canonen oder unfehlbare Bucher ins alte Testament gehorig Christus bestetigt und gutgeheissen hat 3 Es hat auch die erste Kirche in Newen Testament dasselbe nit fur Canonisch gehalten 4 Wie denn auch die Autzleger der H. Schrifft dasselbe der Erklärung nicht gewirdiget haben.'

'II Es hat das Ansehen es habe diss Buch gemacht eben der Scribent der das Buch der Weissheit geschrieben dieweil in beiden einerley Sprüche und Art zu reden begriffen seyn. Und vermeinen etliche sey Philo Alexandrinus. Es solte billich nicht ein Buch der Maccabeer (denn dieses Namens ganz nicht darinnen gedacht wird hat sich auch die darinn verfaste Geschichte lange Zeit vor den Macabeern begeben) sondern das Buch Simons dess Hohen-priesters dessen Verrichtung furnemlich darinnen beschrieben wird oder doch das erste Buch der Maccabeer wegen der Zeit und ordnung der Verfolgung genennet werden.

'III Es begreifft aber diss Buch die Geschicht (die sich in kurzer Zeit hat zugetragen im vierdtten jahr Antioch den Grossen) wie grausam sich Ptolemaus Philopator König in Egypten gegen die Juden bezeigt habe und dass dennoch Gott der Herr solchen Tyrannischen Rath des Königs umbgekehret und alles zu einem gewunschten Ende den Juden zum besten gebracht habe zum Exempel dess Spruch Salom c. 21 der Spruchw. vi Des Königs Hertz ist in der Hand dess Hernn wie Wasserbäche und er neigets wohin er will.'

At the end of the Third Book of Maccabees we have the words, 'Ende dess dritten Buchs der Maccabeer und der Zugab dess Alten Testaments.'

214 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

I have thought it right to give these introductions at some length as they shew how far the Lutheran commentators had found it necessary in 1644 to depart from their founder's subjective theories of inspiration.

In the great Tübingen Bible of 1731 there is a fresh preface to the Apocrypha in the words:

'Apocrypha bedeuten diejenige Schrifften, welche der heiligen Schrifft Alten Testaments wohl beygefüget werden, aber jeden noch nicht von dem heil. Geist eingegeben worden, sondern entweder nur die Historie des Volcks Gottes beleuchten, oder sonst nützliche Sitten Lehren in sich halten, und vorhin unter denen Jüden, vornemlich denen, die ausser dem gelobten Lande sich befanden, sind bekannt gewesen. Werden so genennet, weilen sie nicht in dem Kasten, da die Canonische Bücher waren, sind aufgehoben worden, oder weilen deren Urheber unbekannt, oder sie selbsten unter den Büchern der Heil. Schrifft nicht bekannt waren. Dass diese Bücher nicht vom Geiste Gottes eingegeben worden auch nicht unter die Canonische Bücher gehören, erhellet aus den vielen Fehlern, welche darinnen befindlich, und die wir in einem jedweden besondere an seinem Orte anmercken werden, ferner dass sie nicht in Hebraischer Sprache anfänglich geschrieben, Rom 3. 2. auch weder von der Jüdischen noch Christlichen Kirche in die Zahl der Canonischen Bücher gebracht worden, auch in Neuen Testament nicht als Göttliche Bücher angeführet werden. Wenn auch schon die Jüden ausser Jerusalem sie gelesen und zum Theil noch behalten so hat doch eigentlich die Jüdische, und so dann auch die Christliche Kirche sie niemals angenommen, ob schon die Romische Kirche sie, aber ohne Grund, als Göttliche Bücher ansihet.'

To each of the books a new preface is added, in which illuminating criticisms of their texts and contents are given, the most interesting feature of which to us is the continual reference to their absence from the Hebrew Canon as an excuse for excluding them from the Christian Canon.

While in succeeding Bibles Luther's prefaces were occasionally omitted, his attitude towards the Old Testament Apocrypha, save for the addition of three new books in some Bibles, was rigidly maintained. Under the stress of conflict with Socinians and Romanists the Lutherans found it convenient to cling desperately to his Bible as he had left it as an ultimate bulwark, and to stand by the Apocrypha as well as the books strictly Canonical. Although he had separated certain books and called

them Apocrypha, he had not excluded them from his Bible, as Jerome would have done if he could. He had deliberately translated these books, had said some nice things about some of them, and continually emphasized the fact that, although not to be ultimately quoted as decisive in deciding dogmatic questions, they were godly books full of illuminating instruction, and deserved the place he gave them in his Bible. His example has been followed by his people, who, with some isolated exceptions, throughout their history have steadily refused to discard them from their Bibles. When the great struggle took place in the English Bible Society, when that Society first countenanced their exclusion in the year 1826, it led to similar fierce struggles in Germany.

The cause of the dispute, and the eventual schism between the English Bible Society and its branches in Germany, was the proposal by the former to issue Bibles without the Apocrypha Among those who took the conservative side, the most notable no doubt was E. Reuss, in his Diss. Polem. The feud was renewed with greater fierceness in 1853, when the English Society went a step further and determined not to print any portion of the Apocrypha in future, and when Stier and Hengstenberg championed the cause of the Apocrypha. The Lutheran authorities decided that they could have no part in such a movement, and refused to countenance the issuing of mutilated Bibles or to depart from Luther's example in such a critical matter, and they have since remained staunch to that decision.

Let us now turn to the Reformers of Zürich and Basle.

In Zwingli's Bible, of which the volume with the Apocrypha was published in 1529, the Third Book of Maccabees and the Third and Fourth of Esdras are included, but not the fragments of Esther, the Prayer of Azarias, the Song of the Three Children, and the Prayer of Manasses.

In the list of books recognized by Oecolampadius in his interview with the Waldenses in 1530, the Third of Maccabees, the fragments of Esther, the Prayer of Azarias, the Benedicite, and the Prayer of Manasses are not mentioned.

In the second edition of the Zürich Bible, published in 1530, the Third of Maccabees is duly printed, but the other omissions are maintained. In the next edition in 1531 the fragments of Esther are also printed.

In Bullinger's preface to Sebastian Munster's Latin Bible, published in 1539, he says:

'De Apocryphis nihil nunc dicam, cuius generis sunt liber Tobiae, Iudith et reliqui quidam. De vocabulo non omnibus cognito hoc tantum adiiciam, Graecam esse vocem. Significat autem $\delta\pi\delta\kappa\rho\nu\phi\alpha$, occulta aut abscondita. Igitur veteres appellarunt Apocrypha occulta sive latentia scripta, quae domi quidem aut privatim pro suo cuique animo plus esset legere, caeterum in publicis conventibus preferam autem in templis sacris, non recitarentur neque quisquam illorum authoritate premeretur. Non desunt tamen qui istos libros demptis duobus Esdrae, non apocryphos (sicut Hieronymus appellavit) sed Ecclesiasticos appellari voluerunt, de quorum numero fuit Cyprianus, sive is Ruffinus est. Verba eius si quis requirat haec sunt. Hos legi quidem maiores nostri in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad authoritatem ex his fidei confirmandum.

In the Zürich Latin Bible of 1543, edited by Pellicanus, there is in the preface a short notice of the history and value of the several Apocryphal books.

In the German Zürich Bible of 1545 Bullinger's preface as above abstracted is translated from Latin into the vernacular.

The Zürich Bible published in 1712 contains an address 'Allgemeine vorrede der Kirchen und Schuldieneren zu Zürich an die Christlichen Leser'.

In the table of books the Apocrypha are separated under the title Bücher welche Apocrypha genennet werden. Then follows:

'I Das buch der Weisheit 2 das buch Jesu des Sohns Sirach, Das buch Tobie, Der Prophet Baruch, Brieff Jeremie. 6 Das Buch Judith 7 das III Buch Esdre, 8 Das IV Buch Esdre. 9 Stuck in Esther, 10 Historia von Susanna. Historia von Bel zu Babel, das Gebätt Azarie. 14 Gesang der dreyen Männern im feur. 15 Das Gebätt Manasseh. 16 Das I Buch der Machabeer 17 Das III Buch der Machabeer 18 Das III Buch der Machabeer.'

The New Testament books are arranged in the old order and not in Luther's, and Hebrews is assigned to St Paul. By this time therefore the Canon of the Zürich Bible had become assimilated to that of the French-speaking Reformers and included all the books in the Vulgate.

Let us now turn to the theories of the Reformed Church.

The real initiator of the discussion about the Canon of the Old Testament among the French-speaking Protestants was Olivetan in his Bible published in 1535 in which the Apocryphal books as generally received are all contained except the Third of Maccabees and the Prayer of Azarias (?). In his preface to the Apocrypha he justifies their exclusion from the Canon on the ground that they do not occur in the Hebrew Bibles and were rejected by St Jerome.

Calvin, who was the real creator of French Protestantism, adopted as we saw in the last memoir a very different reason for rejecting the apocryphal books. He does not appeal to the practice of the Jews or to St Jerome and rejects all reliance on human tradition as Luther had done before him. He appeals to the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit working in our hearts and consciences as an infallible guide to what is inspired in Scripture, and not to the Church as his director in the determination of what is and what is not Canonical.

When speaking of the authority of Scripture his words are:

'C'est à scavoir que nous la fondions sur le tesmoingnage interieur du Sainct Esprit. Car çasoit qu'en sa propre maiesté elle ait assez de quoy estre reuerée; neanmoins elle commence lors à nous vrayement toucher quand elle est scellée en nos coeurs par le Sainct Esprit. Estans donc illuminez par la vertu d'iceluy, desià nous ne croyons pas ou à nostre iugement, ou à celui des aultres, que l'Escriture est de Dieu: mais par dessus tout iugement humain nous arrestons indubitablement qu'elle nous a este donnée de la propre bouche de Dieu, tout ainsi que si nous contemplions à l'œil l'Essence de Dieu en icelle.' (Institutes I vii 5.)

In Calvin's edition of Olivetan's Bible published at Geneva in 1540 the Third Book of Maccabees is excluded.

Calvin's purely subjective theory of canonical inspiration was largely adopted by his followers. Its difficulties, however, soon led to finely drawn dialectical discussions. In founding the authority of the Scripture on its contents he opened the gate to very delusive *petitiones principii* as did his more subtle position that it was only when a man was converted by the Scripture that he became sufficiently illuminated to discriminate between the legitimate and the spurious in professed Biblical books, and thus to qualify the subjective authority pro-

fessedly held to be the basis of certitude as to Biblical inspiration with more homely appeals to another basis of such certitude.

Thus in the Scotch or Westminster Confession of 1560, article 19, we read: 'As we believe and confesse the Scriptures of God sufficient to instruct and make the man of God perfite, so do we affirm and avowe the authoritie of the same to be of God and neither to defend na men nor angelis. We affirm therefore that sik as allege the Scripture to have na uther authoritie bot that quhilk it has received from the kirk to be blasphemous against God and injurious to the trew kirk, quhilk alwaies heares and obevis the voice of her awin Spouse and Pastor, but takes not upon her to be maistre over the samin.' This statement is somewhat qualified by a phrase in the same confession referring directly to the Canon, where we read: 'The buiks of the Auld and New Testamentis, those buiks, we mean quhilk of the ancient have been reputed Canonicall.' This statement of the Scotch Calvinists preceded by three years the similar one in the 6th Article of the English Church which we discussed in an earlier memoir and was preceded by the similar statement in the Würtemberg Confession of 1552.

In the Gallican Confession of 1561, article 4, we read:

'Idque non tantum ex communi ecclesiae consensu sed etiam multo magis ex testimonio et intrinseca Sp. S. persuasione, quo suggerente docemur illos ab aliis libris ecclesiasticis discernere.'

Similarly in the so-called Belgian Confession of 1561, article 5, we read:

'Hosce libros solos pro sacris et canonicis recepimus... idque non tam quod ecclesia eos pro huiusmodi recipiat et approbet, quam imprimis quod Spiritus Sanctus in cordibus nostris testetur a Deo profectos esse, comprobationemque eius in se ipsis habeant.'

This position was not found easy to defend, but it was defended notwithstanding, and substantially on the ground that what had to be proved was not so much the authenticity and external pedigree of the Bible as the fact that it contained the word of God. In proving this, Reuss (a champion of the view) says that arguments purely historical and the testimonies of the Fathers lost all value and had to give place to what the Apostle long ago called the demonstration of spirit and power. An instance

or two of the conclusions of the more distinguished Reformers of this school may be apposite.

Musculus in his Loci Communes published at Basle in 1560, pages 220–221, under the heading De divisione Sacrarum Scripturarum, says:

'Sacrae Scripturae quarū geminum corpus sacra Biblia vocatur, dividūtur in vetus ac Novum testamentū et vocantur aliae canonicae, aliae apocryphae. Canonicae pro authenticis habentur, in causa fidei ac religionis comprobandae: quae extra canonem et apocrypha sunt, authoritatē hanc non sunt assequutae.'

After enumerating the canonical books according to the Hebrew canon, he continues:

'Quicquid extra hos est, inquit Hieronymus in Prologo Galeato, inter apocrypha ponendum est.'

· He then continues:

'Inter libros veteris testamenti apud Graecos et Latinos reperiūtur hi libri quos Ebraei ad Canonis authoritatem non admittunt. Tobias videlicet, Iudith, Baruch, Epistola Hieremiae, oda trium puerorum, Esdrae tertius et quartus, Sapientia Salomonis, Sapientia Sirach, quem librum Latini Ecclesiasticum vocant, historia Susannae, Belis et Draconis, libri Machabaeorum, quibus Greci librū Iosephi addunt.'

He then goes on to say:

After depreciating the relative value of the latter he continues:

'Verum dicitur mihi: Si talia sunt scripta patrum, ut nec aliquid habeant authoritatis, nec origini suae habeantur conformia, quorsum

testimonia ex illis citas, ad cōprobandum et extollendum Canonicae scripturae authoritatem et refutandum eos qui illa plurimi faciunt. Respondes quod me attinet non requiro testimonia patrum, quibus authoritas Canonicae scripturae tribuatur... verum quoniam adversarii veritati negocium pretextu patrum facere moliuntur, illorumque scripta tantum non evehunt supra canonicas scripturas, recte ea adduco ubi conatibus illorum resistunt, uterque armis quae ipsi adferunt... Obiiciunt authoritatem ecclesiae. Ecclesia, inquam, antiquior est scripturis. Etenim, quum apostoli inciperent praedicare, nulla erat scriptura evangelii, nulla epistola Pauli, et tamen erat ecclesia Christi sanguine dedicata. Ergo maior est authoritas Ecclesiae, quam scripturae.'

To this awkward argument which is quite fairly stated, Musculus replies very ineffectively. He says:

'Vera Christi ecclesia nunquam est hoc argumento adversus authoritatem sacrarum et canonicarum Scripturarum usu, quantumvis variis et multis haeresibus impeteretur, sed perpetuo fidei suae puritatem authoritate illarum defendit et asseruit. Quare manifestum est, eos qui hoc argumento dogmata sua tueri conantur, haudquaquam pugnare pro vera Christi ecclesia, nec pro veritate aliqua asserenda, quae sacrarum scripturarum posset authoritate defendi, sed pro ecclesia adultera et sede Antichristi, quae quoniam veritatis patrocinio destituitur: vel vi ac tyrannide, vel falso usurpata sub nomine ecclesiae authoritate sese tueri cogitur. . . . Ecclesia, inquiunt, antiquior est scripturis sacris. Quae ecclesia, quibus scripturis? Prima illa Evangelica ecclesia antiquior est scripturis Evangelicis et Apostolicis. Est sane. Sed quorsum divellunt canonicas utriusque Testamenti scripturas et neglectis prioribus de posterioribus argumentum texunt? An solae canonicae sunt quae per Apostolos et Evangelistas sunt scriptae? Nequaquam. Astus est, quod eas quae novi Testamenti sunt a vetustioribus avellunt, quemadmodum id est quod primae Evangelicae ecclesiae authoritatem extollunt. Primum hoc facto facilius deprimi posse putarunt novi Testamenti scripturas, si avulsas a reliquo corpore vetustatis authoritate privarent, ac tāquam recentiores ecclesiae postponerent. Deinde has potissimum exauthorandas esse iudicarunt, quod illarum sese authoritate magis quam caeterarum praemi senserunt. Tertio quoniam sacrosancta est prioris ecclesie existimatio hac visum est extollere, ac sub illius nomine adulterinā illam comendare. Alioque cum ecclesia catholica haud primum tempore novi Testamēti coeperit, sed inde ab Adamo origine habes universos electos.'

I will next quote from another of the Reformers, who had very considerable influence in England, and also qualified his master's rigid views by similar concessions. Peter Martyr Vermillius says in his *Loci Communes*, which was published in London in 1576, edited by R. Masson, S.D., and was dedicated to D. Antonius Cope:

'Est ergo magnopere cavendus Antichristorum periculosissimus error, qui dicere audent Ecclesiam esse, quae divinis libris authoritatem concialiarit, cum longe secus res habeat. Quicquid enim authoritatis et existimationis Ecclesiae contigit, id totum a verbo Dei profectum est. Horrendum est auditu sacra oracula et verba Dei ab hominibus alioqui mendacibus fidem suam nancisci. Verumtamen haec illi fingunt, ut quum deprendantur non semel in Sacramentis, et dogmatis longe secus decrevisse, ac sanxisse quam divinae literae ferant, id fieri volunt, sibi facere licuisse, quod Ecclesia, quae verbis Dei authoritatem et fidem contulerit, posset in eis, id quod visum fuerit, immutare. Quocirca modis omnibus est ipsis in eo quod sibi sumunt resistendum. Non patiamur nos eo adduci, ut sacra volumina suam fidem et authoritatem habuisse ab Ecclesia existimemus.'

Having laid down this position, he proceeds, however, to qualify it considerably:

'Nec ista scribo,' he says, 'quasi asperner, aut contemnam Ecclesiae dignitatem, cui tria munera, eaque pulcherrima, circa verbum Dei tribuo. Primum eorum est, ut eam confitear tanquam testem, sacros libros asservare. Verum inde non potest confici, ei licere, quicquam aut pervertere aut commutare in sacris voluminibus . . . sed quod, uti diximus, nulla ratione vel torquere vel immutare licuerit Ecclesia. Id secundo loco eius esse non dubitamus ut sermones a Deo sibi commissos promulget ac praedicet. . . . Quare ministros Ecclesiae nihil magis curare atque studere oportet, quam ut fideles inveniantur.

'Postremo loco Ecclesiae quoque functionem esse agnoscimus, ut cum fit praedita divino spiritu, synceros et germanos libros divinarum literarum ab adulterinis et Apocryphis discernat, quod utique non est authoritate superiori pollere, ut multi stulte somniarunt. Sic enim aiunt, cum Ecclesia Scripturas partim receperit, et partim repudiaverit, ius habet ut de illis pro suo arbitratu statuat. Verum hoc argumenti genus infirmissimum est. Facile quippe dabimus, antiquam Ecclesiam tanto spiritu fuisse praeditam, ut eius ductu et auspiciis facile agnoverint, inter illa quae sibi proponebantur, quaenam legitima et genuina verba Dei essent et has spirituali facultate canonem Scripturarum ab Apocryphis libris discreverunt. Quod ubi perfectum est, nequaquam pro libito interpretari eas licuit, sed fuit et spiritus Christi audiendus et consensus omnium locorum Scripturae diligenter spectandus. Quod idem videmus quotidie fieri. Cum regiae literae afferuntur,



possunt quidem civitatum praefecti et provinciarum administratores, ex usu et civili peritia satis agnoscere, num verae an adulterinae sint literae, quae sibi nomine Regis redduntur: eas tamen cum intellexerunt non vitiatas aut fictas esse, non licet proprio arbitratu, vel invertere vel torquere. Nec secus de Ecclesia oportet existimare: testis quidem est et fida conservatrix divinorum codicum, cui tamen haud permittitur, ut aliud quippiam constituat atque Deus his literis definiverit.' (op. cit. cl. I loc. vi §§ 7 sq.)

Later on in the same work he speaks in the same strain. Thus he says:

'Id non esse verum quod assumunt, Scripturam habere authoritatem ab Ecclesia. Eius enim firmitas a Deo pendet, non ab hominibus: et prius est Verbum, et quidem firmum ac certum, quam Ecclesia. Nam Ecclesia per verbum vocata fuit. Et spiritus Dei egit in cordibus audientium verbum et illud legentium: ut agnoscerent non esse humanum sermonem, sed prorsus divinum. A Spiritu itaque accessit authoritas verbo Dei, non ab Ecclesia.'

He then goes on, as Calvin had done, to qualify and explain away the critical statement of St Augustine on the other side (op. cit. ed. 1576, cl. III l. iii § 3).

The extreme champions of this subjective method of testing the Canon were meanwhile not satisfied with publishing positive arguments in its favour, but applied it with rigour to discrediting all the books in the Old Testament received by the early and mediaeval Church but not recognized by the Jews. Reuss, who was a distinguished member of the Reformed Church, does not disguise his disapproval of the suicidal method thus employed. He says: 'Those who relied on the witness of the Holy Spirit diligently sought in the Apocrypha for historical errors, heresies, absurdities, all sorts of faults to establish the point that religious sentiment was not wrong in excluding them from the Canon . . . the critics rivalled one another in heaping on the Apocrypha the epithets suggested by contempt and prejudice. The Apocrypha was hated because the Catholics were hated.' Falsa, superstitiosa, mendacia, suspecta, fabulosa, impia were some of the terms applied to the rejected books. He gives a number of instances of the puerile and hapless arguments offered by these dangerous champions, in which they forgot how the supposed absurdities in the Apocryphal books might be so easily matched from the Canonical

ones. Among the instances quoted is a sentence from Chamier, Panstratia Catholica Loc. I qu. 1 lib. v c. 5 § 4:

'Quid primum reprehendam?... An quod piscis ita exiliit ut dum clamat puellus, dum iubet Angelus prehendi, non potuerit resilire? Et quidem magnum aliquem oportuit esse... quia resilire non potuit ... tum quia devoraturus erat Tobiam. Idem tamen... a puerulo trahitur in siccum. Hem, quam subito immutatus! Nam quem prius sturionem aut thunnum aut aliquid maius credebamus, nunc apparet lucius aut gobio.'

Upon which Reuss comments sarcastically that 'the scoffs thrown at the little fish of Tobit will sooner or later destroy Jonah's whale'.

This form of attack, however, proved effective, as aggressive war often does, and aroused a widespread hatred and contempt for the so-called Apocrypha among the more extravagant and champions of the Genevan school, and notably among the English Puritans.

The divergent orientation of the Lutherans and the Calvinists in relation to the fundamental question of the ultimate authority of the Bible had been, indeed, singularly reflected in England in the struggle between the Church and the Puritans. Questions about the Canon do not seem to have aroused attention here, however, until the framing of the Thirty-Nine Articles, which first gave a definition as to what the Biblical Canon in the English Church comprised.

It was not long after these Articles were framed that an attack began to be made by the Puritans upon the place given in them to the Apocrypha, and demands were made by Martin Marprelate and others inspired from Geneva for their excision from the Bible.

It would seem that it had become the fashion for some of the binders to exclude the Apocrypha in binding the text of the Bible, and instances are known in which the Apocryphal books occur in the table of contents, but are absent from the Bible text itself. A reference to this practice is to be found in the first of the Marprelate tracts, where it is complained that 'the last Lent there came a commaundement from his Grace (i.e. the Archbishop) into Paul's Church Yard that no Byble should be bounden without the Apocrypha'. 'Monstrous and ungodly wretches' is the

comment, 'that to maintain their owne outragious proceedings thus mingle heaven and earth together and would make the spirite of God to be the author of prophain bookes.' (See W. Marshall *Hist. of the Martin Marprelate Controversy*, 1845.)

The spokesmen of the Church, and notably the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the discussion that followed adopted the attitude of the later Lutheran apologists. They warmly defended the presence of the Apocrypha in the Bible, while they as strongly opposed the Tridentine decision in regard to their Canonical position. In this latter polemic they fell back upon the arguments of Jerome and on the reasonableness of accepting the true Canon of the Old Testament from the Jews, who claimed to have collected the books which it comprised, to have been its continuous custodians, and to have exercised extraordinary vigilance in preserving it pure and intact. This argument was specially developed and pressed home in the famous work of Bishop Cosin on the Canon, which was the first scientific treatise in English on the subject. This was, of course, a much safer and more defensible attitude than the elastic criteria employed by Luther and Zwingli and Calvin. It was none the less an entire departure from the pedestal on which the early reformers had based their great argument when they quarrelled with the Church, which was that the Bible required no external evidence or certifying witness to uphold its authority, which divine grace sufficiently led men to recognize as God's direct message.

The movement deprecatory of the Apocrypha, and demanding its excision from the Bible, continued to grow, however, and it naturally found a place among the Divines at the famous Synod held at Dort in 1619. Accordingly we find in the Acts of the Ninth Session the following statement:

'Quandoquidem libros Apocryphos scripta mere humana esse constat, nonnullos quoque suppositios, Iudaicis fabulis et commentis aspersos, quales sunt Historiae Iudithae, Susannae, Tobithi, Belis Draconisque, atque imprimis tertius et quartus Esdrae: nonnullos etiam continere quaedam dogmatica et historica, libris Canonicis repugnantia: cumque nec in Iudaica, nec in antiquissima Ecclesia Christiana sacro Veteris Testamenti codici fuerint adiuncti, deliberatum fuit: an et illi accuratiori versione digni sint. Tunc vero utrum conveniat, ut cum sacris et Canonicis libris, in uno volumine porro

coniungantur: cum praesertim illa coniunctio idem progressu temporis periculum creare possit, quod in Pontificia Ecclesia accidisse videmus: ut scripta haec mere humana tandem pro Canonicis, divinisque, ab imperitioribus haberentur. Re diu deliberata rationibusque variis ac gravissimis utrinque allatis atque explicatis, spatium maturius rationes allatas expediendi, postulatum fuit.'

At the Tenth Session the discussion was renewed, and Gomar of Leyden and Deodatus of Geneva and other pastors set out their objections to the inclusion of the Apocrypha; but the opinion of the majority, which was the other way, prevailed, and it was decreed that they should be retranslated from the Greek, but not with the same care as the Canonical books. The decree then adds:

'Ac quandoquidem a multis retro saeculis, libri hi cum sacris scriptis uno eodemque volumine coniuncti fuerunt, atque haec coniunctio in Reformatis quoque omnium Nationum Ecclesiis etiamnum servetur, cumque distinctio seu separatio horum librorum a volumine Bibliorum, nec exemplo nec suffragiis aliarum Ecclesiarum Reformatarum sit comprobata, sed occasionem et scandalorum et calumniorum, facile datura sit, quanquam optarent quidem omnes libros hosce Apocryphos, sacris Scripturis nunquam adiunctos fuisse; placuit tamen eos hoc tempore sine aliarum Ecclesiarum Reformatarum consensu atque approbatione, a corpore voluminis Biblici non esse segregandos; sed eidem coniungendos, adhibitis tamen hisce cautionibus...'

For these reasons it is enacted that a space be left between the Apocrypha and the Canonical books, that they be preceded by a warning that they are of human origin, and that the reader be warned of their errors and scant authority. They are also to be printed in smaller type, with *marginalia* pointing out where they are inconsistent with the Canonical books. They are to have a special pagination, and to be put at the end of the Bible.

The first title-page of this famous Dutch Bible thus authorized, which was published at Amsterdam in 1637 in response to the resolution of the Synod, is headed Biblia dat is de gantsche H. Schrifture vervattende alle de Canonijcke Boecken des ouden en des Nieuwen Testaments, &c. Here, therefore, the contents of what was thought the legitimate Bible are distinctly separated and labelled Canonical books on the title-page. In accordance

VOL. X.

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with the directions of the Synod, the Apocrypha are placed in a separate section at the end of the New Testament, and the title-page is headed *De Boecken genaemt Apocryphe...van nieuws wyt het Grieksch in onse Nederlandtsche Tale getrouwelick overgeset.* On the back of the title-page is a list of these books as follows:

'De Apocryphe Boecken. Het III Boeck Esdre. Het IV Boeck Esdre. Het Boeck Tobie. Het Boeck Judith. Het Boeck der Wysheyt. Ecclesiasticus, Jesu Sirach. Het Boeck Baruch, met den Sentbrief Jeremie. Het Aenhanghsel aen Esther. Eenige Aenhanghselen aen Daniel, namelick Het Gebedt Azarie, ende 't gesangh der drie Mannen in den gloeijenden oven. De Historie van Susanna, ende Van Bel ende den Draeck. Het Gebedt van Manasse I Boeck der Machabeen. II Boeck der Machabeen.

Then follows a long introduction explaining why these books are separated from those in the Canon, discussing their authority, and headed Waerschouwinge aen de Lesers Van de Apocryphe Boecken.

This Bible became the Standard Dutch Bible, and was accepted by the Remonstrants as well as by the Reformed Church of Holland, while the Dutch Lutherans continued to use various editions of Biestkens' Bible of 1560 and Vischer's Bible of 1648.

In 1640 there appeared at Amsterdam an edition of the English Genevan Bible, from which the Apocrypha so far as I know were for the first time deliberately omitted. Very irregularly an exception is made in favour of the Prayer of Manasses, which is entered in the table of contents immediately after 2 Chronicles thus: 'The Prayer of Manasse, Apocrypha,' and is duly printed in the same position in the text, with the marginal note, 'This prayer is not in the Ebrew, but is translated out of the Greeke.' Why this favour was shewn to this prayer I cannot explain. At the end of Malachi the explanatory preface about the Apocrypha contained in the Dutch Bible just mentioned is translated. It is there entitled:

'An admonition to the Christian reader concerning the Apocrypha Books, wherein are shewed the reasons and grounds wherefore they are here omitted, as not Canonicall, and not to be accounted amongst the Books of undoubted truth, as the Holy Scriptures are to be held.'

We are told in this statement that—

'The writings which anciently have been joyned together in that Book, which we call the Bible, or the Scriptures, are of two kindes: Some are given by inspiration of God, . . . and therefore are Divine scriptures of an undoubted and infallible truth: these we commonly call by a Greek word, Canonicall Books, because they contain a doctrine which is as a Canon or rule of all that must be beleeved and done to be saved. Or because they stand in the Canon, that is, in the Register of the Divine Books, which both the Jewish, and Christian Church at all times have had. Athanasius in his Synopsis saith: Some books are written by the will of men that are lyable to errour in doctrine and therefore cannot be a rule unto our faith and cariage and these are called Apocrypha-books that is Hidden . . . As for the books of the New Testament which are contained in the Bible although some particular Doctors, though without reason, have doubted, whether the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of James, the second of Peter, the second and third of John, the Epistle of Jude and the Revelation of John, were to be held for Canonicall or no: yet notwithstanding the Primitive Church generally have never doubted of it, neither are they in our time questioned, but are by whole Christendome esteemed and held to be divine and Canonicall books.'

The two concluding paragraphs of the original Dutch address apologizing for the insertion of the Apocrypha, notwithstanding their uncanonical character, and explaining the reasons for their publication, are omitted.

It closes with the phrase:

'Ordained at the Synod of Dort in the year 1618, set out and annexed by the deputies to the end of the Dutch Bible newly translated.'

It is thus a curious fact, and it ought to be specially interesting to Englishmen, that the first printed Old Testament from which the Apocrypha were deliberately omitted was an English Bible. It was no doubt printed under the inspiration of the English colony in Holland which belonged to the Reformed Church.

In 1637 the Scotch Prayer Book omits all ferial lessons from the Apocrypha, and includes only ten portions assigned to Saints' days.

In the year 1645, according to Dr Eadie, a prayer-book was compiled for the navy in which the Apocrypha were ignored.

In 1648 John Field issued a Bible at London without the

Apocrypha entitled, The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments Newly Translated. It is expressly said to have been appointed to be read in churches.

In 1657 another edition of the great Dutch Bible, with commentaries, was issued under the authority of the States General. It was a reprint of the edition of 1637, and in it the Apocrypha was treated in the same way. In the same year a translation of this Dutch official Bible, with its annotations, by Thomas Hoak, was published in London. The translation gives an account of how the famous original had been authorized and carried out by the Synod of Dort.

What is remarkable about this translation is that it completely excludes the Apocrypha which, as we have seen, were contained in the original Dutch, and it seems plain that the fashion of so excluding them had become very prevalent among the English nonconformists, and that it was not by any means unusual from this time onwards to issue English Bibles without them. In some cases the list of Apocryphal books was duly contained at the beginning of the Bible, but the books themselves were excluded from the text, thus carrying out Lightfoot's demands in his harangue before Parliament in 1643, when he denounced the authorities for retaining in the Bible what they had ejected from the 'Canon, as if God should have cast Adam out of the state of happiness and yet have continued him in the place of happiness'.

The S.P.C.K. issued no Bible without the Apocrypha till the year 1743.

It would appear that the dominating influence of the official Dutch Bible authorized by the Council of Dort, in which the Apocrypha were contained, prevented for some time longer the Dutch Reformers from doing what their ecclesiastical children—the English dissenters—had done some time before, namely, from excluding the Apocrypha, and the first Dutch Bible in which I have met with this exclusion is dated in 1655, and was published by Ravesteyn. Other similar editions occur in 1657 and 1662 and subsequently.

I will now shortly sum up the general conclusions of this paper in regard to the Canon as viewed by the reformers.

Luther's theory of the Canon, according to which it was to be

tested by its conformity with his own primary postulate in regard to Justification by Faith and which dominated the early Lutherans is now virtually extinct. It is generally felt to be untenable. Reuss makes only a qualified defence of it. Thus he says:

'The material principle of Protestantism is placed above the formal principle, the gospel of grace above the written word which bears testimony to it; but an attentive study of the history of the origin of the Reformation shews us that this step was quite natural at the beginning of the movement, and it is in accordance with strict logic to give precedence to the truth itself over the witness that attests it.' (op. cit. p. 323.)

Later on he argues against the champions of the historical school and urges that 'Luther's method was both natural and legitimate in any one who set out from a purely dogmatic standpoint and subordinated Scripture to his system, exclusively Pauline, or if you will Augustinian'.

The theory in which all the early reformers concurred that the canonicity of a book is not to be tested or supported either explicitly or implicitly by Church tradition in any way, but is dependent entirely on the strength and cogency of the divine Word itself and its direct effect on the human conscience, has also been largely surrendered, but still has some adherents.

The case against it is excellently stated by J. D. Michaelis, in his Introduction to the New Testament. He says of this mode of discriminating Scripture:

'Ein innerlich gefühltes Zeugnis des heiligen Geistes, oder eine Empfindung und Erfahrung des Nutzens der Schriften zur Ausbesserung meines Gemüths, kann die Sache eben so wenig entscheiden. Das erstere habe ich für meine Person in meinen Leben nicht gefühlt, aber ich halte den der es gefühlt hat, auch nicht für glücklicher oder der Gewissheit näher denn der Muhammedaner fühlt as eben so gut, und wirklich dis innere Gefühl von Gott ist der ganze Beweiss auf den Muhammed seine Religion gründet, und so viel Millionen sie glauben es muss also wol nur zuwege gebrachtes Gefühl, Selbstbetrug seyn.' (J. D. Michaelis Einleitung in d. göttl. Schr. d. Neues Band, ed. 1777, p. 77.)

When we come down to later times we find how embarrassing the position has become, and how difficult it is to reconcile this protestant theory of canonicity with any reasonable argument. Thus Dr Samuel Davidson, a scholar of very considerable attainments and acuteness, is found occupying a very ambiguous position. Like the early reformers he urges in regard to the classification of the Sacred Books that—

'such books as embody the indestructible essence of religion with the fewest accidents of time, place, and nature, which present conditions not easily disengaged from the imperishable life of the soul, deserve the first rank. . . . In regard to the Old Testament, conformity to Christ's teaching will determine rank; or which is tantamount, conformity to that pure reason which is God's natural revelation to man. . . . The canonical authority of Scripture does not depend on any church or council. . . . Canonical authority lies in Scripture itself and is inherent in the books so far as they contain a declaration of the Divine will. Hence there is truth in the statement of old theologians that the authority of Scripture is from God alone.' (Davidson Canon of the Bible, ed. 1878, pp. 269 &c.)

Here we have the subjective method of Luther reaffirmed in almost its naked baldness. When we turn, however, to the justification of the theory as evidenced by his description of the practice of the early reformers in the selection of their canon, we find Dr Davidson speaking most emphatically in another way:

'Should,' he says, 'the distinction between the apocryphal and canonical books of the Old Testament be emphasized as it is by many? Should a sharp line be drawn between the two as though the one class. with the period it belonged to, were characterized by the errors and anachronisms of its history; the other by simplicity and accuracy?... Can this aggregation of the Apocrypha over against the Hagiographa, serve the purpose of a just estimate? Hardly so; for some of the latter, such as Esther and Ecclesiastes, cannot be put above Wisdom, I Maccabees, Judith, Baruch, or Ecclesiasticus. The doctrine of immortality, clearly expressed in the Book of Wisdom, is not in Ecclesiastes; neither is God once named in the Book of Esther as author of the marvellous deliverances which the chosen people are said to have experienced. The history narrated in I Maccabees is more credible than that in Esther. It is therefore misleading to mark off all the apocryphal books as human and all the Canonical ones as divine. ... The human element still permeates them (i.e. both classes of books) as long as God speaks through man; and He neither dictates nor speaks differently.' (ib. pp. 262 sq.)

Similar views were expressed by a greater scholar than Davidson, namely, Professor Reuss, a great champion of the protestant idea. In response to demands for some historical proofs made by scholars who relied largely on rational proofs in their apologetics, he too affirms that 'inward experience is the surest controul of theory', and that 'pure and simple piety, especially in the sphere of Protestantism, did not fail to hear the word of God, to feel it, so to speak, in virtue of that mysterious contact of the Eternal Spirit there revealed with the soul which opens itself to His beneficent working'. At the same time he confesses that the action is not uniform in all individuals, and that, according to the dispositions of character and temperament, according to the current of ideas at each epoch or in a particular circle, the impression received from reading the Holy Scripture would vary very considerably, and that one might be edified and touched by a writing which might have little or no influence on another. That is to say he largely concedes what the critics of the subjective method urge, namely the uncertainty and inoperativeness of the criteria, and he concedes further that the theory has proved to be insufficient in practice, and that those who had formulated it were the first to diverge from it, and to drift into strange inconsistencies (op. cit. pp. 305 sq.). Reuss, like Davidson, points his moral by a similarly embarrassing application of the theory to the facts. Speaking of the separation of the Apocrypha from the Canonical Books on this subjective ground, he asks:

'Was it really in virtue of the sovereign principle of the inward testimony of the Holy Spirit? Would it be quite true to say that the first Protestant theologians, while unmoved by the enthusiastic eloquence of the author of Wisdom, so much extolled by the Alexandrians, felt the breath of God in the genealogies of Chronicles, or the topographical catalogues of the book of Joshua? Did they really find so great a difference between the miracles of the Chaldean Daniel and those of the Greek Daniel, that they felt bound to remove two chapters from the volume which bears Daniel's name? I have some difficulty in believing that they arrived at the distinction they drew by any test of that kind.' (op. cit. p. 312.)

This argument is assuredly conclusive in regard to any attempt to base the determination of the supreme issue of the legitimate

232 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

contents of the Bible on so insecure a ground as the personal opinion of the reader, or even to remit the decision to any supremely confident, courageous, but after all mortal, pontiff like Luther.

If there be such a thing as a Canon of Scripture, it must be the result of something more tangible and constant than individual illumination. The Canon is the correlative of the Church, and for its verification we must appeal to history and tradition, sifted by criticism. If the documents which form the Canon were selected by the Church out of a larger collection, as the ultimate appeal for the contents of its own Faith, it is illegitimate for the individual to claim first to reconstruct the Faith a priori and then to criticize the Canon itself and reject some of its contents, which have the same pedigree as the rest, because they do not support the reconstruction.

H. H. HOWORTH.

DOCUMENTS

SOME UNPUBLISHED SAHIDIC FRAGMENTS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The publication of Mr Crum's Catalogue of Coptic MSS shews that the British Museum contains a number of Sahidic fragments of the Old Testament which have never been printed in that dialect. Unfortunately several of the larger fragments are palimpsest, and more or less—generally more—illegible; but even apart from these there are quite a number of smaller unedited fragments. Of these latter I here publish a few, the results of two fleeting visits to the Museum en passage. The faulty and incomplete decipherment of some of the more illegible fragments will, I hope, be excused, as my time was on both occasions limited to a few hours, and I have had no opportunity of revising my copies.

Except in the case of one or two papyrus fragments, I have not thought it worth while to reproduce the original lines and columns, but I have kept the punctuation and diacritical marks of the MSS.

Variants from the Septuagint I have noted after each fragment, using the Cambridge edition for collation. In most cases these variants agree very closely, as one would expect, with the Septuagint MSS which are known to have been written in Egypt: there is, however, one interesting variant in a passage of Hosca, where the Sahidic version agrees not with the Septuagint version nor even with the ordinary received Hebrew text, but with Theodotion's version and with a modern conjectural redistribution of the Hebrew letters.

One or two of the fragments I found had been already published by Dr von Lemm in his *Sahidische Bibelfragmente*. Of those I have merely given the few variants between my readings and his.

Or. 3579 A (4) [= Crum 5].—Parchment; a double leaf, $12\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$ in.; paged $\overline{10}$, \overline{K} ; $\overline{K0}$ (sic), \overline{KH} . The text is a lectionary, in two columns of 26 lines each, written in a large, coarse character (cf. Ciasca, i, Tab. ii). From it I publish Exod. ii 24 and Num. x 33-xi 8.

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 - 34 λγω τεκλοολε εςερ-δοιβες εχώοι : δεεπτρελ-
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¹ Read N&T. ² Add. al. m. ³ NOT altered to LOTS. ⁴ IO is added here in the margin by another hand; probably as the number of a fresh section.

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Variant from Greek: x 34. The Coptic omits ἡμέρας καί.

Or. 3579 A (12) [= Crum 15].—Parchment; part of a single leaf, $12 \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in. Two columns of 33-34 lines, each in a regular, upright hand (probably that of Ciasca, i, Tab. xiii), containing Judges xx 16-27.

.....]. ψ[..]n[.]əṣc[...]jəṣc[...]n[.] wΔπغες nro(33 i[...]) ELLOYULT: TAW HOUSE SHIFT STORE-17. sath see que nïesinsah sque nigen signe xwpic nguy ipweie etteke chle hai thoo egenpuie пречище-ие:- Элтошти алвик едры евены. 18. wars · πιπά эαμμή τοή эττοηπάς эπίμτα -cons nous agis amoonstal uit consi λειιος · εκήμηρε ή βεηίλ Ειπ: -[Π]εχε ή χοείς nar xe ioraac netnamooge gigh immten: οι - Ένοοτ ζυεπικ πιπικ εσημμα ιδά άνοωτεπ ωνε ATBUK ÉPENTABAÁ: ATÚ DYEI ÉBOD HOI HUHPE 20. wors inimi ėminė agruphime agrinė krinė roght ίθων Κοπά κοσητ θαμμά τομοίς 12 iars nissinadn aghun wra—: isds7n,g rsssin roogensi khinsig kodė onstrs isdarnig kodė emi twroxim emin rani alti ramint έλγες το πίπει εσημού ώνα—: eanina rotergres TELTOR. | [LY]OYWS, ETOO]TOY EELDE MELIGIE S. E. Verso. πεε[δ] πτεγώ $ψε^1$ πρ. ητψ εεπψορή πρ. οον: - ωνω 23. κολό στωοπώ ομίστα ίας σο ίστα Κπίπώ οσμμή -πάις animes ώνα—: agroqú ranúam diaoxπά

¹ Read ♣LICUE.

χοείς εγχώ ειιος · χεέπετερεπογως έτοστη εκωκ έειιμε επήμηρε ήλεπίει πι πεπάπη πεχε 24. πχοείς πεγ χεκωκ έρωσγ:— Άγώ ήμηρε επίηλ εγκωκ έρωσγ πήμηρε πλεπιειίπ επίειες-2,00γ 25. ςπεγ:— Άγώ εφεί έκολ ήσι κεπίει ετρεφτωειήτ έροσγ ε, επίειες,

Variants from Greek:-

17. ἀνήρ] pl. Copt.

18. καὶ ἀνέστησαν καί] Copt. omits both καί's.

καὶ ἦρώτησαν Copt. omits καί.

παράταξιν] ΠΟλΕΨΟC (cf. Α πολεμήσαι).

Ἰούδας ἐν ἀρχ $\hat{\eta}$ ἀναβήσεται ἀφηγούμενος] ' Judas is he who shall go before you.' A also omits ἐν ἀρχ $\hat{\eta}$.

19. καὶ παρενέβαλον Copt. omits καί.

20. Βενιαμείν] 'the sons of Beniamin'.

καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ Γαβαά] 'they abode before them, namely, all the children of Israel, to fight with them in Gabaa': cf. Α παρετάξατο μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς πόλεμον ἀνὴρ Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς τὴν Γ.

25. $\epsilon \xi \hat{\eta} \lambda \theta$ ον οἱ νἱοὶ Βενιαμείν] 'he came forth, namely, Beniamin': cf. Α $\epsilon \xi \hat{\eta} \lambda \theta$ εν Βενιαμείν.

26. καὶ ἔκλαυσεν καί] Copt. omits both καί's.

κυρίου] After this Copt. continues 'and they enquired of the Lord, namely, all the children of Israel, and . . .'

Or. 3579 A (1) [= Crum 44].—A single vellum leaf of a lectionary, incomplete at the top, containing among other things 3 Kings viii 41-44, 46-48.

 3 Kings $_{\text{viii 4I-}}$ [...] Keyselo neve ϵ [box an] $\pi\epsilon$ get $\pi\epsilon$ acc $_{42}$. [avw] $\pi\epsilon$ ikeoove ϵ i $\pi\epsilon$ cewith energy ϵ in the ϵ box perfects ϵ in the ϵ box ϵ

τωτ · Δνω πτεϊρε κατα χωβ πιω ετερε-πκεμωμο παεπεϊκαλεϊ ωων πχητον · Χεκας εγεεϊωε ποι πλαος τηρον επεκραπ · Δνω πςερ-χοτε χητκ πθε ωπεκλαος ωπιπλ · Δνω πςεεϊωε χε πεκραπ ανεπικαλε ωωνος εχωπεϊκί πταϊκοτς · Χεπεκ- 44. λαος ετε-παϊ-πε εγωμπβωκ εβολ εππολημος

Variant from Greek :---

41. The space might be filled with IHN, which is found in A (ICN).

47. καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν ἐν γἢ μετοικίας αὐτῶν καὶ δεηθῶσίν σου] 'and pray to thee in the land of their exile' Copt., agreeing with A (καὶ δεηθῶσιν ἐν γἢ μετοικίας αὐτῶν).

Or. 3579 A (7) [=Crum 19].—Parchment; two double leaves of a lectionary, $6\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Written in single column of about 17 lines, and in a careless, upright character (cf. Ciasca, i, Tab. xiv). From this I publish 4 Kings ii 14, 15.

[Lack nternam] th notate tentacre espat 4 Kings exwer arm address throot notice arm throot network where education xeterot be equun not nnotte notate. The tenot be nto-the nnotte exposition at the property energy energy energy energy energy experiments. Expressing the polynomial education and the expression of the property of the example of the expression and the expression and expressions.

Variants from Greek:-

14. ἐπάταξεν τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ εἶπεν Ποῦ ὁ θεὸς Ἡλειοὺ ἄφφω; καὶ ἐπάταξεν τὰ ὕδατα καὶ διερράγησαν] 'he smote the water with it and the water did not separate. He said: "Now where is he, namely, the God of Hylias: and now he is the God of streams." He smote them a second time and they separated.' Copt.

15. υἱοὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἱεριχὼ ἐξ ἐναντίας] 'the sons of the prophets who [were] in Jericho'. Copt.

 $\epsilon l\pi o\nu$] Copt. 'said to one another'.

Or. 3579 A (14) [= Crum 20].—Parchment; fragment from the bottom of a leaf, $4\frac{1}{2} \times 9$ in. The text is in two columns, written in a neat hand, probably identical with that of Zoega xxxii (cf. Ciasca, i, Tab. xvii). It is from the same MS as the passage from 3 Kings viii.

Tobit iv 13, 14, and 19, and fragments of two other verses too small to identify. Verse 19 has already been published by Ciasca.

col. 1. [] π [] . $\omega \omega$ []
col. 2. TX& []. <u>₹</u> nor[]r&n·sk
13.[] o[] newtoptp enemyd [8]nt-
титу тишши тебрига пишит etna-
14. ywg. Sutintatys rap. teras se inyoi-
жос пвеке приме пім этиговоди зовтик
πητράωσκ πτοοτκ. ελλε τεες πες ήτες
Verco
col. i notoeim uite ule ilei] iteol
19. XEKYC EDEUEKS1001E COOLLY TAM ULTTOELL
тнрог. Тпикщохие тнрог псесоочти євох
γες εθησος μπα συνομοτημος και νου ελλα ήτος
[μω]γο ρτοπ ωνλ κίπ ποθληλ ϊττοπ οϊθοχπ
col. 2. ϵ [] pek.[] lacc .[
[] nənnx [] • э. 1918

Variants from Ciasca's text:-

19. \overline{n} thought \overline{n} mekancet \overline{n} c. \overline{n} mekance \overline{n} c. \overline{n} mekance \overline{n} mekance \overline{n} \overline{n} \overline{n} mekance \overline{n} \overline{n} mekance \overline{n} \overline{n}

Or. 3579 A (28) [= Crum 40].—Parchment; part of a single leaf; $9\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in.; paged $\overline{C\lambda \zeta}$, $\overline{C\lambda H}$. It was the first page of quire \overline{IC} of the same MS as Borgianus xxii (cf. Ciasca, ii, Tab. xxv). Prov. xv 24-xvi 7. $(\overline{C}\overline{\lambda}\overline{\zeta}).$ · iskropu strussus kols ptakagspssk 24. : шогрэдля іняя дішдэшьм этгопп 25. . ΔαΗΧЭΤΑ ΜΟΤΑΝ ΘΑ ΟΥΧΑΤΡΑ 26. · JAODA IXĀ ƏVƏƏMA ƏR-2130XRM ƏTOLTO · Assrota anxoun an-ac then inditionale HETZI-ZWPON NATAKOU OYLLU. 27. πετιιοςτε δε ήχι-λωροπ πλωπρ, . nəgni intriunəg ng ədonnn kodə warsıyə HICTIC . SUBJECT STANDARD STRONDE SY STOOMS rooganis kola pou Ερεποιητ πησικαιος ενελετα πτηιςτις. 28. гоооэппэ, яй шхи пазойй эх бапаттэаэ. neoloore de mundate yang columnia de dioche sam arbe séüxexe sm<u>tu</u> e[.....]oi. [..... $\Sigma \in \mathbb{R}$ nnacebhc $\mathfrak{A} \in \mathbb{R}$ on $\mathfrak{E} \in \mathbb{R}$ on $\mathfrak{E} \in \mathbb{R}$ $\underline{u}\underline{u}[\nabla i \mathbf{k} \nabla i \mathbf{o} \mathbf{c}] - \cdots$ LEUHAS 2'uoa[XI uqo]uc. [nent de un]pouse ādikaioc maq[ueet]e eren-xvi i. 32 strus Signification acceptable size of the significant size of the size $(\overline{C}\overline{\lambda}\overline{H}).$ nbad etnar ennethanory wayerfpane Inght 2. ωνρευτοειτ σε ετυγιολά ‡-ολόο <u>μνκες</u>. ерепетки псич плосте имого посте реаго οσε πανοεις τε τες ω ππτοφιλ. · Jan Awaroan roosnee hxgat wrs тизатэлй тотно эшоомым тооэп

ανώ ταρχη είποοον-τε τερονειτέ ήτλικαιοανη είποντε εταντωή.

- 5. neglhre thor energeihr orone enorte.
 nacelhe ae natako enorgoor egoor.
- uelust loole uusdinuluste ue xrcish[1]
- 7. TapXH \underline{u} tesih [ethanorc] ne eide u π [....]

 Lyiktiocauh Ly \underline{u} [coth uu π] \underline{v} b π uuoate [esote u π [....]

Variants from Greek:-

xv 25. κατασπ \hat{q}] 'will overthrow'.

οριον 'boundaries'.

- 26. ἀγνῶν δὲ ῥήσεις σεμναί] Copt. literally 'But (δέ) holy meditations are wisdoms'.
 - 27. ἀπὸ κακοῦ] 'from evils'.
 - 28. πίστεις] 'the πίστις'. ἀποκρίνεται] 'will say'.
 - 29. ἀνθρώπων δικαίων] 'the δίκαιος man'.
 - xvi 1. λογιζέσθω] 'is wont to (ponder)'.
- 4. The Copt. adds 'glory shall walk before the humble', with $\aleph^{c,a}$ A; but it then continues 'and the beginning $(a\rho\chi\dot{\eta})$ of glory is the commencement of the justice $(\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\sigma\sigma\dot{\nu}\nu\eta)$ of God which is right'.
- 7. δεκτὰ δὲ παρὰ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ θύειν θυσίας] 'for the justice (δικαιοσύνη) [is acceptable] before God [more than] sacrifice of the ungodly (ἄνομος)'.
- Or. 3579 A (30) [= Crum 43].—Parchment; a leaf, $14\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$ in.; text in two columns, in a large, upright hand (cf. Ciasca, i, Tab. xiii, or Hyvernat, Album pl. xi 2). From this I publish Isa. v 17-vi 2, giving the variants from Ciasca's text of v 18-25.
- the variants from Ciasca's text of v 18-25.
 v 17. *** Lee · Lyw heigh nloywer nhair hhently18. Toy:—Oroi hhetcuk hhernole hoe nornore.
 - algani iromini abi iimonira üra iompa nwg hadpenagam ax ocami wxtan acgali. 19. rooga rasana ax rasana rooga wra rooga rasana ax rasana aroga
 - 20. ελρεήωσχηε εϊ επίπετονέλε επίπλ:—Ονοϊ πητω εκος. Χεηληον ήπεθοση ληώ ήπετηλησή 2,00γ η η πετωπ επίκλκε πονόειπ ληώ

ποτόειπ ήκακε · πετχω έμειος χεπετζαφε ρολό. arw netrode came. Oroi ineto neale nar 21. MATERIA ATÚ ETO NDEMN PHT. MNETEMTO 22. йть панпы wote equiwintenn ior0—: коде ήΣνη&ςΤΗς ετκόρα είπςϊκερωη · πεττελεϊό 23. sutinitie ipra wra . noquaalta onlaani indikaloc:--CTRenai noe emapeorpoore 22079, 24. PITTO, NXBBEC NKWP, T. LYW EMLYPWKP, PITTIorgile, eqcwk. Ternorne namoore. noe norтоїды зой эріхал эдіхал жага шта шта прівору Unorem inomoc sinoseic calamo. alla artπονσέ επίπετον ΔΑ Επίπες - Απικός calawo 25. πουδούτει τυσο του πουδρού του καιρού του κα όδτοπρα ώτα · τοοιιιι 322 αταπρα τουχό ότοτο 90 \dot{n} $\dot{$ eïten hteehte | hteo, ih . avw exhnaï thoor e. Verso. πεπσωητ κτου. Δλλα Δίτεϊ τσίχ χοςε:--Θτβεπαϊ 26. σε ὑπωτὸ ονοθοική πιοκωνοιή ϊυληύ ο типээ этинд эїз шт.С—: дампя ўхна аліхи том 27. στοτσεπη εγασωον· ήσεπαρίκο απ· ήσεπαρίσε 27. an icenazi pekpike an inerbud ebod iner- $\sqrt{28}$. $\sqrt{8}$ inertine ineresoré inertooré cw $\sqrt{1}$ $\sqrt{2}$ παϊ έρεπετατε τημε ανώ έρεπετηϊτε χολκ. έρε neotéphte inetectud o no notates ecnamit ede Heydoxoc uneasata o ude usu-Path enragit. Mart leaves 4428. ποϊανοϊοπή θού κολό μωρή θτικακακή ώνα 20. - ગાંધ, τοτήμλητο κολό μωνης ώτα - τοοιε ερολέρη τοος εθητή σου τρικέτή τους eco,a-o,oeïx. and cena dwg t eo,oaï etne. ard епеснт епкар, йсере еткаке ечпащт откаке

R

VOL. X.

- v_{i} 1. Sign is the standard with the standard responds the standard responds the solution of the standard responds to the standa
 - 2. ATW ÉPE-NHÏ LES SINGQÉÖOT DIW OTH SUZEPA-ĢÎN ÁSEPATOT LINGQKWTE ÉPECOOT HTHS LINOTÁ-ATW COOT LINKEOTÁ SPAÏ LINSHCHAT ETSWLC LINETSO ATW

Variants from Ciasca's text:-

v 18. nïxorc] orxorc C. nagge] nagged C.
19. netxw] etxw C. xapenpedgenh] xapedenh C. netedurari] ine-

 σεπη C.
 swn] eswn C.
 neteqnall fine

 τεqnall c.
 winetoxial fine

 winh] + xe enecorwng C.

20. netwn] neton C.

21. npennsht] npenssht C. ento] nto C.

22. The Trimwipe The Trimple C. Athacthe + naï C.

23. Ť\$&åïo] Ť\$&å€ïō C.

24. emapeotroote] amapeotrowote C. amageote] amageote C. amageote] amageote]

25. Agen] Agā C. exen] exā C. nieiten] āeieita C. thor] + cep nogpe an ceores ānomiā ēxā nerānomiā ethe nai ānatakoor āgi nxoeic calawt, and here C.'s text ends.

Or. 3579 A (1) [=Crum 44].—A single vellum leaf of a lectionary, incomplete at the top, from the same MS as Tobit and 3 Kings viii. On the verso near the end of the second column begins a passage from Isaiah, of which only one verse (xxv 1) is preserved.

DE HCLILC

Πχοεϊς πενολλε μυτί-εοολ μυκ· γλη μυτότος Επεκίδτα]

Variant from Greek :-

¿ θεός] 'my God', agreeing with & A Q, which add μου.

Or. 3579 A (5) [=Crum 45].—A single paper leaf from a lectionary in Coptic and Arabic.

It contains Isa. xxx 11-14 and Jer. ii 4-5.

πτερικ λαώ πτετησί εβολ ρίχωη πημεχε (ΡΣ).

είπετογεεβ είπηλ · Θτβεπεί πεί πετερε-πος Isa. xxx

χω περου · πετογεεβ πίπλ · χεετετηρ-ετ-12.

περτε · ετετπκερ τετη εποόλ · ετβεχεέτετηκραρα · ετώ ετετππερτε επείωεχε · ετβεπει

πεί πετερε πος χω μερου · πετογεεβ είπηλ ·

χε έτετηρ-ετπερτε · ετβεΠει πειποβε πεώωπε 13.

πητη · ποε πονοορτ · εξερε πτεγπου πουπολίς ·

εκχιτς · τει ετχος | τεί ερε πεςρε ωροπ πτεγ · (ΡΣΕ).

πον · ετώ ερε πεςρε περ-θε είπονωμό πουπολίς ·

πβλχε πείκωτ ² ετώ πωμερ · ωμερε εξερ

οτβελχε πρητον · εφί οτκωρτ πρητς · ενώ ές ερρ

οτκονί περουν πρητς ·

терняятьс

Cwte engage inoc nhi hiakwh ayw natpia Jer. ii 4 nie nte nhi iniha nai netegaw ielooy hois noc xe oy hnobe nenta-netheiote onto nght xe ayore ncahoa ieloi ayw ayoragoy

Variants from Greek :--

v 11. τὸ λόγιον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ] 'the word of the holy one of Israel'.

12. ὁ ἄγιος] 'the Lord, the holy one', agreeing with NAOQ, which add κύριος.

ήπειθήσατε τοις λόγοις τούτοις] 'are disbelieving'.

At the end of the verse the copyist has repeated the beginning of it ETRENAL-ATNASTE, owing to the recurrence of ETRENAL at the beginning of ver. 13.

13. πόλεως ὀχυρᾶς] The Coptic omits ὀχυρᾶς, like A.
 πτῶμα] 'its fall'; agreeing with O, which adds αὐτῆς.

¹ SE added above in another hand: WO is written over an erasure of MIQ (!).

² CIKWT = κεράμιον, not in Peyron's lexicon.

244 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

Or. 3579 A (30) [= Crum 43].—A second leaf of the fragment from which I print Isa. v-vi contains Isa. xl 24-xli 10. The beginning as far as xli 1 (ULXE) has already been published by Ciasca, whose variants I note.

- $(\overline{q}\overline{r})$ 24. Ternorne zenorne espai enkas athr nige epooratwoore: Drû bathr nagîtor nee ûsen-
 - 25. GAR. Tenor de ntatetntntwnt énïre arŵ

 - 27. Δη έλδαν · Πηρχοος ταρ ϊΔκώβ ///Δνώ ον πεητακχοος πϊπλ χεδταρϊή ρωη επαιοντε · Δνώ χεδη-

 - 29. Πετή ήτζον μπετέκειτ ενώ ολλημ ήπετεπ-
 - 30. сельок \overline{g} ап $\overline{n}g$ н $\mathbf{T}\cdot\dot{n}$ шн $\mathbf{P}\varepsilon$ тар шня павко $/\!\!/$ ε п-
 - nowine se euroste upmine sucercost eroy eers Σ^{1} . The sucercost representation of the suc
 - Tesh swoosenso song tesh two sonso sung ilx sy song ilx song song the second through the
 - 2. Siorcon · Tote seron waronen · Hise nentaytornec takklocrnh ebod snissknyk ·
 - $(\overline{\Delta p})$. Δακού το έρος $\overline{\Delta p}$ ο ός δολού το ός δολού το οροφορική το οροφορικ

¹ A line seems to be missing here either in the MS or in my copy. Cfasca's text fills the gap. v. infra.

πεπτεφέπερτεϊ αφό πει το άρος το έρος эл хол \mathcal{K} —: михлиїх лаорій эл-хоаэ этгометэл πηστε χιπαμορπιων ώνης ενώ κοι οη-πε LUSTE STORY TO STORY STO εριστά ενώ ενεί ρίονοοπ έρε πονέ πονέ κρίπε 6. -paná i i a o no a con a con. Diwignaxooc xearpwise is a sign of intoin. 7. ανώ οτραεικλλε ευρίοτε ειπρατηρ ρίοτοοπ altakroak 200kani nau nooro pousi tikunpa rothesands. †diangng roogkatpa. etakoror \vec{n} CETEKIEL: $-\vec{h}$ TOK $\Delta \epsilon$ \vec{n} ih \vec{h} \vec{n} \vec nentzicot[u]d necuebre u[e]yeseser [ue]ultiερίτζ πεπτειωοπό εροί χιπερκχό έπκες, ενώ 9. είνοττε έροκ εδολ ηπεση[ε]οκη · είχοος χεπτοκμε [μγ]δτεδέγ · έἰκη γιοστικ τεὐἰκτέκ μοκι information of the state of the xi-eooγ ήρ,ητκ· ἐποκ ρ,ω είνοος χεπτειμηρ,ικε επχιπχη εξιπησων τιθούτ επώμηγενε του κανίκης

Variants from Greek:-

xl 24. καὶ ἐξηράνθησαν] om. καί.

26. lσχύος] 'of his strength'.

28. δ θεός] om.

31. πτεροφυήσουσιν ως ἀετοί] 'they shall act eagle'. Ciasca's text as Greek.

xli 2. κατὰ πόδας αὐτοῦ] om.

4. ϵ κάλ ϵ σ ϵ ν] 'and he called '.

5. κρίνων ἔκαστος τῷ πλησίον βοηθησαι καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ] 'each judging (κρίνειν) his neighbour, and each helping (βοηθεῖν) his brother'.

10. μη πλανω] 'go not astray (πλανων), and I shall take glory in thee. I too said I laboured in vain for vanities. Go not astray for I . . .' Cf. cod. Γ, which adds a similar passage (καὶ εν σοὶ δοξασθήσομαι. καὶ ενων εἰπα Κενων εἰκοπίασα εἰς μάταια. <math>μη πλανω, ενων γάρ εἰμι ὁ θεός σου) omitted by the other MSS.

Variants from Ciasca's text:-

24. Χεπονπε εδράϊ] Χε πενπονπε εβολ C.

ONIE CEDE C.

26. Taroï Tarië C. RKOCROC RETKOCROC C. -sucrpan C. unauss, Te naus-ഉT€ C.

28. ngnas, ice] negnas, ice C. singe] sinā

θε C. peright peright C.

29. ntoom com c. ns ko//entuspaire]

πεξκο πτε περωϊρε С.

31. $cwt\bar{n}$] $cot\bar{n}$ C. Studente Studente C. ZULELLOST LELLOST CEUTS CEUTS CETT CELLOST CEπερτ της πθε πεπερων С. Fig. 32. TEES, KO C.

xli 1. STATETGOLL ATETGOL C.

Another page of the same fragment contains Isa. xlii 5-7, 10-12.

- $_{\text{col. I.}}[\ldots,]$ se $[\ldots,]$ λ e $[\ldots,]$ λ e $[\ldots,]$ se $[\ldots,]$ n [.....] $p\dot{n}$ [.....] sn [.....] col., [.....].. io [eeeo]q:--[aποκ] πε πχοείς [ππο]ττε 5, 6. πεκ [...] **2.**0 ττε έροκ [2, η]οταϊκαϊοςτ[η]η · ατώ wrs . nan 100-tat xi[d]nath at, sausant
 - γ. ΔΪΤΔΔΚ ΕΥΣΪΔΘΥΚΗ ΠΥΕΠΟς ΕΥΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΠηρεθΠΟς σματεπή κολέ επίεε εκλλή καλη πωτοέ Kodė enanius coousten ūra israningra κονεπιώ πεωτεκο.

Verso. печрім хіпар нхіч жиках пет внк єпеєснт є ea]lacca et[....u]uoc · nn[hcoc] unnetor- \bullet set forme his[sx] π or equivalent π or π of π or π

- uedom ruuelolhs sukhysd uelolhs surпетра паетфрапе йсешш евох хиврихног 12. nntoor. cenaf-éoor ennorte. cenaxw nnega
 - эоолине элинсос
 - 6. γένους] 'for a light to the gentiles (ἔθνος)'; cf. κ B A Q Γ εἰς φῶς €θνῶν.

^{11.} κωμαι αὐτης 'villages'.

Pap. LV (1) [= Crum 46].—A papyrus fragment containing part of a column of small uncial writing. The text on the *recto* is Isa. xliii 4-6. The *verso* is almost illegible: I reproduce what I thought I could see of it, but most of the letters are quite uncertain, and I cannot identify it. Probably it is either verse 8 or 11 of the same chapter. With more time at one's disposal and the Bohairic text by one, it might possibly be deciphered to a certain extent.

```
xliii 4. [.....] &Tno.en.[.]
                        . ν. [....] po επεκι[.]
                        arw senapxwn satek[a]
              5. πει επροζοτε χετωρ[οπ]
                        neerk. †naeine eneek]
                        сиебът хіиття ийт
                         arw tracoorgor ego[rn]
              6. XIII ELLENDUTTI . † 112.
                        χοος ππεμείτ κε τόο.
                         coa. Tam mentul xerdu
                         2.2.2.7€ $\overline{\pi} \overline{\pi} \overline
                                                                     Verso.
                         |$i.$uok..[....]
                        DEOTTELT[.....]o
                        Ins.o.[...]TPSILKAR
                         .. TAL, Qan[.] swrsnTal
                         n. rsnt[.]inxwsn[
                         ]nokp,n.[.]. * . . . . .
                         ]. T. . na. . g[.]pesse. .
                         .. nee. 3Ts[..] qoillanee
                         n \dots [\dots] \dots gsn
                         ...T3.. sin .......
```

Recto, 1. 5. SINE[K]] read SINE[K.

10. &911] read INP.

In the same glass are several other fragments of the same MS. One of them contains Isa. xlvii 3-5.

248 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

3. π[.....] 4. DE [U NOT HENTAUNA] erenkw..B.[....] [Assrota]n naqpan an 5 LETIHA SLE[OOC...TWLE] μ which is a sum of the manner of the man γγίε απέεδε μυχγή Verso. on sequentes of singonvot[nee isnn] lecuramojue umue TH Stouth See [200x3d7] [....] $nn[\ldots]$

Recto, Il. 1-2. Read $[\pi \varepsilon]$ \$\&[\q]?

- 3. nhw... s.[...]] read nxoeic ncalawo?
- 7. Read K&K€.

Verso, 1. 4. Or CEN&?

The other fragments I have not succeeded in identifying, and do not reproduce, as they are very small and often very illegible.

Or. 3579 A (31).—Part of a parchment leaf from a lectionary, containing on the *recto* Isa. xlv 16-20 and Jer. xxxviii (xxxi) 31-33 (Crum 47 and 53).

Isa. xlv [.....]. & [............]. & τ † [ονδης... & τ]ω π̄ce]ωο π̄col. 1. [οωε επ]ονωπε [&ρι]δρρε ωδροί πακόος πιπλ τη. πλογχλι εδολ ειτοοτς ωπχοείς πονογχλί ωδ-18. επες π΄ceπλχι-ωϊπε·λνω π΄ακνωλς ωλεπες. Τλιτε θε ετερε πχο[ε]ις χω ωνος πεπτλητλωιε τπε·πλιπε παογτε πεπτλησδτε πκλε·ληλλ έτρεγ-

οτώς ής ητη [εποκ] πε πποττε [ετω εκπ] κε οτε πιλίλει · π]τειώχεε επ ςπ οτςωπ [οτ]χε είπ 19. οτεε επ ήκες ήκεκε · επεϊχοός επεςπερεί | [ε]ποκ πε εποκ πίχοεις · ετλω ποτείκειο - col. 2. cth. ετω ετώχει ήτεε · cwoτς εξοτή ήτε τπεϊ · 20. εχι-ώσχη[ε] · ει οτςοπ ·

[16]рняльс

Θις δεηδούν πην πέχε πχοείς ήτεςμείπε πον-Jer. Σιδούκη πβρρε με πι με μπηλ . μπημε ήτουχε. 31. ή-κετετρίδουκη επ. ήτειςμήτε με παθείοτε 32. μπεδούν πτειδιάδητε ήτευδιχ ήτου έβολ δία-πκεδ ήκημε . Χεπτοού μπουδώ δητερίδουκη . εποκ δω ειδιάθλει έρουν πέχε πχοείς . Χετείτε 33. τρίδουκη εταιμέν επιμέ μπημε μπημε παρούς εχη πεδούν εταιμέν . διανό πεδούν επιμέν . μπαςδία εξούν εταιμέν . διανό πεδούν επιμέν . Επικό προούν εχη προώ επιμέν . Επικό προούν εχη προώ επιμέν . Επικό προούν εχη προώ εχη προώ επιμέν . Επικό προούν εχη προώ επικό εξούν εξούν επικό εξού

Variants from Greek :--

Isa. xlv 18. αὐτὸς διώρισεν αὐτήν] om.

κατοικεῖσθαι ἔπλασεν αὐτήν] The Coptic omits ἔπλασεν αὐτήν with $\aleph \Lambda Q$.

έγώ είμι] 'I am God'. Qmg adds κύριος.

Jer. xxxviii 33. διαθήκη μου] Coptic omits μου with NA Q.

Or. 3579 A (32) [= Crum 51].—Part of a parchment leaf, paged $\overline{16}$ — $\overline{16}$, incomplete at the bottom. The text is Jer. iv 22-26, 28, 29, 30, 31, v 1, 3-6.

ATW SERCABE AR-RE · SERCABEETĖ-RE EP REDOOT COL. I.

ΠΠΕΤΠΑΠΟΤΟ ΣΕ ἐΧΠΟΤΟΟΤΜΠΟ ΕἀΧΟ · ΔΙΌΨΨΤ Jer. iv 22.

ἐΧΕΙΧΠΚΑΣ · ΔΤΨ ΕΪΟ SHHΤΕ · LLEN λΔΑΤ · ESPAİ 23.

ETRE [ΔΤ]Ψ ΠΕΤΨΟΟΠ [ΔΠ] Π΄ΘΙ ΠΕΟΟΤΟΕΪΝ · [ΔΙ]ΠΑΤ · 24.

ENTOTEΪΗ · [ΔΤ]Ψ ΠΕΤΟΤΨΤ-ΠΕ · ΔΤΨ ΠΤΑλ ΤΗΡΟΤ

ΠΕΤΨΙΤΕΡΤΨΡ :— ΠΙΌΨΨΤ ΔΤΨ ΕΪΟ SHHΤΕ · ENE 25.

LEN PULLE-RE · ΔΤΨ Π΄SΑλΑἰΤΕ · ΤΗΡΟΤ ΠΤΠΕ ·

ΠΕΤ SI ΠΕΤΕΡΗΤ · ΔΪΠΑΤ ΔΤΨ [ΕΙΟ SHH]ΤΕ ΠΚΑ[PLH- 26.

λοο] ΔΟ [ΨΗΟ ΔΤΨ Π]Π[ΟλΙΟ ΤΗΡΟΤ]

- 250
- col. 2. Prake · δι μμε έβολ · χε ειώσχε · ενω μμασερ
 - kodė iotiani wra pwee ioroanie fia na inte 8.82
 - 29. ἐἐἐνος εβολ gɨż περροοτ ποτ ginneτċ ἐἰπ πɨτε εcxολκ ἐπεχ-coτε πκλητηρς¹ λασόλσελ [.] λασίλα χωρεϊ [π]σί τετχωρλ τ[κρο λα]βωκ ἐβοτ[π επετ]λ βλλη[ε....] ποτρ.λ[....]ω[.....]

col. 1. 12

- 30 noi notrepate censmine μστολήλη για γορε
- -rang artworks and range seems to a signal seems as a signal seems and seems are soon rooq sense. It is a continuous and a signal seems and a signal seems are considered as a signal seems and a signal seems are considered as a sig
- v 1. [100] \bar{g} \bar
- col. 2. Bw attampe nergo égoré otnetpa. atw ii-
 - V 3. ποτοτωμ εκτοοτ · εποκ εω είχοος · χεμεμεκ επεμκε-πε · εβολ χώποτοῦς · χεμποτcoten τερίκ · ώπχοεῖς · ετω π[ρε]π ώπαοττε ::
 - 5. Ταλωκ λε η[αλ]ρεπάχωώρε άτλωλες περ. 2 χειτοος ατονεπ τες μάχοεις. Σπ. άχιος κάπος είς ριάτε άτοος είσος οτοοι ατονωμά κάπος β[βε]ς ατοωπί [ππογ-

Variants from Greek:-

iv 22. τὸ δὲ καλῶς] 'That which is good': τὸ δὲ καλόν Ν Α.

^{23.} καὶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν] om. καί.

^{29.} After τόξου the Coptic adds 'The whole [land] is spoiled', repeating it apparently from verse 20.

^{30.} ζητοῦσιν ithey will seek': ζητήσουσιν ΝΑ Q.

^{31.} στεναγμοῦ σου] 'their groaning'. The Coptic then continues 'the voice of the daughter of Sion, as of one bearing her first child',

¹ K&P, is added in the margin by another hand.

transposing the two clauses. It would, therefore, agree with \aleph^{ca} in reading $\psi \nu \chi \hat{\eta} s$: at any rate $\phi \omega \nu \hat{\eta}$ is not the subject of $\epsilon \kappa \lambda \nu \theta \hat{\eta} \sigma \epsilon \tau a\iota$, as $\rho \rho \rho s$ is masc., and the subject of that verb is fem.—presumably the daughter of Sion.

Coptic Pap. XI (1) [= Crum 52].—The lower part of a leaf of papyrus. The text is in two columns of large characters, and consists of Jer. v 21-26, 28.

	ഴു ന ഗ്യാള്	
	ϵ gicaa $\overline{\tau}$ q	
Jer. v 21. [], N	πίλδος σε	23.
(ceuva) †u ·	rs potr	
rən [wrs]	тай тно	
[nramx]e	c ധTച െയ്യ	
eson [rowse]	ne nag.	
· Ās se[Two]	TAÑ WYA	
22. [શ] す€す	rs . Trsin	
ə∓o[&q∡nn]	ρίκε εβολ	
$\Im \pi$ [HSLTLS]	ayw aybw[k]	
[χε πχο]εις.	OXYOUT	24.
ř:نانخ [· · · ·] غننخ	renses 20	
[• · · · · ·] i	SHT XESS	

Verso.

25. neTnano eta se atpe ке шиті и [sasqan]rs 28. canbod a een[9.8n.ee]WYL TTWEE is as then alonntan [ron nag]n **STAPETYS** sep[\$&noc] эко повьт ελς[εεποτ] · nTweek пэгонт] дій 26. XELTGINE [ron] seg δίστησησος [XHP& LHE]

252 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

<u>u</u> Seumyd	Sb[91exu]	
T€ · &YT&	n[\$1]	
Soebrloa	$\eta[\ldots\ldots]$	

Recto, col. 1 ll. 7-8. Possibly **ER NTETN**; but it is hardly long enough.

Verso, col. 1 ll. 2-3. Read & **PIK€ (?).

The few letters of the second column of the verso are very illegible, though doubtless, with the Bohairic text to help one, one might make them out. Unfortunately I had not that assistance with me, and could only use it later. Following that text, ll. 5-9 should probably read OP[\$\Phi\Lefta\nocentric{\text{ROY}}{\text{TROY}} \cdot\text{TROY} \cdot\text{TROY} \Lefta\nocentric{\text{ROY}}{\text{LROY}} \Lefta\nocentric{\text{LROY}}{\text{LROY}} \refta\nocentric{\text{LROY}}{\text{LROY}} \lefta\no

Variant from Greek:-

23. καὶ ἐξέκλιναν] om. καί with B^* vid Q.

Or. 3579 A (5) [=Crum 56].—From the same lectionary as the fragment of Isa. xxx already given. The following passage from Hosea (vi 6-10) comes from an earlier page numbered prec. It is the end of a lesson, and is followed by an extract from Job.

 \overline{pns} . Orcorn \overline{n} norte \cdot esor $\overline{0}$ $\overline{0}$ sor $\overline{0}$ $\overline{$

- 7. tnodic été-sule sanetworeit · necțec · or-
- 9. eβολ-πε ςποτίπος ετω τοτόσε έςο ήθε πογpwee. ήρεαχιχητι εποτηκί πως βητικίκου είναι και μεταική το πως εποτημοία το πορομοία το πορο
- 10. noc · arguin Atwars · areide uorsuoris · siriux

8. ταράσσουσα νόδωρ] 'her heel is one of blood'. This variant is remarkable, as Tattam's Bohairic text agrees with the Septuagint, whereas the Sahidic reading follows the Hebrew or Theodotion's version. According to Nowack (Hand-Kom. zum A. T.) the ordinary Hebrew reading is מַּבְבּי מִבּוֹם 'voller Blutspuren', but Bachman proposed a different division of the consonants, reading עַּקְבֵּי מֶּבְּי וֹם 'ihre Fersen d. i. Fusstapfen sind Blut'. This is obviously the reading that our Sahidic text and Theodotion are translating; so that Bachman's suggestion would appear to be a genuine ancient variant. At any rate the Sahidic is quite distinct from the Septuagint, which is derived from a MS reading מַּבְּי (water) instead of מַבְּי מַבְּי מִבְּי מִבְי מִבְּי מִבְי מִבְי מִבְי מִבְּי מְבְי מִבְי מִבְּי מִבְי מִבְי מִבְּי מִבְּי מִבְי מִבְי מִבְּי מִבְי מִבְּי מְי מִבְּי מְי מִבְּי
9. ὀδόν] 'the way of the Lord', as AQ (ὁδὸν κ̄ν), but not the Boh. After ἀνομίαν is added 'in Israel', apparently from the beginning of the next verse.

Or. 3579 A (7) [=Crum 59].—The fragment of a lectionary from which I have printed Isa. xxx contains a passage headed &&&&.
KOTH EXMINION (Hab. iii 9-13).

Πκλη ππειερωστ πλπως · λτω λτπωτ πσι πετ- Hab. iii μοστ сепλατ εροκ πσι πλλος πςεξ-πλλκε ^{9.} πετχωωρε εβολ πλλος πεισοτε ηπτες ^{10.} πλισε πποτη λςξ¹ λπες ηπες ηποτη λεισε λτω ποος Verso. λαληθερλτη ηπτες λτω ποτοείπ ππες ηπεκτολοπ ηπεκτολοπ καλτάκε πκλη λτω ημεκτολοπ καλτάκε πκλη λτω ημεκτολοπ καλτάκε πκλη λτω ημεκτολοπ καλτάκε πκλη λτω ημεκτολοπ καλτάκε πκλη λτω μεκτολοπ καλτάκε πκλη λτω εβολ 13. εποτχλι λπεκλλος ετρεκποτηλία ππεκχρίστος λκηστά ποτλοτ εχητλίπε

Variants from Greek :--

- 9. At the end of the verse is added 'and their waters fled', which is neither in the Greek nor the Bohairic.
 - 10. πορείας] 'his way'; so too Bohairic and A Q (πορείας αὐτοῦ).
- 12. ἐν ἀπειλ $\hat{\eta}$] 'in thy indignation'; so too Bohairic and A Q (ἐν ἀπειλ $\hat{\eta}$ σου).
 - 13. τον χριστόν.] Plural in our text, with Bohairic and κ^c (vid) A Q. βαλεῖς] 'thou didst cast'; so too Bohairic and κ A Q (ἔβαλες).

Brit. Mus. Or. 3579 A (11), fol. 22 [=Crum 14], containing Judges xii 7-xiii 6, has already been published by O. von Lemm³; and my copy only records two variants & BIC&N for von Lemm's & B&C&N in xii 8, and NC&BOYXWNITHC for his NC&YXWNITHC in xii 12. In this fragment, too, the agreement of the Coptic

^{1 &}amp;q t over an erasure of n&q//////.

² **Π€**T is, I think, intended to be erased.

³ Sahidische Bibel/ragmente iii (Bulletin de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg, T. xxv, No. 4, Nov. 1906).

version with A against the other Septuagint MSS is noticeable, as the following variants from the Cambridge Septuagint shew:—

xii 12. ἐν Αἰλώμ] 'in ΕλΙΦΑ'; cf. ἐν Αἰλειμ Α.

13. Έλλήλ] CHλλΗ $\mathfrak L$; cf. Σελλή μ A, and so verse 15.

φαραθωνείτης] ΦΡΑΘωπιΤΗΟ Copt. and A, and so verse 15.

15. φαραθώμ] Φ&ΡΔΘω.

'Aμαλήκ] λ&π&Κ Copt. and A.

xiii 2. Σαράλ] C&P&& Copt. and A.

Δανεί] Δ&Π Copt. and A.

3. The Coptic adds 'thou shalt be with child', like A (καὶ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξεις).

συλλήμψη] 'bear', Copt.; cf. τέξη A.

4. μέθυσμα] ** ΕΘΥCΙ& Η CIKEP& Copt.; σίκερα alone A.

5. ἔχεις] future tense in Copt. as in A (ἔξεις).

ναζείρ] ΠΑζωρΑΙΟC; cf. ήγιασμένον ναζειραΐον Α.

ἄρξεται τοῦ σῶσαι] 'shall save'.

In the same article von Lemm also publishes Brit. Mus. Or. 3579 A (27) [Crum 39], Prov. iv 13, 14, 17, 18, 22, 23, 27. My copy offers the following variants: 14 **REP***00[UE]] **REP****00[UE] p, nne pio(076].

- 23. $\vec{n} \ge \vec{i} \vec{o} \vec{o} \tau \in \nabla x \vec{p}$ and two lines of dots] $\vec{o} \vec{n} \ge \vec{i} \vec{o} \vec{o} \tau \in \nabla x \vec{p} \dots \times \vec{p}$. Only the tops of the last two letters are visible, and they are very doubtful. There is no second line visible according to my copy.
- 27. The si[oor] ē ētsio[rhall] inesi[oo] rė ėtsior[nall].

E. O. WINSTEDT.

NOTES AND STUDIES

EMPHASIS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

T

It may be within the recollection of readers of the *Journal* that a paper under this heading appeared in the October number, 1906.

This took the form necessarily of an initial, and, in some degree, a tentative statement, a summary of the general conclusions which I had arrived at, in the course of a preliminary study of the subject.

The comments on it which reached me, while they contained some illuminating and valuable criticisms of detail, yet left the main principles which had been formulated untouched; and they were, further, of a nature to encourage a deeper and more exhaustive study of the subject on the same lines.

The principles so formulated were based upon an induction from observed instances; but it is obvious that an induction, when dealing with literary questions, differs from regular scientific induction in two respects. It admits, on the one hand, of less accuracy, as being concerned with such fluctuating matters as style and idiomatic expression, and, on the other, of more accuracy, since the induction may be tested by a comparison of all existing instances.

At this distance of time it may be well, by way of clearness, to recapitulate the different ways of expressing emphasis which were then suggested; namely,

- (i) Words which indicate it by their sense—particles, adverbs, pronouns, adjectives, nouns.
- (ii) More occasional, subsidiary methods, such as expression of pronouns in the nominative, iteration, and dislocation, which includes abruptness and asyndeton.
- (iii) Order of the words, which is the main principle, the emphatic word being thrown into marked prominence, usually before the verb—exceptions being due to attraction.

It is considered that the first two classes, except that of the separate expression of pronouns in the nominative, which demands some further study, may be taken, in general, as proved, depending as they do partly

on the nature of the case and partly on usages which are common to many languages.

But it is emphasis by Order which has seemed to need most careful handling, because of its many very obvious exceptions.

The main principle stated was, that words in a sentence of New Testament Greek stand in the order of their importance; and that the verb in any ordinary sentence stands first as being the most important: and from this it follows that, with the exception of those particles which, of their nature, always stand first—relatives, interrogatives, conjunctions, and the like—any word put before the verb will bear emphasis (and still more if it stands before the interrogative also); but that this has many exceptions, all of which fall under one general head of Attraction.

And then, further, in dealing with Attraction itself, there are several classes of cases which seem not to require elaborate investigation, since they are logical and arise out of the nature of the case. As, for instance, when a word is taken out of its place (a) in order to stand close to one with which it is closely connected in the sense, or (b) to one to which it is bound by construction, or (c) so as to enclose, between two words in agreement, all those others which directly qualify them.

But the one unobvious, and not, in the nature of things, necessarily reasonable case of attraction, is that in which a weak word, wholly unemphatic, is put, apparently on artistic grounds, before the verb, in order to stand next to a strong word.

The words so displaced are entirely, or almost entirely, pronouns, and because generalities, however probable, appear to afford an insufficient basis in such a case for final decision, I have felt compelled to elaborate a complete conspectus of all the instances that bear upon the general induction. It is now proposed to give the results which follow upon an exhaustive study of the oblique cases of the personal pronouns $\partial \gamma \omega$ and $\partial \gamma \omega$.

And it may be suggested, in passing, that there is a special value in such an investigation for the matter in hand, because, in colloquial and epistolary style, it is on the *pronoun* that emphasis is most frequently laid.

Following the method which was actually employed in this investigation, it will be well to take, as a first test, two clear instances of attraction which were cited in the original paper.

St Mark xiv 30 τρίς με ἀπαρνήση.

1 Tim. iv 12 μηδείς σου της νεότητος καταφρονείτω.

It is obvious, from the sense, that $\mu\epsilon$ and σov , though before the verb, cannot bear emphasis.

The question then arises, are such cases due to accident, to occa-

sional variations in the same author, or to a difference of usage as between one author and another; and it is obvious that such questions cannot be answered except by a careful comparison of all the instances.

And here, on the threshold of the statement, it is to be explained that, apart from the consideration of the different uses of these pronouns on their merits, in the course of which there seems to be a complete corroboration of the theory of Attraction given above, the Greek language provides the student, in one of its pronominal forms, with a luminous test of a most convincing kind. The singular of $\epsilon\gamma\omega$ is possessed of duplicate forms in its oblique cases. Any short study of these forms is sufficient to shew that μov , $\mu o\iota$, $\mu \epsilon$ are never accentuated and always unemphatic, while $\epsilon \mu o\hat{\nu}$, $\epsilon \mu o\hat{\iota}$, $\epsilon \mu \epsilon$ are always accentuated, and—with one notable class of exceptions, namely, when they are governed by prepositions—are always emphatic.

It is possible, therefore, as a side light on the investigation, to arrive at an accurate definition of the emphasis on the oblique cases of $\epsilon\gamma\omega$, and by this means to put to a conclusive test the general results arrived at in the oblique cases of $\sigma\dot{v}$, $\dot{\eta}\mu\epsilon\hat{\iota}_{S}$, and $\dot{v}\mu\epsilon\hat{\iota}_{S}$.

This was, in fact, the actual course along which the investigation travelled.

Beginning with these three last-named pronouns, taking crucial instances in which the sense seemed to settle the question of emphasis beyond dispute, and passing from these to the consideration of more uncertain instances, the conclusion was forced upon me more and more clearly, that oblique cases of these, when standing next to a strong word before the verb, are never in any case emphatic.

Now whether or no this kind of inductive reasoning should be accepted by itself as conclusive, it was found to be supported by two considerations, which—together, at least, if not singly—seemed to establish the principle in an impregnable position.

The first was the test case of $\epsilon\gamma\dot{\omega}$. It appears, on complete investigation, that the form of its oblique cases, which stands next a strong word before the verb, is always the enclitic and unemphatic $\mu\epsilon$, $\mu\nu\nu$, $\mu\nu\nu$, and never the emphatic $\epsilon\dot{\mu}\dot{\epsilon}$, $\epsilon\dot{\mu}\nu\dot{\nu}$, $\epsilon\dot{\mu}\nu\dot{\nu}$, $\epsilon\dot{\nu}$.

And the second consideration is the evidence of accents. It is true that $\sigma\epsilon$, σov , $\sigma o\iota$ are treated usually as enclitics and not accentuated; but wherever they are meant to be emphasized they at once assume accents, $\sigma\epsilon$, $\sigma o\hat{\iota}$, $\sigma o\hat{\iota}$. And it is found that the accentuated form is never, according to the best MS authority, put next the strong word before the verb.

What the historical value of these accents may be—in itself a question of no little interest—must be left for consideration later. But this, at least, is worthy of notice, that they are completely in accord with the

VOL. X.

results stated above; so that there results a mutual corroboration, the accents guaranteeing the accuracy of this theory of emphasis, and the general conclusions as to emphasis guaranteeing the accentual usage.

The nature of the original evidence and its corroborations having been thus explained, it now becomes necessary to give leading examples first of the emphatic usage of the pronouns, and next, of the various sorts of attraction under which these pronominal forms, though standing before the verb, are entirely free from emphasis. It should be premised that only a few cases out of many have been selected, with the purpose of presenting, as far as possible, a similar example of all three cases of each of these two pronouns in both numbers taken from different writers. But yet there are, in most cases, a great number of other examples of a similar kind, which might equally well be quoted. This may be the more easily credited when it is stated that the total number of passages collated—being in each case, it is believed, all in the Greek Testament which bear upon the question—are over 650, in all of which it becomes clear that, with few exceptions, not only in the same author but in the different authors, the general method of order remains in the main the same.

I. Typical examples of Emphatic Usage.

A. Emphasis used to distinguish between persons.

John iii 30 ἐκείνον δεί αὐξάνειν, ἐμὲ δὲ ἐλαττοῦσθαι.

Luke x 16 ὁ ἀκούων ὑμῶν, ἐμοῦ ἀκούει.

Phil. iii 1 ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ὀκνηρόν, ὑμῖν δὲ ἀσφαλές.

1 Cor. vi 14 καὶ τὸν Κύριον ἢγειρεν καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξεγερεῖ.

Matt. xxviii 13 οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἔκλεψαν αὐτὸν ἡμῶν κοιμωμένων.

John xiv 22 τί γέγονεν ὅτι ἡμῖν μέλλεις ἐμφανίζειν σεαυτὸν ἀλλ'
οὐχὶ τῷ κόσμῳ;

Rom. xi 22 ἐπὶ δὲ σὲ χρηστότης Θεοῦ.

Matt. iii 14 έγω χρείαν έχω ύπο σου βαπτισθήναι.

Philem. 16 ἐμοί, πόσω δὲ μᾶλλον σοί.

Luke xiii 28 ύμας δὲ ἐκβαλλομένους ἔξω.

Acts iv 19 ὑμῶν ἀκούειν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Phil. iii 1 buîr as above.

B. Emphasis General.

John xvi 32 κάμε μόνον άφητε.
1 Cor. iv 3 έμοι δε είς ελάχιστον έστιν.

N.B. Eph. iii 8 τῆς δοθείσης μοι . . . ἐμοὶ τῷ ἐλαχιστοτέρῳ. Luke xi 45 ταῦτα λέγων καὶ ἡμᾶς ὑβρίζεις. Mark xii 7, Luke xx 14 δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἡμῶν ἔσται κληρονομία.

Acts iii 12 ήμιν τί ἀτενίζετε;

Matt. xxvi 18 πρὸς σὲ ποιῶ τὸ πάσχα.

Rom. xi 21 οὐδὲ σοῦ φείσεται.

Acts v 4 οὐχὶ μένον, σοὶ ἔμενεν.

1 Pet. iii 21 καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν σώζει βάπτισμα.

Matt. xiii 16 ύμων δὲ μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοί.

Rev. ii 24 ύμιν δὲ λέγω τοις λοιποις.

II. Unemphatic: the pronominal forms standing before the verb by attraction.

It should be explained that, besides the passages here given and many similar ones collated, there are a great number of others which have the forms unemphatic, in their usual order after the verb, and being always wholly unemphatic, all serve in this negative way as a corroboration of the main theory.

Attraction (a) To Pronouns.

- (i) τίς Acts ix 4 τί με διώκεις;
 1 Thess. ii 19 τίς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐλπίς;
 Mark x 51 τί σοι θέλεις ποιήσω;
 1 Cor. xiv 6 τί ὑμᾶς ὡφελήσω;
 2 Cor. xi 16 μήτις με δόξη ἄφρονα.
 Heb. xii 5 ἥτις ὑμῖν ὡς νἱοῖς διαλέγεται.
 Acts ix 6 ὅτι σε δεῖ ποιεῖν.
- (ii) Attraction to other pronouns, when emphatic.
 John xiii 6 σύ μου νίπτεις τοὺς πόδας;
 Acts xvi 37 αὐτοὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξαγαγέτωσαν.
 John viii 11 οὐδὲ ἐγώ σε κατακρίνω.
 Acts xiii 32 καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελιζόμεθα.
 John vii 29 κἀκεῖνός με ἀπέστειλεν.
 Matt. xxvi 62 οὖτοί σου καταμαρτυροῦσι;
- (iii) Attraction to particles.
 2 Cor. xii 7 ἴνα με κολαφίζη.
 Acts xvi 37 λάθρα ἡμῶς ἐκβάλλουσιν;
 Philem. 11 τόν ποτέ σοι ἄχρηστον.
 1 Thess. iv 11 καθὼς ὑμῖν παρηγγείλαμεν.
 Mark xv 4 πόσα σου κατηγοροῦσιν.
- (iv) To words emphatic (a) by nature.
 Acts xxv 11 οὐδείς με δύναται.
 1 John iv 12 ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἡμῖν μένει.

260 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

Matt. xxv 21 ἐπὶ πολλῶν σε καταστήσω. 2 Cor. xii 15 εἰ περισσοτέρως ὑμᾶς ἀγαπῶ. John xi 42 πάντοτέ μου ἀκούεις. Phil. iv 15 οὐδεμία μοι ἐκκλησία ἐκοινώνησεν. Titus ii 15 μηδείς σου περιφρονείτω.

(b) By position.

Matt. xv 8 τοῖς χείλεσί με τιμậ.
Gal. iii 13 Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξηγόρασεν.
John xvii 25 καὶ ὁ κόσμος σε οὖκ ἔγνω.
1 Cor. iii 2 γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα.
2 Tim. iv 17 ὁ δὲ Κύριός μοι παρέστη.
Heb. vii 26 τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἔπρεπεν ἀρχιερεύς.
Eph. vi 3 ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται.
2 Pet. iii 1 ταύτην δευτέραν ὑμῖν γράφω ἐπιστολήν.

(v) Between verb and dependent infinitive.

Matt. viii 2 δύνασαί με καθαρίσαι.
John xiii 36 οὐ δύνασαί μοι νῦν ἀκολουθῆσαι.
Rev. iii 16 μέλλω σε ἐμέσαι.
Luke vii 40 ἔχω σοί τι εἰπεῖν.
Rom. i 13 οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν.
I Thess. v I οὐ χρείαν ἔχετε ὑμῖν γράφεσθαι.

Further similar examples will be given when the possessive is treated. It should be repeated that the above are, in reality, only a few instances out of very many; and that they have been selected as specimens to cover, as far as space will allow, the writings of each author, and all variations of the pronouns.

Among such numbers of passages a certain amount of variation of order will naturally be found, and these, it is hoped, will be dealt with separately later. There is not mathematical precision. Indeed, in matters literary such precision will hardly be looked for. Yet the exceptions will be found by no means weighty or numerous enough to disturb the general theory, or to counterbalance the mass of normal testimony. Indeed, what will probably strike the student most is the singular unity of style, and that especially in a language which, through its inflectional forms of concord would seem likely, in the nature of things, to admit of considerably greater flexibility in the Order.

II

PRONOUNS GOVERNED BY PREPOSITIONS.

In order to complete the study of the pronouns of the first and second persons, in the matter of order and emphasis, we must now

pass on to the special uses of the pronoun, when governed by a preposition.

As instances are collated, it soon becomes abundantly clear, although it may not be easy of explanation, that after prepositions the emphatic form of these personal pronouns is, with few exceptions, always used, even when no emphasis is intended. That this is not due to any whim of the accentuator is made clear by applying once again the crucial test of the oblique cases of $\epsilon\gamma\omega$, when it is found that, after prepositions, the emphatic form alone is used.

With the exceptions yet to be mentioned, the enclitic forms $\mu\epsilon$, $\mu\omega$, $\mu\omega$ never follow prepositions, but $\epsilon\mu\dot{\epsilon}$, $\epsilon\mu\omega\dot{\epsilon}$, $\epsilon\mu\dot{\epsilon}$; and this is borne out by the use after prepositions of none but the accentuated forms $\sigma\dot{\epsilon}$, $\sigma\omega\dot{\epsilon}$, $\sigma\omega\dot{\epsilon}$.

This is true of all the ordinary prepositions except πρός, and of the adverbial prepositions ἔνεκεν, χωρίς, ἄχρις, ἐγγύς, μεταξύ.

On the other hand the unemphatic forms μov and σov always follow $\delta \pi i \sigma \omega$, $\epsilon \nu \omega \pi i \sigma v$, and $\epsilon \mu \pi \rho o \sigma \theta \epsilon v$.

The variations of $\pi\rho\delta$ s are distinctly strange and apparently quite inexplicable.

 $\pi\rho\delta$ ς ἐμέ is found in St John's alone of all the Gospels. Vet he has $\pi\rho\delta$ ς $\mu\epsilon$ in three passages: and in one same verse, vi 37, both forms occur. The synoptic Gospels use $\pi\rho\delta$ ς $\mu\epsilon$ only, and so do the Pauline Epistles. In the Acts it is three times each way. Compare Acts xxii 8 $\epsilon \tilde{\iota} \pi \epsilon \nu \tau \epsilon \pi \rho \delta$ ς ἐμέ, with $\epsilon \tilde{\iota} \pi \epsilon \nu \tau \tau \rho \delta$ ς $\mu\epsilon$, vv. 10, 21, xxvi 14.

 $\pi\rho\delta s$ $\sigma\epsilon$, on the other hand, is used in the other Gospels as well as in St John; and throughout the New Testament $\pi\rho\delta s$ $\sigma\epsilon$ occurs once only, Matt. xxx 39.

Since, then, form and accent are no guides to emphasis in such combinations of preposition and pronoun, how is emphasis expressed? By the general method of order. The prepositional phrase, to be emphatic, must come *before the verb*.

Of this the following examples, few out of very many, will perhaps suffice.

I. Emphatic.

A. Emphasis used to distinguish between persons.

John xiv 1 πιστεύετε εἰς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ πιστεύετε.
2 Cor. iv 12 ὁ θάνατος ἐν ἡμιν ἐνεργείται, ἡ δὲ ζωὴ ἐν ὑμιν.

2 Tim. i 5 πέπεισμαι δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐν σοί.

B. Emphasis. General.

Matt. xii 30 ὁ μὴ ὢν μετ' ἐμοῦ, κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐστίν.
1 Tim. i 16 ἴνα ἐν ἐμοῦ πρώτω ἐνδείξηται Χριστός.

262

Luke xxii 33 μετά σοῦ ετοιμός είμι . . . πορεύεσθαι.

Mark i 11 εν σοὶ εὐδόκησα.

1 Cor. ix 10 η δι' ήμας πάντως λέγει; δι' ήμας γαρ έγράφη.

1 Pet. iv 17 εἰ δὲ πρῶτον ἀφ' ἡμῶν, τί τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀπειθούντων ;

John vi 70 καὶ ἐξ ὑμῶν εἶς διάβολός ἐστιν. Contrast the unemphatic xiii 21 εἶς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με.

2 Cor. xiii 3 ος είς ύμας ουκ ασθενεί, αλλα δυνατεί έν ύμιν.

- II. A. Of the *unemphatic* use, following the verb there are many examples, e. g. $\hat{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\hat{\epsilon}\hat{\nu}$ $\pi\rho\hat{\delta}s$ $\hat{\nu}\mu\hat{a}s$ passim.
 - B. The unemphatic before the verb by attraction
 - (a) to pronouns.

James v 19 $\dot{\epsilon}\dot{a}v$ $\tau\iota s$ $\dot{\epsilon}v$ $\dot{\nu}\mu\hat{\iota}v$ $\pi\lambda av\eta\theta\hat{\eta}$.

(b) to particles.

Luke xv 31 σὺ πάντοτε μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶ.

(c) to other emphatic words.

John xiii 37 την ψυχήν μου ὑπὲρ σοῦ θήσω.

38 την ψυχήν σου ύπερ έμοῦ θήσεις;

1 John iv 12 ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἡμιν μένει.

John vii 33 Cf. xii 35, xiii 33, xiv 9 ἔτι χρόνον μικρον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμί.

Col. ii 5 άλλὰ τῷ πνεύματι σὸν ὑμιν εἰμί.

1 Pet. iv 14 τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ Πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύεται.

THE POSSESSIVE PRONOUN.

There is one use of the genitive of pronouns, of very frequent occurrence, to express possession. Although, in the main, it follows the same rules of order as pronouns in general, yet it must be considered separately, partly on its own account, and partly because of the existence of the adjectival possessives $\epsilon \mu \delta s$, δs ,

I. A. The genitive of the personal pronoun is almost always unemphatic. Perhaps the only cases to the contrary are the following:— μov , of course, can never bear emphasis.

Rom. i 12 διὰ τῆς ἐν ἀλλήλοις πίστεως ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἐμοῦ.

χνί 13 την μητέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμοῦ.

2 Cor. i 14 καύχημα υμων έσμέν, καθάπερ και υμεις ήμων.

viii 24 ἡμῶν καυχήσεως ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν.

Mark xii 7, Luke xx 14 ήμων έσται ή κληρονομία.

Matt. vii 4 ίδου ή δοκὸς ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σοῦ.

Luke ii 35 καὶ σοῦ αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν διελεύσεται ρομφαία.

2 Cor. viii 14 τὸ ὑμῶν περίσσευμα εἰς τὸ ἐκείνων ὑστέρημα.

Eph. vi 9 καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ ὑμῶν ὁ Κύριός ἐστιν,

Phil. ii 25 συστρατιώτην μου, ὑμῶν δὲ ἀπόστολον.

Matt. x 30 ὑμῶν δὲ καὶ αἱ τρίχες....

xiii 16 ὑμῶν δὲ μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοί.

Luke xii 30 ὑμῶν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ οἶδεν.

xxii 53 αὖτη ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ἡ ὥρα.

Acts i 7 οὖχ ὑμῶν ἐστὶ γνῶναι.

1 Cor. iii 21 πάντα γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐστίν.

B. The crude notion that every possessive case before its noun is emphatic, is, I believe, by this time discredited among scholars. But careful investigation leads us to go a step further and to claim that there is, in reality, no such order of words, apart from the exigencies of attraction, as given above.

It will be noticed that in all such cases the possessive genitive is invariably placed next to one of the words which would have attracted the enclitic pronoun in other cases.

A luminous example will be found in

John xiii 6 σύ μου νίπτεις τοὺς πόδας;

However attractive the sense may appear with the double emphasis, 'Dost Thou wash my feet?' it is obvious that this is quite out of the question, the form $\mu o \nu$ being necessarily unemphatic; but its position is due to the attractive force of the strong and doubly emphatic pronoun $\sigma \dot{\nu}$.

It remains in this case, as before, to give examples—few selected from many—of this unemphatic position of the possessive before the verb or noun. The instances of its ordinary place, after both verb and noun, are very numerous.

(a) Attraction to pronoun.

Matt. xii 50 αὐτός μου ἀδελφός. Mark v 31 τίς μου ἦψατο; 1 Thess. ii 19 τίς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐλπίς; 1 Cor. ix 11 μέγα εἰ ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν τὰ σαρκικὰ θερίσομεν;

(b) to particles.

John xi 32 οὐκ ἄν μου ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀδελφός. 1 Tim. iv 15 ἴνα σου ἡ προκοπὴ φανερὰ ἢ πᾶσιν.

(c) to other emphatic words.

Luke xiv 24 ΐνα γεμισθη μου ὁ οἶκος. Phil. i 7 συνκοινωνούς μου της χάριτος. Acts xvi 20 ἐκταράσσουσιν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν. Matt. xv 28 μεγάλη σου ἡ πίστις.

(d) There is one set of cases of special interest in which it immediately follows or precedes a verb which, in strict grammar governing its noun, yet in the general sense governs partly the pronoun also.

264 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

Mark v 30 τίς μου ηψατο τῶν ἱματίων; Matt. vii 24, 26 et al. ἀκούων μου τοὺς λόγους.

1 Cor. ix 27 ὑπωπιάζω μου τὸ σῶμα.

2 Tim. i 4 μεμνημένος σου τῶν δακρύων.

Matt. ix 2 et al. ἀφίενταί σου αὶ άμαρτίαι.

3 John 3 μαρτυρούντων σου τη άληθεία.

Col. ii 5 βλέπων ύμων την τάξιν.

2 Pet. iii 1 διεγείρω ὑμῶν ἐν ὑπομνήσει τὴν εἰλικρινῆ διάνοιαν.

11. The Possessive Pronoun.

In the course of the foregoing detailed investigation it has become apparent that, although not invariably, yet in the vast majority of cases the possessive genitive is unemphatic. E μ o \hat{v} , for instance, except for the purpose of coupling with another pronoun, is never possessive. It is natural, therefore, to presuppose the specialization of $\hat{\epsilon}\mu$ o \hat{s} , σ o \hat{s} , and the other possessives, to supply the requirements of emphatic expression.

And yet, when the attempt is made to verify this in detail, the matter seems hardly so simple as it is sometimes assumed to be.

The investigation falls naturally under heads.

A. Without the article. In this use the possessive is always emphatic.

Matt. xx 23, Mark x 40 οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν δοῦναι.

John iv 34 ἐμὸν βρῶμά ἐστιν

Phil. iii 9 μη έχων έμην δικαιοσύνην.

John xvii 6 σοὶ ησαν κάμοὶ αὐτοὺς ἔδωκας.

Luke vi 20 ύμετέρα ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ.

- B. With the article.
- (a) When used substantivally it bears a natural emphasis.

Matt. XX 15 οὖκ ἔξεστίν μοι ὃ θέλω ποιῆσαι ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς;

Luke xv 31 τὰ ἐμὰ σά ἐστιν.

John xvi 15 έκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήμψεται.

Luke xxii 42 μη τὸ θέλημά μου ἀλλὰ τὸ σὸν γενέσθω.

N.B. 1 John ii 2 ίλασμός ἐστι περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, οὐ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων δὲ μόνον. A test passage, where the distinction is clear between ἡμῶν unemphatic and ἡμετέρων emphatic.

John xv 20 εἰ τὸν λόγον μου ἐτήρησαν, καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον τηρήσουσιν.

(b) When used adjectivally, with substantive as well as with article.

Clear cases of emphasis.

(i) To distinguish between persons.

John vii 6 ὁ καιρὸς ὁ ἐμὸς οὖπω πάρεστιν, ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ὁ ὑμέτερος....

Rom. iii 7 ή ἀλήθεια τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ψεύσματι ἐπερίσσευσεν.

2 Cor. ii 3 ή έμη χαρά πάντων ύμων έστιν.

Matt. vii 3 την δε εν τῷ σῷ ὀφθαλμῷ δοκὸν οὐ κατανοείς.

I Cor. xiv 16 δ άναπληρων...πως έρει τὸ 'Αμήν έπὶ τῆ σῆ εὐχαριστία.

There are twenty-six such instances in all.

- (ii) Emphasis general.
 - 1 Cor. xvi 21, Col. iv 18, 2 Thess. iii 17 τῆ ἐμῆ χειρὶ Παύλου. Cf. Gal. vi 11, Philem. 19.

Philem. 12 τοῦτ' ἔστιν τὰ ἐμὰ σπλάγχνα. Cf. 10, 3 John 4.

John xv 9 μείνατε ἐν τῆ ἀγάπη τῆ ἐμῆ, and note the omission of emphasis when the phrase is repeated in 10 ἐν τῆ ἀγάπη μου. Cf. v. 30, viii 16, 31.

John x 26 οὖκ ἐστὲ ἐκ τῶν προβάτων τῶν ἐμῶν. Cf. 27.

1 Cor. vii 40 μακαριωτέρα δέ έστιν . . . κατά την έμην γνώμην.

Acts v 4 οὐχὶ μένον σοὶ ἔμενεν καὶ πραθὲν ἐν τῆ σῆ ἐξουσία ὑπῆρχεν: Philem. 14 χωρὶς δὲ τῆς σῆς γνώμης οὐδὲν ἠθέλησα ποιῆσαι.

Besides these there are a number of other passages in which the emphasis is not so immediately obvious. Taking the emphatic use of the possessive as proved by the previous examples, these afford interesting exercises in the interpretation of emphasis.

- (a) John iii 29 αὖτη οὖν ή χαρὰ ἡ ἐμὴ πεπλήρωται (like that of other bridegroom's friends).
 - 1 Cor. i 15 ΐνα μή τις εἴπη ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα ἐβαπτίσθητε (rather than in Christ's Name).
 - Matt. vii 22 οὐ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι ἐπροφητείσαμεν, καὶ τῷ σῷ ὀνόματι . . . ; (was it not in Thy Name?).
 - John xviii 35 τὸ ἔθνος τὸ σὸν . . . παρέδωκάν σε ἐμοί (not Romans or Greeks).
 - Rom. xv 4 őσα γὰρ προεγράφη, εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν έγράφη (rather than for the instruction of contemporaries).
 - Acts xxvii 34 τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὑπάρχει (not merely for mine).
- (b) Where it has the force of own.

τῆ ἐμῆ χειρί, &c. See under (ii) and Acts ii 11.

(c) or of well-known.

Acts xxiv 4 παρακαλώ ἀκοῦσαι . . . τῆ σῆ ἐπιεικεία. Cf. 2, xxvi 5.

- (d) Or to express contempt.
 - Ι Cor. viii 11 ἀπόλλυται ὁ ἀσθειών ἐν τῆ σῆ γνώσει.
- (e) There is lastly a considerable group of passages which occur in



Sayings of the Lord; many of them, naturally, in St John: where the emphatic possessive seems to express either a claim to authority on the part of the Speaker, or such a contrast as that between Himself as antitype and the type which He is superseding. Similar cases will be noticed when we come to deal with the nominative case of $\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\dot{\omega}$.

Matt. xviii 20 οὖ γάρ εἰσι δύο ἢ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα. Luke xxii 19, 1 Cor. xi 24, 25 εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

John viii 31 ἐὰν ὑμεῖς μείνητε ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐμῷ and eight similar passages in St John.

Ι Cor. xi 25 τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἴματι.

The general conclusions as to the possessive pronoun, therefore, seem to be these:—

- (a) The whole question is best tested through $\epsilon\mu\delta$ s. Some emphatic form of possessive was needed: $\mu o v$ was never emphatic. $\epsilon\mu\delta$ was not used as an ordinary possessive. Therefore $\epsilon\mu\delta$ s filled the necessary place, and $\sigma\delta$ s, &c., naturally followed suit.
- (b) They can be used wherever $\epsilon \gamma \omega$ (σv , &c.) can be used in the nominative, or where 'own' and the like can be expressed in the English rendering.
- (c) The repetition of the article with the possessive is in no sense specially emphatic. It is a Johannine use only, though St John does not use it invariably. Beyond this there is no difference between his use of the possessive and that of the rest of the Greek Testament writers.

Ambrose J. Wilson.

ST MATTHEW VI 1-6 AND OTHER ALLIED PASSAGES.

Jewish sources describing the actual life under Pharisaic conditions have not verified the current explanation of the reproaches brought against the hypocrites who give alms in the presence of others and while doing so sound a trumpet before them in the synagogues and in the streets, and pray in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets that they may be seen of men (Matt. vi 1-6). Certainly, then as now, there were men who paraded their generosity to have glory of their fellows. But I can recall no reference in early Rabbinical literature to people who prayed in the streets, unless it be inferred,

from the express legal prohibition of the practice, that it occurred. But as to sounding the trumpet while giving alms; the commentators take the phrase metaphorically; while yet the rest of the passage must be explained literally, unless it is to lose all force. The clue to the real meaning of the whole section may be found, I believe, in the very phrase which, so far from being a metaphor, directs us to the only circumstances under which the reproaches would have been relevant.

It must first be observed that the three reproaches are continued by a fourth in verse 16: 'Moreover when ye fast be not, as the hypocrites, of a sad countenance: for they disfigure their faces, that they may be seen of men to fast.' This disfigurement on fast-days is interpreted by the command that the disciples should anoint their heads and wash their faces when fasting, so as to keep secret their act of asceticism. But how often did these fasts occur that there should be ground for so general a charge against the hypocrites?

All these difficulties disappear, and the whole passage becomes intelligible, when the verses are referred to the procedure on public fasts. The Mishnah tells us that on these days of public fasting on occasion of a drought, the scene of the service was the street or marketplace (Taanith II & 1 seq.); the leaders of the community gathered there round the Ark containing the Law; and after an address by one of the Rabbis, who reminded the assemblage of the example of Nineveh and called his hearers to genuine repentance, the prayers for rain commenced. Here, then, we have the only prayers recorded as being recited in the streets, and of the many present it may well be that some joined with no true humiliation in their hearts but to be seen of men in the assembly, and some stood at the street corners praying with questionable sincerity. The people as a whole are not, it is true, represented as praying at these public fasts; they merely respond Amen. But we read how they broke into tears when Rabbi Eliezer addressed them and recited the prayer composed by himself (T. B. Taanith 25 b). But it is especially to be noticed that on such occasions the ram's horn (shofar) was blown after each of the six additional benedictions at the end of the prayers. The overseer (hazan) of the congregation gave the direction, 'Blow, ye priests, blow (the horn),' and again, 'Sound, ye sons of Aaron, sound.' We have, at all events, the precise statement that this was the mode of procedure in Sepphoris in the age of Halafta and Hananja ben Teradjon. Now it was well understood that on such days, when God's mercy was besought, men must themselves exercise mercy practically in the form of almsgiving. Thus we read (T. B. Synhedrin 35 a): 'R. Eliezer says, Whoever postpones over night the distribution of the alms in connexion with the fast is as though he shed blood.' This implies that on fast-days alms were promised, but not always given on the spot. The same teacher deduces from Isa. lviii 5 sq. that almsgiving is the primary condition of the acceptance of the worshipper's prayer on fast-days (T. J. Taanith II vi 65 b line 14 sq.). And a characteristic story is told (in Genesis Rabba xxxiii 3; Leviticus Rabba xxxiv 14), how that Rabbi Tanhuma once decreed a public fast during a calamitous drought. When the rain still failed to descend, though the fast was thrice repeated, the Rabbi rose and said, 'My children, be full of mercy towards one another, then will God have mercy on you.' The people thereupon distributed alms. This practice seems to me to underlie the reproach against the public distribution of alms in Matt. vi 2.

In the light of this theory as to the circumstances referred to in the passage from Matthew, we can now consider some other allusions to fasting in the Gospels. It has already been suggested above that Matt. vi 16 which is a continuation of verse 6-after the digression on the Lord's Prayer—deals also with the same public fasts on occasion of drought or exceptional calamity. We are elsewhere informed that the disciples of John the Baptist and of the Pharisees 'were fasting' (Mk. ii 18; cp. Matt. ix 14; Lk. v 33). This also can only refer to an occasional fast in time of drought, as Schürer points out (II⁴ 572; Eng. Tr. Vol. II div. ii p. 119). It has been inferred from Lk. xviii 12 that the stricter Pharisees already at this early period practised the custom of fasting twice every week throughout the year, though for this usage (well known of course in the later Judaism) only one Rabbinic confirmation is quoted, the passage (T. B. Taanith 12 a) cited by This passage, however, by no means shews that the regular Monday and Thursday fasts were so ancient. The simplest view seems to be that Luke xviii 12, as well as the other passages, refers to the exceptional fasts during October-November, when severe pietists fasted on Mondays and Thursdays if the rain failed. At the close of this period every one was required to fast, but the Pharisee of Luke puts himself forward as a specially strict observer of the rite, and such pietists (yehidim) fasted several Mondays and Thursdays during the drought (T. B. Taanith 10 a and b). Didache viii 1 has these same Autumn fasts in mind, for the context shews that the author is basing his statement on Matt. vi, which we have before seen reason to assign to the same special series of fasts during drought. In short, the whole argument tends to the conclusion that these discourses regarding fasting were all spoken during the month October-November when, as we might put it, fasting was in the air.

In this connexion I venture to offer an explanation of the difficulty

presented by the first clause in the second of the Oxyrhynchus Sayings. The Greek runs: έὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον, οὐ μὴ ευρητε την βασιλείαν του θεου κτλ., Except ye fast the world ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God, and except ye make the Sabbath a real Sabbath ye shall not see the Father.' Here the phrase τον κόσμον seems to be the translation of the Hebrew עולם or the Aramaic עלמא Both these words mean simply 'the people', and the same usage occurs in Syriac. Hence the meaning is 'Except ye fast with the world' i. e. with the rest of the people in distress. This is very closely paralleled by the following passage, from the second century at latest, to be found in T. B. Tractate Taanith fol. 11 a: 'If any one separates from Israel when it is in trouble, the two angels which accompany a man come and place their hands on his head and say, This man who separated from the community shall not behold the consolation of the community.' That this 'separation' refers to dissociation from a common fast in some time of distress is shewn by the next passage. 'When the community is plunged in distress one shall not say, I will go to my house, I will eat and drink, and thou, my soul, wilt be in peace; if he does this, concerning him is written Isa, xxii 13. But a man shall share the pain of the community, and whoever pains himself with the congregation shares the privilege of beholding the consolation of the community.' Thus the Saying seems directed against those who failed to observe the Sabbath and the public fasts with the community. Here again, then, we have the fact that the reference to fasting applies specifically to the fasting period, for it was only then that public fasts were prevalent.

It also seems to me probable that the Beatitudes in the previous chapter of Matthew are to be referred for their immediate application, to a period of drought when the poor were starving and required a message of comfort. Commentators have pointed out that Matt. v 3 should read 'Blessed are the poor' as in Lk. vi 20, the words 'in spirit' being an interpretation. Luke has only two other beatitudes, of those who hunger and those who weep. Matthew not only adds the meek but makes of those who hunger and thirst, people who hunger and thirst after righteousness (or because of righteousness). The two following beatitudes in Matt. (v 7 and 8) no longer refer to the poor but to the rich. It is their duty to have mercy on the poor and thus shew themselves 'pure in heart'. But they failed to perform this duty in times of drought when it was most specially incumbent on them. Hence 'Woe unto you that are rich... Woe unto you that are full' (Lk. vi 24 sq.).

Thus the consideration of these passages confirms the suggestion that the discourses and exhortations here brought together may have been uttered in the month October-November. That they afterwards received and were capable of receiving a wider application does not invalidate their original restriction to a particular period and special circumstances.

ADOLF BÜCHLER.

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF ORIGEN'S COMMENTARY ON I CORINTHIANS.

I no not think that the Journal of Theological Studies, in the nine years of its existence, has published any contribution to theological learning more solid and more valuable than the edition of the fragments of Origen on St Paul's epistles to Ephesus and Corinth. We owe, indeed, to Cramer's Catena our first introduction to the greater part of these fragments: but the copyists whom Cramer employed were capable of quite phenomenal blunders, and to Mr Gregg and Mr Jenkins belonged in effect, in each case, both the labour and the merit of an editio princeps.

Certain it is that these commentaries contain many interesting things which appear so far to have escaped the notice of Church historians. A reference to the inconsistencies between the duty of a Christian and the duty of a soldier (on 1 Cor. v 11) has escaped even Harnack's encyclopaedic knowledge of early Christian literature. The summary of the Eucharistic service as the 'invocation of the name of God and of Christ and of the Holy Spirit' over the elements (on I Cor. vii 5) is absent from Mr Brightman's collection of liturgical passages from the Egyptian fathers. And I myself, when writing on Patristic commentaries on St Paul (in the supplementary volume to Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible p. 489), ought to have cited Origen's distinct allusions to a predecessor or predecessors in the exegesis of the same epistle: οἱ λοιποὶ έρμηνευταί . . . φασίν (on 1 Cor. vii 24), τινές εζήτησαν τίς ή διαφορά τῶν ύπὸ τὸν νόμον παρὰ τοὺς 'Ιουδαίους (on 1 Cor. ix 20). Note further the information about Ophites (on xii 3), about Montanists (on xiv 34), about heretics who used the Creed (on xv 20), about parts of the Old Testament unsuitable for Church lessons (on xiv 7, 8), about a Pauline citation found in Aquila and the other interpreters but not in the LXX text (on xiv 21), about Apollos being bishop of Corinth (on xvi 12).

Any fragments of the original Greek of Origen's work on the New Testament are worth all that we can devote to them of loving and patient study: and it is in the spirit of sincere gratitude for Mr Jenkins's services to this subject that I call attention to some difficulties and offer some suggestions of my own. It is only by the successive contributions of many scholars that a final result will be attained.

§ xxxvii l. 19. For πάλιν οὐ καλόν ἐστι read πάλιν οὐκ ἄ⟨τοπ⟩όν ἐστι. The two clauses, ll. 16–18, 19–22, appear to be exactly parallel, each referring to one half of the verse I Cor. vii 18: οὐκ ἄτοπόν ἐστι τῷ ῥητῷ χρήσασθαί ποτε πρὸς τοὺς οἰομένους μετὰ τὴν πίστιν δεῖν περιτέμνεσθαι ἐξ εὐλαβείας . . . πάλιν οὐκ ἄ⟨τοπ⟩όν ἐστι διά τινας τοὺς ἐκ περιτομῆς πιστεύοντας καὶ οἰομένους αἰσχύνην φέρειν αὐτοῖς τὴν περιτομήν, καὶ βουλομένους ἀκροβυστίαν ⟨ἐπι⟩σπᾶσθαι [so I suppose we must read for περισπᾶσθαι], χρῆσθαι ῥητῷ τῷ λέγοντι . . .

§ xxxix 1. 6. ἄκουε γάρ, φησίν, τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ διδάσκοντος έν αὐτῷ καὶ λέγοντος . . . A comma is necessary after εὐαγγελίου.

ib. ll. 38-41. οὐκοῦν δεδεμένον μὲν εἶπεν τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν γεγαμηκότα· εἰ δὲ περίστασίς ἐστι τὸ δεδέσθαι, καὶ δεῖ φεύγειν τὰς περιστάσεις ὅση δύναμις. καὶ τὸ δεδέσθαι γυναικὶ μὴ ζήτει λύειν, ὁ δὲ μὴ δεδεμένος ὀφείλει φυλάττεσθαι ἴνα μὴ δεθῆ. This punctuation is unsatisfactory: it does not offer any proper antithesis between μέν and δέ, and it makes the clause καὶ δεῖ φεύγειν. . δύναμις the apodosis to εἰ δὲ . . δεδέσθαι, which is extraordinarily harsh. The sense must I think be 'On the one hand he calls the husband "in bonds": but even if it is a calamity to be in bonds, and we must avoid calamities to the best of our power, yet do not seek to loose the bonds binding you to a wife. On the other hand he that is not in bonds ought to guard himself against them'. The comma and full stop after δύναμις and λύειν might therefore be interchanged. But even this is unsatisfactory: Dr Swete suggests that we should read ζητεῖν—so that καὶ τὸ . . . μὴ ζητεῖν λύειν would be still part of the protasis—and suppose something lost.

§ xl l. 16. ἴνα μὴ τῆ προφάσει αὐτοῦ ἄλλοι ἀπολλύωνται. Rom. xiv 15. § xlii ll. 13, 14. οὖτος οὖν ἐστιν ὁ μισθός, ἴνα ὅπου ἐξουσίαν ἔχω μὴ ποιήσω. Origen is commenting on 1 Cor. ix 17 εἰ γὰρ ἑκὼν τοῦτο πράσσω, μισθὸν ἔχω· εἰ δὲ ἄκων . . . , and his point is that we can only claim reward for what we do without being forced to it, when we might have left it undone. Read therefore ἴνα ὅπου ἐξουσίαν ἔχω μὴ ⟨ποιῆσαι⟩ ποιήσω.

§ xliii l. 24. αμα δὲ τηρεῖ καὶ τὸ ἀκριβὲς αὐτοῦ. Read certainly τήρει in the imperative [suggested tentatively by Mr Jenkins in his apparatus].

26. Ἰουδαῖος γὰρ ἢν ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ, οὐκέτι ἐν τῷ φανερῷ. Rom. ii
 28, 29.

§ xliv l. 6. Dele comma after σωζόμενοι.

ib. ll. 6-9. ἐν τῷ σταδίω οὖν πάντες τρέχουσιν, ὅσοι πρὸς δόγμα πολι-

τεύονται καὶ οὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰρέσεων πρὸς δόγμα πολιτεύονται, καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι τάχα, καὶ οὶ τὰ Ἑλλήνων πρὸς δόγμα πολιτεύονται φιλοσοφοῦντες. καὶ οὖτοι εἰσὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν σταδίφ τρέχοντες. Read in both instances οἱ for οἴ, and print the last πάντες in thick type. Origen is not dividing heretics and philosophers into the two classes of those who had a rule of life and those who had not, but he means that heresy, and Judaism, and Gentile philosophy, had each some rule of life and conduct. The 'one that receives the prize' is the Church: the 'all who run' are the religions outside the Church, all that have a rule of life: 'even the heretics have a rule of life; and Jews may be, and those who follow Gentile philosophy, have a rule of life.'

 \S xlvii ll. 10, 11. εἰδὼς κινδυνεύειν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δοκιμάζειν ἢ ἀποδοκιμάζειν. I suspect we ought to read τό for τῷ, 'knowing that he may have to accept or reject.'

ib. ll. 15–17. οὐ μόνον οὖν εἴ τις ἀγνοεῖ τὰ τοῦ ἀποστόλου, οὖτος ἀγνοεῖται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἀγνοεῖ λέγων πνεύματι θείψ (καὶ) λέγοι ὅτι μὴ πνεύματι θεοῦ λέγει, ἀγνοεῖται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. Here the meaning of the two balanced clauses ought to be that the 'ignorance' which results in being 'ignored' by God is not only that which takes the true to be false but also that which takes the false to be true. Read therefore in the second clause ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἀγνοεῖ λέγων 'Πνεύματι θείψ λέγει' ὅ τι [οτ ὅτε] μὴ πνεύματι θείψ λέγει, κτλ. [This and the preceding sentence ought I think to be run on with the last paragraph, and the new paragraph should begin at ἔοικε δέ.]

§ xlviii l. 4. ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου ρητοῦ ἀναφωνεῖ ὅτι κτλ. I suggest ἐκ τοῦ δεύτερον ρητοῦ ἀναφαίνει ὅτι κτλ., referring to δεύτερον προφήτας of 1 Cor. xii 28.

ib. ll. 7-11. ὅστε εἶναι τινὰ μὲν προφητείαν ὑπερβεβηκυῖαν τινὰ δὲ προφητείαν ἀναβεβηκυῖαν. τὴν μὲν γὰρ καθολικωτέραν καὶ μιμουμένην τὰς προφητείας Ἡσαίου καὶ Ἱερεμίου δευτέραν τάξιν μετὰ τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἐρεῖ, ταύτην δὲ τὴν τελευταίαν τεταγμένην τάξιν μετὰ τὰ εἰρημένα χαρίσματα τοιαύτην οὖσαν κτλ. This ought to mean 'at the top of the list', 'at the bottom of the list', but I cannot get that sense out of the two words. The next sentence, too, I cannot translate as it stands, and would prefer to run it on with what precedes and govern it still by εἶναι of l. 7, omitting γάρ and in l. 10 substituting ἐκεῖ, ταύτη δὲ 'in that passage, and in this' for ἐρεῖ, ταύτην δὲ.

Il. 22–25. ὅρα εἰ δύναμαι ἔτι παραστῆσαι σαφέστερον τὸ λεγόμενον Ὁ θεός κτλ. According to this punctuation Origen is trying 'to give a clearer proof' of the whole verse I Cor. xii 28. But the words can only mean a clearer proof than that which he has just given, i.e. of the dual form of prophecy, and we must put a full stop after $\lambda \epsilon \gamma \delta \mu \epsilon \nu o \nu$. Then follows this 'clearer' proof: 'not all are apostles,' 'not all are

prophets' in the sense of xii 28: whereas in the other sense of prophecy, xiv 24, 'all' may prophesy.

- § xlix l. 41. A comma, not colon, is wanted after ἐστὶ διάλεκτος.
- ib. l. 45. ἄσημον δίδωσι φωνήν. Ι Cor. xiv 8, 9.
- ib. 1. 48. οὐδὲν γὰρ ποιεῖ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἤτοι τῶν ἀγγέλων τρανῆ καὶ σαφῆ, ὡς ἡ ἀγάπη. I suppose we must understand (τὴν) γλῶσσαν from the line before.
- § li ll. 9, 10. μαχόμενον πραγμά έστι· τὸ ἀγαπαν, τὸ ζηλοῦν. Possibly μαχόμενον πραγμά έστι τῷ ἀγαπαν τὸ ζηλοῦν.
- l. 17. οἶον μήτηρ τὸ ἀγαπῶν τὸν νίὸν ἢ πατὴρ οῦ ζητεῖ τὰ ἴδια ὡς τὰ τοῦ νίοῦ. Read τῷ ἀγαπῶν: 'as a mother or father through loving the child seek not their own so much as the things of the child.'
 - § liv l. 5. $\epsilon a v \tau \hat{\varphi} \lambda a \lambda \epsilon \hat{\iota} \kappa a \hat{\iota} \tau \hat{\varphi} \theta \epsilon \hat{\varphi}$. 1 Cor. xiv 28.
- § lvi ll. 8–11. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς θεωρίας δόγματα αὐλὸν καὶ κιθάραν εἶπεν ὡς μηδὲν ἐμφαίνοντα ἠθικόν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' ἀρετὴν προτρεπομένους σάλπιγγ(α) διὰ τοῦδε (ἔστιν) εἰπεῖν ὅτι τὰ ἀσαφῆ τῆς γραφῆς . . . οὐ δεῖ ἀναγινώσκειν. The MS gives σάλπιγγι διὰ τοῦ δὲ εἰπεῖν. A simpler change than that adopted would perhaps be τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' ἀρετὴν προτρεπομένους σάλπιγγα διὰ τοῦτο εἶπεν, ὅτι κτλ. : but I rather think that the corruption is more extensive, and that διὰ τοῦ δὲ εἰπεῖν introduced a citation of the words καὶ ὑμεῖς . . . ἐὰν μὴ εὖσημον λόγον δῶτε, followed by some such verb as ἐσήμηνεν or ὑπέδειξεν. This latter suggestion has the sanction of Dr Swete.
- § lx l. 6. $\epsilon \pi \iota \delta \omega \sigma \omega \mu \epsilon \nu$. The aorist subjunctive $\epsilon \pi \iota \delta \omega \sigma \omega \mu \epsilon \nu$ would make better sense, if the form had sufficient authority.
- § lxvi ll. 10, 11. δ $\theta \epsilon \delta s$ $\epsilon \nu$ $\tau \hat{\omega}$ $\pi \nu \epsilon \hat{\nu} \mu \alpha \tau \hat{\iota}$ $\epsilon \sigma \tau \iota$ $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ $\tau o \iota o \hat{\nu} \tau \nu \nu$. $\epsilon \iota$ $\delta \hat{\epsilon}$ $\kappa \alpha \hat{\iota}$ $\tau \hat{\alpha}$ $\lambda o \iota \pi \hat{\alpha}$ $\chi a \rho \hat{\iota} \sigma \mu \alpha \tau \alpha$ $\sigma \eta \mu \epsilon \hat{\iota} \hat{\alpha}$ $\hat{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \iota$ $\tau o \hat{\nu}$ δ notice $\epsilon \hat{\iota}$ nail $\theta \epsilon \delta n$, $\hat{\epsilon} \nu$ $\tau \hat{\iota} \nu \iota$ $\xi \eta \tau \eta \tau \hat{\epsilon} \sigma \nu$; Transpose the comma from $\theta \epsilon \delta \nu$ to $\tau \iota \nu \iota$, make the latter word enclitic, and abolish the note of interrogation: 'but we must enquire whether the other charismata as well (as prophecy) are signs of God's being really in a man.'
- § lxxii ll. 2-4. πνευματικός ἐστιν ὁ πάντα λόγον καὶ πάντα νοῦν δυνάμενος βασανίζειν, καὶ διὰ πολλὴν βαθύτητα νοῦ δυσδιάγνωστον ὅντα ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι ἀνακρίνεσθαι. Comparing 1 Cor. ii 15 and lines 7-9 of § lxxiii, I do not see how we can avoid altering to δυσδιάγνωστος ὧν.
- § lxxiii l. 15. For colon after $\pi\rho o\phi \dot{\eta} \tau \alpha s$ substitute comma: the words $\dot{\epsilon} \zeta \dot{\eta} \tau \sigma v \tau \dot{\epsilon}$ $\delta \dot{\eta} \pi \sigma \tau \dot{\epsilon}$ cover the next two lines. 'I used often to wonder why the false prophets had more influence with the kings than the true, and yet that their books were not copied or preserved while those of the true prophets were.' It was the combination of phenomena which had excited Origen's surprise.
- § lxxiv ll. 3-5. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἐντολῆς [sc. that women should keep silence in church] οὐκ ἦσαν οἱ τῶν γυναικῶν μαθηταί, οἱ μαθητευθέντες VOL. X.

Πρισκίλλη καὶ Μαξιμίλλη, οὐ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τῆς νύμφης. The editor rightly sees two difficulties: the first he meets by suggesting ἀκροαταί after ἐντολῆς, for the other he suggests Χριστῷ τῷ ἀνδρί. I would, in the first case, get the same sense, but by reading οὐκ ἢ(κου)σαν for οὐκ ἢσαν. As regards the second, the placing of the words οἱ . . . Μαξιμίλλη within dashes, as an explanatory parenthesis, would perhaps remove the difficulty.

- ib. ll. 8, 9. ταῦτα δὲ λύσομεν. πρῶτον μὲν λέγοντες ὅτι Αὶ ἡμέτεραι προεφήτευον, δείξατε τὰ σημεῖα τῆς προφητείας ἐν αὐταῖς: δεύτερον δέ Εἰ καὶ προεφήτευον κτλ. Put comma for full stop after λύσομεν, and read Εἰ αὶ ὑμέτεραι.
- ib. l. 34. Instead of a colon, a new paragraph should, I think, begin at αἰσχρὸν γὰρ γυναικί.
- ib. l. 36. Γυνὴ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ δηλονότι κατὰ τὸ αἰσχρὸν λέγεται ἐπὶ κατηγορίᾳ τῆς ὅλης ἐκκλησίας. There is something wrong here, either in the text or the punctuation: could we read ἄναρθρον for αἰσχρόν? and perhaps transfer γυνή to the previous sentence, putting the full stop after instead of before it? "In church": it is put without the article, clearly in order to apply to the whole church,' and not to Corinth alone. But I admit that this is violent: and the fault may lie in κατά.
- ib. l. 41. τοῦτο οὖν λέγει ὅτι ἀπέστειλεν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸν κόσμον. Jo. iii 17 (Gal. iv 4).
- § lxxv ll. 3–5. ἴνα . . . ποιήση ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος πνεύματος πνευματικούς καὶ οὖτως ἐπὶ τοῦ κρίνειν ποῖα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστιν ἢ ποῖα οὖκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ. There is something wrong in ἐπὶ τοῦ: read perhaps ἐπιτ(ηδεί)ου(ς) κρίνειν.
- § lxxvi ll. 14–16. εἰσόμεθα ὅτι ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὸν εἰκἢ πεπιστευκότα οὖτω πεπιστευκέναι ψευδεῦ ἀλλὰ τὸ πεπιστευκέναι μέν, ἀληθεῦ δέ, ἔργον οὐκ ἔστιν ⟨ἐν⟩ κρίσει ⟨δὲ⟩ πιστεύειν. This is quite untranslateable, even as emended (the MS is without either ἐν οτ δέ): the corruption is perhaps deep seated, but part of the reconstructed sentence should probably run οὖ τῷ πεπιστευκέναι ψευδεῦ ἀλλὰ τῷ πεπιστευκέναι μὲν ἀληθεῦ . . .
- § lxxxi ll. 3, 4. οἱ δέ, οἱ ἐτερόδοξοι, ἀλληγοροῦν θέλουσιν τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώ-πων ἀνάστασιν· ἀλληγορήτωσαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος. Read εἰ δὲ οἱ ἐτερόδοξοι κτλ., and substitute comma for colon. [It is further pointed out to me that we must alter to ἀλληγορεῖν and ἀλληγορείτωσαν.]
- § lxxxii l. 3. εἰ καὶ ἦδει τοὺς διαλεκτικοὺς λόγους ὁ Παῦλος, ἀλλὰ φυσικῶς αὐτοῖς ἐχρήσατο. Must we not read εἰ καὶ (μὴ) ἤδει? 'Even if the apostle had [not] learnt dialectics, yet he argued dialectically by the light of nature.'
 - § lxxxiv l. 8. οὐδεὶς δὲ πρωτότοκός ἐστιν ἐτερογενῶς. Read ἐτερογενῶν.
- ib. ll. 13–17. εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐφόρεσε σῶμα, καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις αὐτοῦ μετὰ σώματος ἢν ὥστε αὐτὸν καὶ φαγεῖν ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἰωάννην

εὐαγγελίφ. ἄλλως δὲ ἀνίστανται, ὡς οἴονται οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰρέσεων, οἱ ἀνιστάμενοι τῶν πιστευόντων εἰς τὸν χριστόν. οὐ δύνανται παραστῆσαι πῶς Ἰησοῦς πρωτότοκός ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν. All this, which is divided into three sentences, should be punctuated as one: the first sentence is the one premiss, the second the other premiss, the third the conclusion: 'if on the one hand He wore a body and His resurrection was a bodily resurrection (so that He even ate, as John describes in his gospel), and if on the other hand, as the heretics think, those believers who rise again rise in a different way, without a body; then they cannot shew in what sense Jesus is "firstborn from the dead"'.

- ib. l. 35. ἄνθρωπος ἔσται, μορφωθήσεται, ὀστᾶ ἔσται, ἀπὸ τούτου σάρκες, νεῦρα, φλέβες. Punctuate after τούτου, not after ἔσται: 'from this there shall be bones, flesh, nerves, veins.'
- ib. ll. 40, 41. Substitute comma for full stop after $\tau \hat{\eta}$ τελειότητι τοῦ θεοῦ: and for τὸ σῶμα τὸ ἐνεστηκός, νῦν τὸ παρεστηκός, punctuate τὸ ἐνεστηκὸς νῦν, τὸ παρεστηκός.
- ib. l. 45. ἐκ τῆς διασήψεως τοῦ κόκκου τοῦ σίτου στάχυς ἐκατοντζάκις⟩ γίνεται. MS ἐκατοντόχους: read ἐκατοντζά⟩χους, 'of a hundred measures,' 'yielding fruit a hundredfold.'
- ib. l. 51. τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῦτο τὸ νεκρὸν κόκκος ἐστὶ σίτου τῷ θεῷ ὡς τὸ προαναστησόμενον. I cannot translate the last three words: ἀναστησόμενον should be right, comparing lines 46 and 56, but some corruption must lurk in ὡς τὸ προ. I can think of nothing better than ὡς σπορά.
- ib. l. 55. Substitute comma for full stop after $\tilde{a}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\sigma s$: the next clause is still governed by $\sigma\tilde{v}\tau\omega s$ of l. 54, as $\mu\epsilon\nu$... $\delta\epsilon$ shews.
- ib. l. 57. τὸ ἄπιστον δὲ τῆ ἀναστάσει. Read certainly ἀπιστεῖν [suggested also in the editor's app. crit.].
- ib. ll. 62, 63. καὶ ἐν τοῦς ἑξῆς δὲ ὡς κατὰ τοὺς λέγοντας μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, μηδὲ ζωῆς ὑπαρχούσης κατὰ τὸν βίον τοῦτον, ψησί κτλ. This punctuation obscures the sense: read μετὰ τὸν βίον [suggested also by the editor], place comma after ἐν τοῦς ἑξῆς δέ, and remove that after νεκρῶν: 'and in the next verses, too, he assumes that in the view of those who denied the resurrection of the dead there was no life at all after our present state, and says'
 - ib. l. 67. For ύμας read ήμας.
- ib. ll. 73–75. ως δὲ ἐπὶ παραδείγματος τῶν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ εἴδομεν ἀπαρχὴ ἀναφέρεται σίτου ὑπὸ τῶν σῖτον θερισάντων . . . οὕτως κτλ. For colon after εἴδομεν substitute comma. I find some difficulty in εἴδομεν 'we have seen', for the whole of the passage in which ἀπαρχή might be dealt with seems to have been preserved, and there has been no reference to the firstfruits offered under the law: possibly διδομένων (compare Num. xviii 12 ὅσα ἀν δῶσι τῷ κυρίῳ) 'just as in the parallel

case of the things given under the law an offering is made of corn...'

- ib. l. 76. For δ κύριος ήμιν read δ κύριος ήμων.
- ib. l. 79. εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ ε⟨ τὸχομεν λέξιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, κὰν ἐλέγομεν κτλ. I cannot translate the protasis as it stands: we seem to want something like εἰ μὲν οὖν μόνην (or μὴ ἐτέραν) εἴχομεν λέξιν τῆς ἀπαρχῆς, 'if we had only got the phrase about firstfruits, we might have understood it as firstfruits of the righteous.'
- ib. ll. 82–84. νυνὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι' ἀνθρώπου ὁ θάνατος, καὶ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν· πῶς ἐπί τινας αὐτὸς λέγει ὅ τι ἐπὶ πάντας; ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ 'Αδὰμ πάντες κτλ. I should prefer to punctuate, πῶς; ἐπί τινας; αὐτὸς λέγει ὅτι ἐπὶ πάντας.
- § lxxxvii ll. 2–9. The construction of this sentence would be made clearer if lines 4–7, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς κιγχραμίδος . . . οὐ καταγελῆς, were printed as a parenthesis.
- § Ixxxix l. 3. ἐρώ Δὲ ᾿Απολλώ—τούτου περὶ οὖ φησι τοιαύτης στάσεως καὶ ταραχῆς οὖσης ἐν τῆ Κορινθίων ἐκκλησία. ὁ θαυμάσιος οὖτος ᾿Απολλώς κτλ. Clearly the full stop should be after ϕ ησί, and the clause τοιαύτης . . . ἐκκλησία introduces the new sentence.
- ib. l. 10. ἀναγκαίως μετὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς πέμπων αὐτὸν παρακατατιθέναι τῆ ἐκκλησία. Read παρακατατίθεται: the verb is only used in the middle voice.
- ib. l. 24. Substitute comma for full stop after $\pi o i \dot{\eta} \sigma \omega v$: lines 23 to 27 form a single sentence, and the $v \hat{v} v \mu \epsilon v$ of l. 23 is answered (I suppose) by $\dot{a} \lambda \lambda \dot{a}$ of l. 25.
- ib. ll. 28, 29. ἐκδέχομαι οὖν ἀκούων αὐτὸν ἐπανελευσόμενον, ἀπαγγέλλοντά μοι τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς. I do not think this can mean either 'I am waiting to hear that he is coming back' (which is doubtful grammar), or 'I am expecting him, for I hear that he is coming back' (which is untrue to fact): the sentence is complete without ἀκούων, and something like τάχιον would give better sense. [ἀκούειν has been suggested to me, and is certainly a very easy change.]
- ib. l. 33. οὐκ ἐπεδικάζετο τοῦτό που, ἀλλὰ παρεχώρησεν. Read ¦τοῦ τόπου [so even Cramer]: 'he did not claim the position [of bishop], but retired.' Possibly the text reading is a misprint.
 - ib. l. 35. For ἀπιθήσας read ἀπειθήσας.

C. H. TURNER.

NOTE ON A READING IN EUSEBIUS'S ECCLE-SIASTICAL HISTORY I 2.

ALL who are familiar with the textual problems of Eusebius's History are aware that there are several passages in which not only later correctors but the copyists also allowed themselves considerable freedom in dealing with the text which lay before them—in the supposed interests of doctrinal orthodoxy. Instances of this are especially frequent, as might be expected, in the second chapter of Book I, in which the Person and pre-existence of our Lord are discussed. The two good Florentine MSS, Laurent. 70, 7 [T] and Laurent. 70, 20 [E], have suffered cruelly in this respect at the hands of late correctors; but attention may be called to a case in which the 'emendation' of Eusebius goes back to a much earlier date. There is the more reason for asking for a reconsideration of it because Dr Schwartz, in the great edition published under the auspices of the Berlin Academy, has thrown over the reading hitherto generally accepted and returned to that of Valesius.

The passage in question is as follows. It is given, for reasons which will presently appear, according to the text found in one of the oldest MSS [M], no. 338 in the library of St Mark at Venice.

Τοῦτον καὶ ὁ Μωυσέως διάδοχος Ἰησοῦς ὡς ἂν τῶν οὐρανίων ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων τῶν τε ὑπερκοσμίων δυνάμεων ἡγούμενον καὶ ὡσανεὶ τοῦ πρς¹ ὑπάρχων [-οι] τὰ δευτερεῖα τῆς κατὰ πάντων βασιλείας τε καὶ ἀρχῆς ἐμπεπιστευμένον ἀρχιστράτηγον δυνάμεως Κυρίου ὀνομάζει οὐκ ἄλλως αὐτὸν ἢ αὖθις ἐν ἀνθρώπου μορφῆ καὶ σχήματι θεωρήσας.

The reference is of course to Joshua v 13-15. Now, whatever the original text may have been, it was clearly the cause of great searchings of heart to the copyists, as the following select list of the readings of the other good extant MSS will shew. They are denoted by the letters used by Dr Schwartz, but the collations (except in the case of the Moscow MS [R], Library of the Holy Synod 50) are independent.

ώς ἃν εἰ τοῦ πρς ὑπάρχοντα καὶ τὰ δευτερεῖα R: ὡς ἃν εἰκόνα τοῦ πρς ὑπάρχοντα καὶ τὰ δευτ. TE: ὡσανεὶ τοῦ πρς ὑπάρχοντα ἰσοκλεῆ [$\it om$. τὰ δευτ.] B: ὡσανεὶ τοῦ πρς ὑπάρχοντα δύναμιν καὶ σοφίαν καὶ τὰ δευτ. A.

Of Rufinus's Latin translation all that can be said is that it evades the difficulty in characteristic fashion by omission, and the same is true of the Syriac Version.

On examining these variations it is clear that they may have arisen either from a misunderstanding of some word or from a desire to correct

¹ Here and in the variae lectiones supply the compendium mark over $\pi \rho s$.

an expression which was regarded as unorthodox, or from both causes combined. The second objection probably operated in the mind of the corrector of E who erased the clause καὶ τὰ δευτερεία . . . ὀνομάζει and it will be seen that the words τὰ δευτερεία are also omitted in the Paris MS gr. 1431 [B]. The addition ἐσοκλεῆ in B may safely be rejected as an obvious attempt to help out the sense. The reading adopted by Dr Schwartz, as by Valesius, is that of the Paris MS gr. 1430 [A] ώς αν εί τοῦ πρς ὑπάργοντα δύναμιν καὶ σοφίαν καὶ τὰ δευτερεία κτλ. The fact that it is quoted in this form by Zonaras, in a collection of passages designed to shew the Arianizing tendencies of Eusebius, merely proves that in the twelfth century the secretary of Alexius Comnenus found it in the MSS of Eusebius which he used, and nothing more. But if it be regarded as original, it is very difficult to account for any variation. The scribe would indeed be hard to please who cavilled at the orthodoxy of δύναμιν καὶ σοφίαν in view of 1 Cor. i 24, which Dr Schwartz, of course, cites as an illustration. Surely these words are much more likely to have been added (like ἰσοκλεή in B) to make ώς αν εὶ τοῦ πρς ὑπάρχοντα intelligible, than to have been omitted from the text either deliberately or by inadvertence if they were originally contained in it.

The readings of the Florence MSS TE are always entitled to respect; but in the present case there is again a difficulty in believing the reading ws αν εἰκόνα τοῦ πρε ὑπάρχοντα καὶ τὰ δευτερεῖα κτλ. to be original, though it is far more attractive than that of A. Objection on the part of a scribe to the expression εἰκόνα τοῦ πατρός, taken in connexion with the rest of the passage, is perhaps possible on doctrinal grounds, but in view of 2 Cor. iv 4, Col. i 15 is scarcely probable. It may be urged that the ωσανεί of other MSS conceals this reading; might it not be rejoined with almost equal force that it explains it? Had the reading been not ως αν εἰκόνα but ωσανεὶ εἰκόνα it might well have been argued that in the other MSS εἰκόνα has dropped out per homoeoarcton. But if the scribe had before him such a text as ωσανει του πρε υπαρχον τα κτλ., and either misunderstood or objected to what he read, is not εἰκόνα just one of those clever emendations against which we write diserte, and which, none the less, are only too often wrong?

What then was the original text? I venture to suggest that it underlies the reading of the Venice MS M with which we started. This tenth-century MS is one of the oldest we possess for the *History*. Its spelling is weak, and it has been singularly unfortunate in its collators. With curious unanimity, if little independence, its reading in the present passage has been given by Stroth, Zimmermann, Heinichen, Burton, and

¹ So, carlier in the same chapter, a scribe has recorded in the Vatican MS 399 his disapproval of the expression τον δεύτερον μετά τον Πατέρα τῶν ὅλων αἴτιον by the terse marginal comment 'Ασεβές!

Laemmer as ώσανεί τοῦ πρε υπαρχον, τὰ δευτερεία . . . εμπεπιστευμένον, and adopted by them in their text. The Rev. H. N. Bate, who examined the MS more recently, notes 'ὑπάρχων [ω in leui rasura sed distincte]', and Dr Schwartz gives its reading as ' ὑπάρχοι Μ ὑπάρχοι in υπάρχων corr. M1'. It may be urged then that if the editors from Stroth to Laemmer were right, as we believe them to have been, in the reading they selected, they were wrong in the reason assigned. But unless the ungrammatical $i\pi\acute{a}\rho\chi\omega\nu$ be a misspelling of $i\pi a\rho\chi\sigma\nu$ which is just possible, then ὑπάρχοι and ὑπάρχων represent early stages of corruption of ὑπαρχον misunderstood or rejected. The word $\tilde{v}\pi a\rho \chi os$ in the sense of 'one who commands under another', though not a very common one, possesses most respectable authority. It is found in Herodotus, Sophocles, Xenophon, and in inscriptions. It is also used by Polybius, between whose vocabulary and that of Eusebius the student who cares to pursue the search may find many parallels, and by Philo De Monarch. i I quoted by Eus. Pr. Ev. xiii 18 (704 c). Taken in connexion with this and the next clause, τὰ δευτερεία τῆς κατὰ πάντων βασιλείας τε καὶ ἀρχῆς έμπεπιστευμένον, it might well cause qualms as to its doctrinal correctness in a scribe who understood it, while one who failed to do so would cut the knot by an emendation which if it possessed no authority at any rate 'made sense'. From ώσανεὶ τοῦ πρς ὖπαρχον, τὰ δευτερεία... έμπεπιστευμένον would come ὑπάρχοντα, ὑπάρχοντα καὶ τὰ δευτ., and all the other attempts of the scribes to fill out what appeared to be lacking including the ως αν εί του πρς υπάρχοντα δύναμιν καὶ σοφίαν καὶ τὰ δευτερεία κτλ. of A to which Dr Schwartz has, one cannot but think most unfortunately, reverted.

One last piece of evidence in support of the restored reading $\tilde{v}\pi\alpha\rho\chi\rho\nu$ may perhaps be submitted as almost conclusive. In another treatise in a precisely similar connexion, and without any variant reading, Eusebius himself uses exactly the same expression. In the Panegyric entitled Eis $K\omega\nu\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\tau\hat{i}\nu\rho\nu$ $T\rho\iota\alpha\kappa\rho\nu\tau\alpha\epsilon\tau\eta\rho\iota\kappa\acute{o}s$, c. iii (ed. Heikel, pp. 201–202), we read:—

Στρατιαὶ δὲ τοῦτον οὐράνιοι περιπολοῦσι, μυριάδες τε ἀγγέλων θεοῦ λειτουργῶν πλήθη τε στρατοπεδείας ὑπερκοσμίου τῶν τε εἴσω οὐρανοῦ πνευμάτων ἀφανῶν τἢ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τάξει διακονουμένων, ὧν πάντων ὁ βασιλικὸς καθηγεῖται λόγος οἰά τις μεγάλου βασιλέως ὕπαρχος. ἀρχιστράτηγον αὐτὸν καὶ ἀρχιερέα μέγαν προφήτην τε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελον φωτός τε ἀπαύγασμα πατρικοῦ μονογενῆ τε υἱὸν καὶ τούτων ἔτερα μυρία θεσπίζουσιν ἀναφωνοῦσαι θεολόγων φωναί, ὸν δὴ ζῶντα λόγον καὶ νόμον καὶ σοφίαν ἀγαθοῦ τε πλήρωμα παντὸς ὁ γεννήσας ὑποστησάμενος, μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν δόμα τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν πῶσιν ἐδωρήσατο.

CLAUDE JENKINS.

THE HOMILIES OF MACARIUS.

The Bishop of Birmingham writes that the reference to the Old Testament in the phrase: οὖτως γὰρ ὁ νόμος λέγει, ἀνὰ μέσον κρίσεως κρίσις καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον ἀφέσεως ἄφεσις, which he was unable to trace at the time when he wrote his article (vol. viii p. 90) on the Homilies of Macarius, is to Deut. xvii 8 ἀναμέσον κρίσις κρίσεως καὶ ἀναμέσον ἀφὴ ἀφῆς—a passage which Macarius both remembers and interprets amiss.

REVIEWS

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE VULGATE.

Notes on the early history of the Vulgate Gospels. By Dom John Chapman, O.S.B. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1908.)

Dom Chapman's exceedingly interesting 'Notes' are really a kind of prolegomena to the first volume of Wordsworth and White's great work. After a preliminary chapter, Dom Chapman proves that the 'Northumbrian' text of the Vulgate is essentially Cassiodorian for the whole Bible. In chapter III he suggests that the excellence of the Gospel text in Cod. Amiatinus (A) is due to the use by Cassiodorus in 558 of a Gospel MS which had belonged to Eugipius (sic), the epitomator of Augustine and abbot of the Lucullanum near Naples: this MS may very possibly have been a copy sent to Rome by S. Jerome himself. Chapter IV gives reasons for supposing that the use of a 'Neapolitan' Lectionary in Northumbria also points to this connexion with Eugipius, rather than to the activity of Abbot Hadrian and Archbishop Theodore, for, as Dom Chapman says in his introductory chapter (p. 13), 'all the evidence for Neapolitan influence comes from Northumbria, and none of it from Canterbury.' Chapter V treats of Victor of Capua and the Codex Fuldensis (F), and contains the very probable suggestion that Victor had before him a Greek Diatessaron, not an Old-Latin one. Chapters VI-VII discuss Eugipius's connexion with Lerins and with Capua. In chapter VIII the liturgical influence of Capua upon Anglo-Saxon use is shewn to be quite unconnected with the Neapolitan influence upon Northumbria. Chapter IX deals with the origin of the Irish text of the Vulgate Gospels, which Dom Chapman believes to have come from Lerins before 432. Chapter X deals with the 'Gospels of St Augustine', i. e. the codices in the Bodleian, and at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, known as O and X respectively. Dom Chapman accepts their traditional connexion with Canterbury and the mission of Augustine, and denies that they have been contaminated either by Irish texts or by the Northumbrian text (p. 199). Chapter XI calls attention to the text of the Homilies of S. Gregory the Great upon the liturgical Gospels, and the influence these Homilies had upon the later texts of the Vulgate; Dom Chapman also discusses Gregory's relation to O X and to the sister Codex Z, which (he thinks) may also have been brought over to Canterbury from Rome by Augustine. Chapters XII-XV contain Dom Chapman's theory that the 'Monarchian' Prologues

found in most MSS of the Vulgate were the work not of some unknown second- or third-century heretic, but of Priscillian. It is, of course, this part of the book that is of the most general interest. Readers of this JOURNAL will be prepared for learning and ingenuity in any thesis maintained by Dom Chapman, but in this instance I am convinced that the paradoxical conclusion, so ingeniously and learnedly set forth, is also sound. The four Prologues agree both in doctrine and in style with the work of the unfortunate Spaniard, who was the first Christian to be executed for heresy (384 A.D.). The doctrine is a kind of Pantheism (or rather 'Panchristism'), combined with ultra-Apollinarianism: the invisible Father became the Son by incarnation, i. e. by taking to Him-It is amazing that Prologues containing such self a human body. doctrine should have become almost an integral part of the Latin Bible, but such is the fact, whoever may have written them. A certain parallel is afforded by Dom de Bruyne's even more surprising discovery that the Latin 'Arguments' to the Pauline Epistles are the work of a Marcionite, if not of Marcion himself: the parallel is duly noted by Dom Chapman (p. 277).

One strange statement in the Prologue to S. John appears to me to be due rather to the 'intoxicated style' of the ingenious Priscillian—to use Seneca's phrase about Maecenas—than to his use of apocryphal documents. We read, according to the true text,

huic [i. e. S. John] matrem suam iens ad crucem commendauit deus. Dom Chapman calls this astonishing (226, 275), considering the sentence to mean that Jesus commended His Mother to S. John on His way to crucifixion. But Priscillian writes (Schepss 40, 10-12): Capimus tamen inter ista consilium, ut EUNTES AD Hemeretensium ciuitatem praesentes ipsi uideremus Hydatium. This does not mean that Priscillian saw Hydatius on his way to Merida, but merely that he went and saw Hydatius at Merida. Similarly, I believe that the sentence from the Prologue quoted above is merely an awkward way of saying that our Lord went to be crucified and commended His Mother to John.

The outcome of Dom Chapman's investigations would not, as he points out (p. v), materially differ from that of Wordsworth and White. I am glad to see, however, that he prefers nouissimus to primus in Matt. xxi 31 (p. 46), and also exterminant to demoliuntur in Matt. vi 16 (p. 187). With regard to the Irish texts I do not think he has said the last word. He has tried to keep the question of the Irish text of

Of course demolitur stands in Matt. vi 19, 20. On p. 186, line 16, why should k have been 'corrected to the Vulgate'? Is this likely? Rather it has not accepted a very widespread gloss. On the same page, last paragraph, delete k, add ch after abq, and note that f_2 omits practio multo altogether (multi f_2^{\bullet}). On p. 187, line 6, Q should be Q.

the Vulgate distinct from the question of the Irish Old Latin texts r and r_0 but the two questions seem to me to hang together. Closely connected is the question of the origin of Codex Claromontanus of the Gospels (h). Dom Chapman seems to have neglected both h and r. but they would in some ways have illustrated the matters he had in hand better than the North Italian texts a and b. For instance, in Matt. vii 15 h has pseudoprophetis with Vincent of Lerins (p. 166), and in Matt. xxv 35, 43, both h and r have suscepistis for collegistis with Faustus of Riez (p. 169). When and whence did the Old Latin text now represented by the Codex Usserianus (r), and partly by the Garland of Howth (r_0) , and the Book of Mulling (μ) , come to Ireland? How is it that these texts are not attested by S. Patrick, while they are attested by Secundinus, Patrick's nephew? But it is easier to ask these questions than to answer them, and we may well be grateful to Dom Chapman for giving us in these 'Notes' the answers to so many other hitherto unsolved problems.

F. C. BURKITT.

THE GRAMMAR OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

A Grammar of New Testament Greek, by JAMES HOPE MOULTON, M.A., D.Litt. Vol. I Prolegomena, second edition with corrections and additions. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1906.)

This book reminds us forcibly how science never stands still. 'Amurath to Amurath succeeds,' and in place of the late Dr W. F. Moulton, who gave us Winer's Grammar of the New Testament in English, Dr J. H. Moulton, a worthy successor to his distinguished father, now becomes the leading exponent of the subject in this country. In a preface, written with exquisite taste and fine feeling, he sketches the life-work of his father, and explains how new material has made necessary a new treatment of the subject. This is, then, the first part of a new work, for which at the outset all must join in expressing good wishes and hopes that it may be carried to a speedy and successful termination, particularly as there seems no immediate prospect of the Winer-Schmiedel German Grammar being brought up to date, and Blass's Grammar, though it holds the field, certainly takes too little account of newer lights.

All New Testament students may well be thankful that one so peculiarly qualified by birth, training, and sympathy as Dr J. H. Moulton should now be devoting his energies exclusively to this

The most cursory inspection of the Prolegomena field of study. will satisfy any one that Dr Moulton is better equipped for the task than any of his predecessors. To begin with, he is a trained philologist on modern lines. His sixth chapter introduces into the study of the New Testament a subject which, as he says, has 'not yet achieved an entrance into the grammars'. Secondly, he has a peculiarly fine sense of the bearing of grammar on exegesis, and (cf. p. 9 n. 4) knows well how far its conclusions affect interpretation. Thirdly, professing himself a follower of Dr Deissmann, he has thoroughly studied the published collections of papyri, and has already published valuable papers, on the conclusions to be drawn from them, in the Classical Review. Last and not least, is his genuine respect for his great predecessors in England, who have made the New Testament their life-study. When I add that he writes in a pleasant and lively style which positively removes all the usual dryness and dullness of grammatical writings, I shall be certainly doing much to commend his work to a wide circle of readers.

Before we pass to the most important aspect of the book, a word must be said upon the contribution which modern philology can make to the subject. Any one who reads chapter VI will see that it has a great deal to say which touches exegesis and theological conception most nearly. In Romans v 1 the correct translation of έχωμεν makes the question of reading less important doctrinally. Certain inferences can be drawn from the use of the present in prohibitions, as in Eph. v 18, Col. iii 9, James v 12. Especially important is what Dr Moulton has to say (p. 114) on the meaning of οἱ ἀπολλύμενοι and οί σωζόμενοι. The triple point in πολλοίς χρόνοις συνηρπάκει (Lk. viii 29) is also noteworthy. In 1 Cor. vii 21 the correct translation of χρησαι makes it easier to supply $\tau \hat{\eta} \in \lambda \epsilon \nu \theta \epsilon \rho i a$. One is glad to read (p. 128) his just appreciation of the Revisers' treatment of tenses, which far outweighs all the unkind things that have been said of them. He would himself be the first to admit that on many points he has only said the first word, and that e.g. as to the perfectivised compound verb a great deal of special study and many monographs are needed, before there is any clearness as to their force in the various writers of the N. T. Nor can it be said that he is convincing e.g. on the agrist of subsequent action, or on the crux ἐπιβαλών. There are also some features of the aorist, which he does not seem to mention: but completeness is incompatible with *Prolegomena*. What, for instance, is to be said of ἐκάθισαν Matt. xxiii 2 (AV and RV 'sit') or other aorists, where we use a present in English? Is it ingressive 'they came to sit', effective 'they seated themselves', or constative 'they sat'? It would be very inappropriate to call it gnomic. Wellhausen claims it as an

Aramaism. Is it not probable that he is right, and that a limited number of verbal forms in the N. T. will defy analysis on Greek lines?

But we must rapidly pass on to what will be to most readers the absorbing feature of the book. The great discoveries made in recent years of papyri and ostraka in Egypt have proved to the author's satisfaction, that the N. T. language is not an isolated phenomenon, but except where it is translation-Greek, simply the vernacular of daily life. 'The Holy Ghost spoke absolutely in the language of the people, as we might surely have expected He would.' This conclusion in itself can only be welcome to one and all. Is it justified? The combined evidence of the papyri, of inscriptions, and of Modern Greek certainly establishes a very strong case for the view so ably expounded by Deissmann in Germany. It is only the exaggeration of the view that must be objected to. It seems probable that the writings of the N. T. went home to the hearts of the poorer classes all over the Graeco-Roman world, in Egypt and Spain, in Palestine and Asia Minor. But however true it may be to say with Wellhausen 'In den Evangelien hält gesprochenes und zwar in niederen Kreisen gesprochenes Griechisch seinen Einzug in die Literatur', it must equally be affirmed that this Greek was not so unliterary as to be either difficult of comprehension or worthy of contempt to the upper classes of society. That they did despise it, is historical fact, but that they did so because it was unliterary there is no evidence. Deissmann goes a great deal too far in this The N. T. is literature, literature of a homely kind as compared with the flowers of Atticism, but still literature, and not to be bracketed with the letter of Theon, the naughty boy of Oxyrhynchus. The Dorset poet Barnes is a poet quite apart from his dialect, which often does little more than add a quaint attractiveness to the thoughts he indites.

Again, the papyri (as, strange to say, a Frenchman remarked in 1865, p. 6 n. 1) shew us Egyptians, Persians, Jews, and Arabs using the Greek language. But this only means that the Koun was indispensable as a means of communication, not that they gave up talking and thinking in their native dialects. Dr Moulton says that the Hellenistic vernacular was 'a language without serious dialectic differences except presumably in pronunciation'. He says this is a strange phenomenon to the comparative philologist, but 'for the present we must be content with the fact that any dialect variation is mostly beyond the range of our present knowledge to detect'. Would it not be more prudent at present to avoid drawing premature inferences, and in particular to admit the possibility, that each and all of these peoples may have modified the Koun by the influence of their own native idiom? In particular we cannot always argue safely from Egypt to Palestine.

In Egypt there were natives speaking their own language, and Tews speaking Aramaic among themselves, and the two races communicated with each other by means of a third language. In Palestine the conditions were not comparable: still less are those of modern Wales. A Welshman overdoes the word 'indeed'; he also makes frequent use of the absolutely ungrammatical 'whatever'. Are we to suppose that there was nothing comparable to this 'whatever' in the Kown as spoken by a Palestinian Iew. The only thing that is peculiar in Dr Moulton's treatment of the subject is the way in which, what he concedes to his supposed 'Hebraist' opponent with one hand, he promptly takes away with the other. Thus he says that 'the good Attic interjection ίδού is used by some N. T. writers simply because they were accustomed to a constant use of an equivalent interjection in their own tongue'. Precisely; and yet by the end of his note, because in a letter of the fourth or fifth century A.D. he finds the expression, he says this weakens the case for Aramaism. Surely uneducated people often talk in a similar way all the world over. He himself remarks that no one would accuse Mrs Gamp of Hebraism! But we are dealing with the writings of Jews, and it will take a great deal of argument to convince most people that their vernacular went for nothing in the matter of influencing their use of the Kowń.

But if we may read between the lines, from Dr Moulton's argument (p. 7) that the Jerusalem mob could understand Greek, that Greek was much used in Palestine, and that there is 'not the slightest presumption against the use of Greek in writings purporting to emanate from the circle of the first believers', we infer that he is inclined himself to believe that there is no Aramaic background of the Gospels, and that in fact the earliest written Gospels were in Greek. If he does not hold this view, we apologize; but his language, or rather his tacit polemic against 'Hebraism', suggests this. Now in any case this view is utterly In forty short pages Wellhausen has absolutely pulverized The Einleitung, unfortunately, only came into Dr Moulton's hands in time to be mentioned in the notes. No one can rise from reading it without feeling that the case for Aramaic early Gospels is irresistible. As Wellhausen remarks, 'Bei der Elasticität und Vielgestaltigkeit der griechischen Sprache ist es auch möglich, dass dieser oder jener Semitismus ebenso gut ein griechischer Idiotismus sein kann'. But some at least of the N. T. writers used semitisms either because they thought in Aramaic or because they were using an Aramaic document. That is the point, and it is just what Dr Moulton and Dr Deissmann will never admit, when it comes to a concrete case. Deissmann (in a note) will say, 'Dass Semitismen vorliegen, leugnet kein Mensch', 'Dass Aramaismen vorhanden sind, habe ich niemals bestritten'; and yet if he can find

a single parallel in a papyrus or an ostrakon, he contends at once that the writer uses the expression because it is ordinary Greek and does not choose it because it fittingly expresses the thought of his native speech. Deissmann is annoyed with Wellhausen for saying it is no good to stick your head into the Greek bush, and asks if we are rather to stick it into the Semitic sand. But in his Einleitung Wellhausen does full justice to Greek influence: he admits that the idiom $\delta \theta \epsilon \lambda \omega \nu \tilde{\alpha} \phi \epsilon s \tilde{\alpha} \tilde{\nu} \tau \tilde{\phi}$ is a feature of popular Greek. Some of us, however, feel that Deissmann, and even, though in a lesser degree, Dr Moulton, goes too far in the other direction.

Now let us descend more to details. In the region of vocabulary we can all rejoice over Deissmann's researches. He has thrown a flood of light on the N.T. by reducing the proportion of exclusively 'Biblical' words to one per cent. of the whole. It is surprising but most welcome to have such unexpected light from without thrown on words like $\mathring{a}\pi o - \lambda \acute{v}\tau \rho \omega \sigma is$, $\delta i\kappa \alpha i \kappa \rho i \sigma \acute{a}$, $\lambda o \gamma \acute{a}$, $\pi \lambda \eta \rho o \phi \rho e \acute{v}$, $\chi \acute{a}\rho a \gamma \mu a$, or such expressions as ϵis $\tau \grave{o}$ $\mathring{o}\nu \rho \mu a$.¹ No one can read his masterly analysis of the parallelism between the technical phraseology of the cult of the Caesars and that of Christianity in chapter 4 of *Licht vom Osten* without gratitude and delight. But in the *Prolegomena* there is no place for vocabulary as such. We should merely wish to intimate to Dr Moulton that we are not unmindful of, nor ungrateful for, the work which he and others have done in breaking down the 'isolation' of the N.T. language.

Dr. Moulton (p. 14) gives Dalman's list of grammatical Hebraisms. Of these fifteen we must throw $\epsilon \nu \omega \pi \iota \rho \nu$ overboard at once, as it occurs in papyri before 271 B.C., and as late as the third century A.D. Of the remaining fourteen Dalman says four are Aramaisms, six Hebraisms, and four common. Most of these Wellhausen emphatically claims as Aramaisms. The agreement of two such Semitic scholars is not to be treated lightly, when they are often profoundly at variance with each other. But where the objections of Dr Moulton to Semitic influence carry most weight is in the region of supposed Hebraisms. These are undoubted where the LXX comes in as a factor, but they are not so clear elsewhere. Thus it is obvious that $\epsilon \rho \omega \tau \hat{a} \nu = \text{beg} (0. P. \text{ iv 774})$ cannot be claimed as a Hebraism, that eis as indefinite article is common enough in vulgar Greek, that ϵ_{ν} instrumental is the same, that genitives of definition are not necessarily Hebraic, that such phrases as δύο δύο are colloquial and even occur in earlier Greek literature, and that the paraphrastic use of the participle with the substantive verb is good Greek. We may go even further and admit that



¹ It is noteworthy, however, that the ostrakon which Deissmann publishes to illustrate this phrase is apparently written either by a Jew or some one who had dealings with Jews. The name 'Maria' occurs in it, along with Crispus (I Cor. i 14, Acts xviii 8).

many phrases such as those with $\pi\rho\delta\sigma\omega\pi\sigma\nu$, $\chi\epsiloni\rho$ and $\sigma\tau\delta\mu\alpha$, which look so Hebraic, can be paralleled in pure Greek sources. But Dr Moulton seems to think that the papyri explain nearly every linguistic phenomenon in the N. T. but $\tilde{\epsilon}\nu\sigma\chi\sigma$ with the genitive, the form $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\kappa\rhoi\theta\eta\nu$, a few cases of spelling, $\phi\sigma\beta\epsiloni\sigma\theta\alpha$ $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi\delta$ (Mt. = Lk., p. 102), and $\delta\mu\sigma\lambda\sigma$ ($\epsilon\nu$ (Mt. = Lk., p. 104). We say 'seems', because we have good hopes that in the progress of his grammar, and in future editions of the *Prolegomena*, he will substantially modify his position.

Now let us take a short list of semitisms, the use of which in the N. T. cannot be explained merely from the Greek side.

- (1) In the first place there is $\pi \hat{a}s$ où = où $\delta \hat{\epsilon}is$ (which it was 'a rather serious oversight to omit to discuss', note, p. 245). If St Paul uses it, Eph. v 5, this is surely a sign that the Semitic influence passed from his thought into his language. No one can really feel that $\pi \hat{a}s$ $\pi \lambda \hat{\epsilon}ov \hat{\epsilon}\kappa \tau \eta s$. . . où $\kappa \tilde{\epsilon}\chi \hat{\epsilon}\iota$ $\kappa \lambda \eta \rho \rho v o \mu \hat{\iota}av$ is natural Greek, whether colloquial or literary. Similarly Mt. x 29 $\hat{\epsilon}v$ $\hat{\epsilon}'\xi$ $\hat{a}v\hat{\tau}\hat{\omega}v$ où $\pi \hat{\epsilon}\sigma\hat{\epsilon}\hat{\iota}\tau a\iota$ is surely literal translation from an Aramaic original.
- (2) The use of the relative with a demonstrative completing it, and in proper government (cp. $\dot{\eta}s$) $\epsilon \bar{\iota} \chi \epsilon \tau \delta$ $\theta \nu \gamma \acute{\alpha} \tau \rho \iota \nu \alpha \dot{\nu} \tau \hat{\eta} s$, Mk. vii 25) is lucidly explained by Wellhausen. The Aramaic relative particle (de) is indeclinable, and requires a following pronoun. This particle also sometimes represents $\ddot{\sigma} \iota \iota$, which explains the $\ddot{\sigma} \iota \iota$ of Mk. iv 41, or $\dot{\iota} \nu a$, whence the $\ddot{\iota} \nu a$ of Mk. iv 22. In this last verse $\dot{\epsilon} \grave{\alpha} \nu \mu \dot{\eta}$ and $\dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \dot{\alpha}$ are parallel, a usage which Aramaic explains but Greek does not.
- (3) Such a use of the passive as Lk. xxiii 15 οὐδὲν ἄξιον θανάτου ἐστὶ πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ is according to Wellhausen 'echt aramäisch'. The use of the third plural with indef. subj. instead of the passive, generally in Logian passages, is also an unmistakeable Aramaism. Dr Moulton mentions this usage on p. 58, but in his text there is no word as to its origin: however, in a note on p. 163 he is obliged to refer to Wellhausen. Why not admit at once that this is not ordinary Greek, nor due, when used, to Greek influence? Wellhausen gives twelve instances from the Synoptists: to which we may probably add Lk. xvi 9.
- (4) If the articular nominative in address occurs nearly sixty times in the N. T., and literally translates the Aramaic idiom, it is not worth while to quote Aristophanes for it. If Mt. xxvii 29 and Jn. xix 3 have $\chi \alpha \hat{i} \rho \epsilon \delta \beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \hat{v}$, but Mk. xv 18 $\chi \alpha \hat{i} \rho \epsilon \beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \hat{v}$ (Lk. has no parallel), and if the first literally translates what the mob said, it seems a little risky to lay down that the first does not, while the second does,
- 1 Deissmann's explanation (L. O. p. 78) of this case is ingenious. Both ένοχος and ἀμαρτωλός are found with the dative (πᾶσι θεοῖς) in inscriptions. In a Lycian inscription ἀμαρτωλός takes the genitive. The similar use of ένοχος in St Paul may be a Cilician 'idiotismus'.



admit the royal right, or that Mk. uses $\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \hat{\nu}$ because he is imperfectly sensible to the more delicate shades of Greek idiom. If the latter be true, Mk. was certainly sensible of the shades of Aramaic idiom: he was not like an unfortunate Swede we once met, who having lived long in Australia had forgotten Swedish without acquiring English properly. We are not satisfied, in fact, that the N. T. writers were conscious of any difference between $\delta \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \hat{\nu}$ s vocatival and $\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \hat{\nu}$. The writers acquainted with Aramaic (among whom we probably must not number St Luke) might translate the native idiom, or they might not. In Mk. xv 18 it is not translated, or at least not in our present text.

- (5) Such repetitions as Mk. xii 23 ἐν τῆ ἀναστάσει ὅταν ἀναστῶσιν or Mk. xiii 19 ἀπ ἀρχῆς κτίσεως ἡς ἔκτισεν ὁ Θεός are marks of Aramaic, not of Greek style; and what Wellhausen calls symmetric tautology, Mt. 11 12 ἡ βασιλεία βιάζεται καὶ βιασταὶ ἀρπάζουσιν αὐτήν is the same. Naturally such phenomena occur chiefly, where we expect Aramaic influence, in the Gospels. But we see the style reproduced in those writers whose religious thought is deeply affected by the Gospels, e.g. in St Paul (1 Cor. xi 26–29; note the solemnity of the four times repeated 'eat and drink'), and St James (e.g. i 13–14).
- (6) There is no space to comment on such phrases as νίὸς εἰρήνης, ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος, ἐπιθυμία ἐπεθύμησα, and many others. Perhaps Wellhausen goes rather far in saying 'Die Syntaxe und der Stil (des Evangeliums) lässt sich auch im griechischen Gewande als semitisch erkennen und verstehen'. But it is urgently necessary for common folk, who are neither great Hellenists nor great Semitists to try and hold the pendulum true. That it has swung a little too far at present in the Greek direction, it has been the object of the foregoing remarks to indicate.

A further point needs emphasizing. In a note to the second edition (p. 242) Dr Moulton says: 'To anticipate a possible objection, I may say that the evidence for large Jewish settlements in Egypt from an early date is indisputable. . . . So far, however, no "Hebraist" has tried to use this fact to discount the deductions of Deissmann from the papyri; and I need not meet the argument before it arises.' Dr Swete has already made this obvious and important objection in the Introduction to his edition of the Apocalypse (p. cxxiv n. 1): 'Moreover it remains to be considered how far the quasi-Semitic colloquialisms of the papyri are themselves due to the influence of the large Greek-speaking Jewish population of the Delta.' The discovery of the Aramaic papyri of Assuan emphasizes this point most strongly, and even Deissmann (L. O. p. 83 n. 5) is prepared to admit that the adoption of $\epsilon is \tau \delta$ $\delta vopa$ as a legal phrase may be due to Semitic influence 'in grauer Vorzeit'. But this 'Vorzeit' can scarcely be earlier than the end of the

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fourth century B.C. No doubt it is possible, as he says, that if originally a Semitism, it may not have been felt to be so any longer. Such influence on the language of a population from an influx of settlers is quite common. Dr Moulton makes a point of the case of Wales. South Wales Welsh is regarded by North Wales people as an inferior patois because of the Anglicisms, which are to be seen not only in borrowed words but also in turns of expression. In fact we may say that, if the native language of a whole district may be strongly affected by the entry of aliens who learn it and learn it badly, a fortiori is a language, which is not the native one, but the medium of communication between natives and strangers, likely to be modified by all who use it.

It only remains to be said, that the new material has enabled Dr Moulton to make a number of most important points. We can only just allude to the 'ecbatic' $\tilde{\nu}a$ (p. 206), participle for indicative (p. 222, this is convincing for Acts; but in the case of St Paul a natural tendency to anacoluthon must be allowed for), $\mu\dot{\eta}$ in cautious assertions (p. 192, what is said on 2 Tim. ii 25 is quite convincing). Nor have we space to refer to the chapter on Accidence, except to deprecate the suggestion, that in John i 14 'an original $\pi\lambda\dot{\eta}\rho\eta$ was corrupted to the vulgar $\pi\lambda\dot{\eta}\rho\eta$ s in an early copy'. The reverse is much more likely to have been the case. That $\pi\lambda\dot{\eta}\rho\eta$ was written agreeing with $\delta\delta\dot{\xi}a\nu$ is incredible.

Reluctantly we part company with this fascinating book. If in one direction we are impelled to criticize it, we must have a cordial admiration for the author's work, and be thankful that his great gifts should be applied to N.T. criticism, and we shall all wish a happy completion to what will be a magnum opus as desirable as it will be indispensable to the English student of the future.

G. C. RICHARDS.

DR RUTHERFORD ON THE EPISTLES OF ST PAUL.

St Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians and to the Corinthians: a new translation, by the late W. G. RUTHERFORD. (Macmillan & Co., 1908.)

WHEN the late Head Master of Westminster brought out the last instalment of his work on the Scholia on Aristophanes he inscribed on the title-page, with humorous pathos, the words: ὅταν τις τῶν έξουσίαν εγόντων παρείς τὰ μέγιστα φαυλότητα λαμβάνη. The sentence represents an item in the classification of the mirth-provoking material of comic poets which we owe to an epitomator of Aristotle's *Poetics* 1: the species of humour which we might label 'a gratuitous preference of the ridiculous to the sublime'. And no doubt there was a superficial element of comedy in the immense pains taken by one of the first Greek scholars in Europe, and one who had made Attic his special province, to enter into the point of view of the trivial and barbarous pedants who wrote the notes in our classical MSS. But the results of his labours in these obscure fields cannot be measured by the actual volumes given to the world, any more than the importance of his researches in Attic is measured by the New Phrynichus and the wellknown school grammars. All these studies were putting him into an almost unique position to understand the Greek tongue in all its phases—to understand it especially, as few modern scholars have yet understood it, in that phase which was the vehicle of the New Testament writings. None knew better than he what was true Attic, nor saw more clearly through the artificial literary language in which 'the silver age of the Greek world' disguised its natural speech; and therefore none was better prepared for the wealth of material which has come forth in our own day to confirm the instincts of the best scholars which told them that St Paul and the rest wrote a plain language to be 'understanded of the people', a plastic vehicle of thought which needed for its interpretation common sense and some acquaintance with the history of the language far more than the laborious refinements of commentators who would force it to the standard either of classical Greek (early and late) or of a supposed 'biblical' tongue. It is to be feared also that in his Aristophanic studies Rutherford found distressing analogies between the methods of ancient scholiasts and those of modern exegetes: he was in a position to know how futile and baseless traditional interpretation can be, and to exhort every one who would understand St Paul's message to go straight to the Greek text, if they

¹ W. G. Rutherford A Chapter in the History of Annotation (1905) pp. 435-455, 'Aristotle on the laughter in comedy'.

could, but in any case to throw away all commentaries: for those who could not read the original and embark on the scientific study of the language he attempted himself to provide a series of new translations, cut short (alas!) in the middle of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians by his untimely death in 1907.

It was characteristic of his interpretation of an author that it should take the form of translation. Those who had the privilege of learning Greek in those years at Westminster know what wide scope belonged to the process of translation according to Rutherford's standard. The superficial reader who turns over these volumes will say 'Why! these are paraphrases, not translations'. It is not so: every shade of meaning conveyed by the English words has its corresponding nuance in the Greek as he with his unrivalled knowledge understood it; but 'translation' with him meant the complete transplantation of the thought from the one idiom into the other, and he could not away with the 'construe' which combines the idioms into a mixture which is neither Greek nor English, and is often only a compromise to save the translator the trouble of deciding definitely for one meaning or another. Granted this more exacting theory of translation (and few would deny its justice), the Revised Version with its 'faithfulness' and neglect of English idiom was a perpetual challenge to one who was a master of vigorous idiomatic English no less than of accurate Greek learning. As early as 1890, in a First Greek Syntax for schools, Rutherford wrote (p. 82 n.):—'It would be a singularly interesting study to enquire how far the natural idioms of English have been modified by the circumstance that Latin and Greek have been the principal instruments of education. To any who love idiom, it is painful to have to listen to the traditional mode of turning Latin or Greek into English, a specimen of which is in the hands of all in the revisers' translation of the New Testament.' Instances of this sort of slipshod 'faithfulness' can be easily multiplied. 'Whose god is the belly' (Phil. iii 19), write the revisers, where the English idiom 'their' is the really accurate equivalent of the Greek article; or, to take examples from the field covered by Rutherford himself, in 2 Cor. iii 5, 6, where St Paul rings the changes on ikavós, the R. V. gives us this:—'Not that we are sufficient of ourselves . . . but our sufficiency is from God; who also made us sufficient as ministers,' &c. With no less 'faithfulness', but in diction intelligible to English ears, the new translation renders:-'Not that in ourselves we are qualified to make certain of anything. No! our qualification is of God's making. He has accounted us

¹ St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: a new translation with a brief analysis, 1900; St Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians and to the Corinthians: a new translation, 1908.

qualified to make presentment of a new covenant.' Nay! the excellent new rendering of I Cor. vi 12 reveals the fact that the revisers' boasted accuracy in keeping the same word in every case has broken down where it would have been most illuminating. 'In all things I may do as I please ($\xi\xi\epsilon\sigma\tau\nu$), but I will not be so false to myself ($\xi\gamma\omega$) as to let things do as they please with me ($\xi\xi\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\upsilon\mu\alpha$).' Could there be a better instance of the value of going back to 'the Word, clear in itself and finely attuned, uttered by Greeks to Greeks long ago', and freeing ourselves from the dull pedantry of the schools where $\xi\xi\epsilon\sigma\tau\nu$ has always been construed 'it is lawful', and $\xi\xi\upsilon\upsilon\tau\iota\alpha\zeta\omega$ 'I bring under the power'? If only dates would have allowed the revisers of 1881 the opportunity of half an hour's translation with Rutherford each morning on their way to the Jerusalem Chamber!

In mere method of translation we ought, perhaps, to admit that now, as thirty years ago, there may be two ideals, and many would contend that at no time is idiomatic freedom permissible in Church-reading, however useful it may be in the study. But apart from English style there is another factor in the conditions of New Testament translation, where dates do count; and the water that has flowed under the bridge since 1881 constitutes at the same time a valid excuse for the failure of the revisers and an imperative call to our own age to do at least something to remove the reproach of this question: 'Why is a Pauline Epistle so far from plain now to many who in knowledge and even in spiritual discernment are at least the equals of the tradesmen, mechanics, and servants to whom it was immediately addressed?' The chief reason in Rutherford's opinion was stated by him in an incisive sentence, which, though it was probably news to most English divines when it was written (1900), is by this time a commonplace of theological scholarship—'When the Jacobean version was revised even more than when it was made the character of New Testament Greck was ill understood's: and again, 'The revisers . . . actually distort the meaning . . . by translating in accordance with Attic idiom phrases that convey in later Greek a wholly different sense, the sense which the earlier translators in happy ignorance had recognized that the context demanded. Since the revised version of the New Testament was completed, great strides have been made in the knowledge of New Testament Greek . . . and before scholars are done with this fascinating study they will extinguish many misconceptions and will succeed in demonstrating that, different as it is from classical Greek, the singular speech in which the oracles of God are enshrined has nevertheless a precision and a force of its own.6

¹ Thessalonians &c. p. 77.
² Ibid. p. 35.
³ Ibid. p. xii.
⁴ Epistle to the Romans, pref. p. ix.
⁵ Ilid. p. x.

⁶ Ibid. pp. xi and xii.

294 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

It is along this line, naturally—the elucidation of the Epistles—that the translations before us have their chief value and interest, and it will be my endeavour in the remainder of this article to indicate by quotation on how many dark places a revered and lamented master has thrown for us new light, whether by his faculty of idiomatic rendering or through the results of his pioneer-work in the fast-increasing knowledge of the spoken Greek of the first century. Most of the instances will be taken, as of fresher interest, from the posthumous volume (edited with appreciative care by his friend Mr. Spenser Wilkinson) which comprises the two Epistles to the Thessalonians and those to the Corinthians as far as the eighth chapter of the Second. These were found complete as regards the text: possibly had the author lived, he would have added more notes and the 'brief analysis' which was a valuable feature in the Romans; it is to be regretted, also, that this time the chapters and verses have not been in any way noted—an even greater obstacle in the path of the student than the undue prominence given to them in the old Bibles.

Among the recent discoveries about New Testament Greek, which affect translation and clear away obscurity, Rutherford gave first place to the recognition of its use of prepositions, partly with changed meaning, partly with a pregnancy of meaning beyond all parallel from classical writers. E.g. 'Their thoughts one with another accusing them' (Rom. ii 15 R. V.) conveys no clear impression; but there is ground for supposing that St Paul could say this, meaning (and understood to mean) 'The conclusions of reason attained by controversy arraigning them', and all becomes easy. Again, èv is a preposition which with its bewildering frequency makes us at last indifferent to the sense, unless, with Rutherford, we fill in its various shades of meaning suitably to the context. One verse alone (1 Thess. i 5; p. 3) will furnish sufficient example of this variety-'Our gospel was not imparted to you as a form of words only; it was instinct with force, alive with the Holy Spirit, and powerful to convince.' similar fullness of meaning to παρά we get an attractive explanation of the difficult verse (2 Cor. i 17; p. 73): 'Or when I make plans, are they made with the mundane proviso that I shall be free to deal as I like with ($\ln \eta \pi a \rho \approx 10^{\circ}$) my most positive "yes" or most positive "no"?' But the instances of this rule of interpretation which will give most food for thought and doubtless for criticism are I Cor. xi 24-25 (p. 51): 'This is my body, the source of your salvation . . . This cup is the new covenant sealed by my blood'; and I Cor. xv 29 (p. 63): 'Otherwise what will they gain, these arguers, who receive baptism—to be numbered with the dead $(i\pi \epsilon \rho \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \nu \epsilon \kappa \rho \hat{\omega} \nu)$?' Before leaving the subject of prepositions we should note an example of

changed meaning in later Greek which A. V. seems to have divined but R. V. with its mistaken strictness missed. It is Romans iii 25, where we are justified by an established later use of $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ with acc. in translating 'for (i.e. with the object of) remission of past sins'. The frank rendering of $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ with acc. as 'like' is also illuminating in many cases.

A great deal of amplification which we find in these translations comes under the head of adequate and scholarly rendering, and is not due only to new knowledge of Greek. Who would dispute the 'faithfulness' and the advantage to clearness in the following instances?

'In what I have said I have for your sakes put Paul and Apollos instead of other names. I wished you to see that what is true in our case is true in all: Not a handbreadth more than that set down' (r Cor. iv 6; p. 30).

'It is out of place for a woman to speak in church. If you hold it is not so, do you hold too, I wonder, that it was you who launched the word of God upon the world, or that it has made its way to none but you?' (I Cor. xiv 35-36; p. 60).

'Or do you think you need stand on no ceremony with the Church of God; that because men are poor you may affront them?' (I Cor. xi 22; p. 51).

'Because we are imperfect, we seek knowledge; because we are imperfect, we try to read the mind of God; but the perfect state once reached, that which is imperfect can serve no purpose' (I Cor. xiii 9-10; p. 55).

'I am glad that Stephanas, &c., are here. You could not be got at, but they have made up for this' (I Cor. xvi 17; p. 67). Whatever we may think of the colloquialism here, an intelligible meaning is conveyed, which is not so in 'for that which was lacking on your part they supplied'.

As an illuminating equivalent for a single Greek word I should like to record 'not identified with it' for μὴ καταχρώμενοι in 1 Cor. vii 31.

Of contributions to exegesis in the proper sense I must mention the treatment of $\hat{v}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\kappa\mu\sigma$ s in I Cor. vii 36. Common sense as well as lexical considerations condemn the most usual interpretation handed down from commentator to commentator—'past the flower of her age'. This would imply that St Paul thought that the 'present distress' was temporary, that marriage might be a good thing in the near future, and that therefore maidens who were advancing in age might be allowed a dispensation to anticipate the more peaceful times! Undoubtedly the physical constitution or temperament of the individual must be referred to, and not a question of years; so we translate 'in whom the instinct of motherhood is strong' (p. 40), justified by a similar use of

ὑπερακμάζειν by Myron (? third century B. C.) as quoted by Athenaeus there is apparently no early authority for the other sense.

Exegesis gains also from the reminder that the ancient author placed his footnotes in the text. These are here disentangled and placed in the lower margin with good effect: e.g. I Cor. ii 9 'Things that eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard (*Note*. That is, Things which have not entered the mind of man)'; or 2 Cor. i 20 'Many as are the promises of God, in Christ is the "Yes" that fulfils them. (*Note*. And for this reason also it is through Christ that the "Amen", the ascription through us of power to God, is conveyed to God.)'

In conclusion it will be well to give one longer quotation, to show the general style of the translation and the impression conveyed to the English reader (2 Cor. v 11 ff.; p. 82).

'It is therefore with the fear of the Lord before our eyes that we endeavour to win the confidence of men. To God, on the other hand, we are known exactly as we are; and in your consciences I trust we are so known also. Here no more than before do we seek to purchase credit with you, but it is well that you should have something which you can say gives you confidence in us, something which should be of use to you in dealing with men whose confidence is make-believe, and wholly devoid of conviction. It may be that we have had flights of exaltation, in them we spoke with God: now we are calm enough, and what we say concerns you. For the love that Christ has shewn leaves us no choice, once we have discerned that One died for all; that all therefore have died; and that His purpose in dying for all was that the living should never again live for themselves, but for Him who died for them, and was raised. This understood, we cannot any longer know men in the same way as the world knows them. If indeed there was a time when we knew Christ in the world's way, we do not so know Him Our view rather is, that for a man to be in Christ a fresh act of creation must take place. He is no longer what he was. the change at once. And all this is the work of God, who has reconciled us to Himself through Christ, and has commissioned us to make this offer of reconciliation, namely, to tell men that it was God's purpose from the first to reconcile the world to Himself, forbearing to reckon their sins against men, and that He has made us the spokesmen of this purpose.'

How far, then, did Dr Rutherford succeed in his cherished aim of reinterpreting St Paul for the 'plain man' of our own day? There will, perhaps, be differences of opinion. I myself think that this latter volume represents a distinct advance on the *Romans* published eight years ago. That would be partly due to the difficulty of that Epistle, but there is in the later work a vigour and clearness that dispels

wonderfully even the obscurity of 2 Corinthians. I believe that the layman taking up the volume will be conscious of an unwonted comprehension of what is before him, will see that St Paul's thought is not so remote after all from his own, and will be impelled to pursue further his study of the Apostle. Whether this be so or not, I hope I have indicated sufficiently what a wealth of matter there is in these two thin volumes for the consideration of the learned. Whether in general principles of interpretation or in the elucidation of particular points, they represent the ripe fruit of unwearied labour and the judgement of a mind above the common. It would be a pity if scholars failed to give due weight to such a contribution to theological science, which, in the author's intention, was also a contribution to religious edification. It would be pleasant to think that some might be found willing to carry it on to completion along the same lines.

STEPHEN LIBERTY.

SOME BOOKS ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The commentary on The Epistles of St Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon, by the Rev. A. Lukyn Williams, B.D., is the latest addition to the Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges, and may be cordially recommended as a careful and independent study of the two Epistles with which it deals. There is a full introduction, in which the necessary points are discussed with clearness and adequate knowledge of the relative literature, and the lexical notes are enriched by many apt quotations from the LXX and the later Hellenistic writers.

In view of the widely-spread interest in all that bears on the 'Social Problem' a hearty welcome may be given to the Rev. W. Edward Chadwick's small book on *The Social Teaching of St Paul* (Cambridge University Press, 1906). The book makes no pretension to be a complete exposition of the Apostle's Social Teaching, but deals generally with such points as 'The Preparation of St Paul for his Work', 'The Messianic Hope', and 'St Paul's Teaching and Modern Sociology'. There is also a careful examination of various selected passages from the Epistles which embody most clearly the Apostle's social ideals.

Those who find foreign books of 'Introduction' to the New Testament as a rule somewhat hard reading will have no such complaint against Charles Guignebert's Manuel d'Histoire ancienne du Christia-

nisme: Les Origines (Paris, 1906). It is mainly occupied, as its sub-title shews, with all that concerns the 'origins' of Christianity, and, after a brief summary of the 'sources' of knowledge on which we are dependent, it presents a series of graphic pictures of Judaism in Palestine and amongst the Jews of the Dispersion, and of the state of the Greco-Roman world in the time of Christ. The life and the teaching of our Lord and of St Paul are then dealt with, and the whole is concluded with a description of the Church at the end of the first century. The practical value of the book is much enhanced by its useful bibliographical notes, which draw attention to many French publications of importance that are apt to be lost sight of.

G. MILLIGAN.

In Spirit in the New Testament (by E. W. WINSTANLEY, B.D., Cambridge University Press, 1908), after a résumé of earlier evidence, Mr. Winstanley has carefully collected all the passages in the New Testament in which the word $\pi\nu\epsilon\hat{v}\mu a$ occurs, with brief notes. In the latter part of the book he has summarized his results so far as the Holy Spirit is concerned, approaching the evidence from a modern point of view. He finds developement from very scanty reference in the Synoptic Gospels to the flood-tide of Pentecost recorded in the Acts, and thence to the Pauline conception of the inwardness and abiding presence of the Spirit. In St John he finds traces of a 'Pauline' and a mystic view side by side.

Mr. Winstanley has laid foundations which will be most useful for future investigators, but the stability of his superstructure is perhaps less certain, for the development discovered seems over-emphasized. Possibly more detailed treatment would help matters, certainly a more lucid style would encourage the reader. The words 'discarnate', 'illapse', and 'disharmony' suggest an unnecessary divorce of Theology from literary amenity. The writer recalls to our notice a problem which is worthy of further attention.

C. WEST WATSON.

THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus), translated and edited by R. R. Ottley, M.A. Vol. i, Introduction and Translation, with a parallel Version from the Hebrew, 1904. Vol. ii, Text and Notes, 1906. (Cambridge University Press.)

This book is one among other welcome indications of the stimulus which has been given to Septuagint study by the appearance of Dr Swete's text and Introduction. Recently we have had, on a smaller scale, though none the less useful, Mozley's Psalter of the Church, and the Selections from the Septuagint of Conybeare and Stock. The present work is of a more ambitious character. In vol. i we are presented on opposite pages with English translations of the Hebrew text, and of that of the Codex Alexandrinus: vol. ii contains the Greek text of Cod. A and 300 pages of notes, and there are full introductions to both volumes concerning textual criticism and other matters.

We need not enter into the reasons which have induced the editor to select the Codex Alexandrinus as the basis of his work. Suffice it to say that in Isaiah Cod. A is generally acknowledged to represent a rather purer text than that of Cod. B, whereas in the majority of the books of the LXX the relation is reversed and the B text is manifestly superior. We are therefore grateful for a reprint in full of the A text for comparison with the B text contained in Dr Swete's edition. The true reading is, however, occasionally to be found in neither of them: e.g. διαζόμενοι, Isa. 19¹⁰ (preserved in a corrector of \aleph and a few cursives, of which διαλογιζόμενοι A Q* and ἐργαζόμενοι B \aleph * are corruptions) and ἀπατηθήση 30³³ (preserved in two cursives, all other MSS reading ἀπαιτηθήση).

The main object of the editor, to popularize the LXX, the only form in which the Old Testament was read by many generations of Jews and Christians, and to produce an edition of one of its most popular, if most difficult, books (Acts 8³⁰ ff), analogous to the abundant editions of the classics and of the books of the N.T., deserves all commendation, and he has in large measure succeeded in a very exacting task, and has earned the gratitude both of Biblical scholars, and of the growing company of students of Hellenistic Greek.

The work is somewhat of a pioneering character, and it is open to question what form this class of commentary should take, traversing, as it does, ground in which much exploration yet remains to be done. There is perhaps reason to fear that too much has here been attempted.

The notes consist partly of valuable independent critical work upon the Greek version and an investigation into the causes of its frequent divergences from the M.T., partly of comments upon the subject-matter of the original, which are more of the nature of a compilation. For the subject-matter the student is more likely to consult one of the fairly numerous commentaries on the original text, where fuller treatment is possible, and if this portion of the work were grouped together in a smaller compass the writer would have larger scope for the illustration of the vocabulary and style from *contemporary* Greek.

For it is on this side that one must confess to a feeling of deficiency in the book. One gladly acknowledges the copious illustrations, displaying wide reading, drawn from the Greek and Latin classics and from modern writings, but there is a marked omission of any reference to the papyri, which have recently thrown such a flood of light upon the Egypt of the Ptolemies. This is a source of illustration which no modern commentator of the Greek Bible, more especially of the Greek O.T., can afford to neglect, and the Petric Papyri and various other collections were available before vol. i of this work appeared. An interpreter of the Greek Isaiah should, one feels, approach his task, not so much from the standpoint of the Hebrew Prophet, as from that of the Alexandrine Jew. The Septuagint, if it often disappoints expectations of attaining by its help to a purer text of the original, has a sphere of great usefulness as a thesaurus of Hellenistic Greek.

The omission referred to is the more to be regretted in the case of a LXX book, in the perusal of which one of the first impressions produced is that of the Egyptian, we may say the Alexandrine, background. This is more clearly visible here than in any other portion of the Greek Bible, excepting perhaps the Pentateuch. The local colour is naturally most evident in the sections which have Egypt for their theme, but it also constantly intrudes itself where the translator is in difficulty, as he so often is, as to the meaning of the original. rushing, devastating, though fertilizing Nile, and the marshy swamps of the Delta are constantly in his thoughts, and the sea is not far off. 'Every sight of the beauty of ships' 216 has not come from the Hebrew; and elsewhere, as Mr Ottley notes (p. 169), a reference to ships is interpolated (1114, 181). The canals (διώρυχες 196, 2712, 3321) and the marshes ($\tilde{\epsilon}\lambda\eta$ 19°, &c.), and the sedge ($\tilde{a}\chi\iota$ 19°, a word of Egyptian origin) can hardly, if at all, be paralleled from the LXX, except from the narrative of Israel in Egypt: 'every collection of water' (196, 3725, recalling Gen. 19), and the irrigation-channels for the thirsty land (ὑδραγωγοί 4118, cf. 362), are phrases suggested by the watery prospect with which the translator was familiar. In the reference to

¹ See 17¹³, 32².

intestine warfare in Egypt 'city against city, kingdom against kingdom', the last words, which could have no meaning in the age of the Ptolemies, are replaced by an allusion to the native territorial divisions, vouces ἐπὶ νομόν (192); the officials referred to in the story of Rabshakeh bear Egyptian titles, ὑπομνηματογράφος 363 (cf. Strabo 797), τοπάρχης 369. The 'strong drink' (שֵׁבֶּר, in the non-Egyptian sections σίκερα) in 'the vision of Egypt' is specifically explained by the local brewing industry (ζύθος 1910: cf. Strabo 799 τῷ ζύθω τὸ πολύ φύλον χρήται τῶν 'Αλεξανδρέων): the denunciation of the brewers has a strangely modern sound. One misses in Mr Ottley's notes a reference to the descriptions of Egypt in Herodotus and Strabo. The mention of the ibis (3411) reveals the translator's provenance, and it is possible that other strange beasts, such as the ονοκένταυρος, might be illustrated from the fauna of ancient Egypt. The σπαρτίον γεωμετρίας ερήμου 3411 calls for a reference to land-surveying under the Ptolemies, of which the papyri have much to tell. The translator's outlook extends from the Palestinian frontier, 'the brook of Egypt', identified as Rhinocorura (2712), southwards to Assuan (Σοήνην 433): beyond is Ethiopia, which he characterizes as a 'hopeless' nation (Ottley, 'not looked for') on the furthest horizon: ξένον λαὸν καὶ χαλεπόν τί αὐτοῦ ἐπέκεινα; ἔθνος ἀνέλπιστον 182: the description in the Hebrew is quite different, and the epithets are complimentary.1 The words immediately following in the Greek, the translator being in difficulties, contain a characteristic statement that the rivers shall give place to habitable land. This all-pervading local colour may be taken as evidence that in the main the translation has come down to us in its original form, unaffected in essentials by subsequent revision, Palestinian or other: even the Egyptian recension of Hesychius would not be likely to import the colouring, though it would doubtless preserve it. It is this atmosphere which makes the absence of work on the papyri in this volume so regrettable. Might not light be thrown from this source on some of the 'stop-gap' renderings of the translator, such as the strange uses of παραδίδωμι?

Perhaps I may be allowed here to add two other impressions gained from a study of the Greek Isaiah. In the first place, the translation appears to be homogeneous. The translator of the first chapter is also responsible for the last, and throughout all the intermediate portions, notwithstanding varieties of style in the original, there are connecting links of style in the Greek, producing the impression of unity of workmanship: these links extend even to the historical section (36-39), where the Greek is distinct from, and appears to be of an older type than that found in the parallel narrative in IV Kingdoms. This

 $^{^{1}}$ One wonders whether this passage came under the eye of the Ethiopian cunuch (Acts $S^{\rm 22}).$

conclusion, taken in connexion with what follows, is important as shewing that our Hebrew book of Isaiah formed a single whole at the time when the Greek version was made: it renders it impossible to accept the late date (150-80 B.C.) for the final redaction of the Hebrew proposed by some recent critics.

For, lastly, it is difficult to resist the impression that the translation is an early one. In all probability the Greek Hexateuch alone pre-The external evidence—the existence implied in the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus of a Greek version of 'the prophecies' c. 130 B.C., and, pace Dr Margoliouth, the clear use of the Greek Isaiah in the Book of Wisdom (see the useful list of parallels in Ottley 117 f, cf. 201 f)—is borne out by the internal evidence. There is a comparative freedom of style in the Greek Isaiah, such as the later translators, even the translators of the other Prophetical Books, did not allow themselves: the fetters of literalism, which, with the growing reverence for the letter. more and more hampered the later translators of Scripture,1 are here barely felt. As in the Pentateuch, transliteration—the resource of conscientious ignorance—is practically non-existent, except where an appellative is taken to be a place-name 2 ($\tilde{a}\mu\pi\epsilon\lambda o\nu$ $\Sigma\omega\rho\dot{\eta}\kappa$ 5^2 : Σ . may be a doublet): with more hesitation we may regard as an exception of the same class $\tau \partial \nu$ $\sigma \partial \kappa \partial \nu$ $\tau \partial \nu$ $N \epsilon \chi \omega \theta \dot{\alpha}$ 39^2 . Apart from these words and $\chi \epsilon \rho o \nu \beta \epsilon i \nu$ (- $\epsilon i \mu$) 37¹⁶, which was never translated, we find only the two Aramaisms $\gamma(\epsilon)\iota\omega\rho\alpha$ s 14¹ (else only in Ex.), and the already mentioned σίκερα (else only in the Octateuch, from which St Luke borrows it): these clearly belonged to the ordinary vocabulary of an Egyptian Of 'Hebraisms' in translation, it is noticeable that the only one of constant occurrence— $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\tau i\theta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ ($\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$) with inf. for 'to do again'—is the sole vestige of the supposed influence of his native tongue which has been found in the writings of Josephus: the papyri may yet reclaim it from the category of 'Hebraisms'. Moreover, there is a strong resemblance between the vocabulary of the Greek Isaiah and that of the Hexateuch: for a few striking examples see vol. iv 583 of this JOURNAL. To some extent this is doubtless due to imitation: the Isaiah translator had wisely made a careful study of the work of his predecessors before undertaking his still more difficult task (see Ottley on 19⁷). But this explanation seems insufficient by itself to account for the very numerous and apparently undesigned coincidences of this kind which an examination of the Isaiah vocabulary, with the help of the Oxford

¹ Books which had not yet gained an entrance to the Canon were not affected in this way. Hence the free paraphrases of portions of Ezra and Daniel.

² Cf. Gen. 48^{22} έγὰ δὲ δίδωμί σοι Σίκιμα ἐξαίρετον, where Σίκιμα (= Shechem, some cursives add πόλιν) should certainly be written, not σίκιμα, as in both Cambridge texts.

Concordance, reveals. Lastly, reason has been shewn elsewhere for believing that the translation of the whole or, at least, large portions of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets was a joint undertaking, like that of the Pentateuch: it is more natural to suppose that the translation of Isaiah had already been made than that the most remarkable of the Prophetical Books was left till the last. On the whole, we conclude that the Greek Isaiah dates from early in the second century p.c., if it does not actually go back into the third.

A few comments may be added on details of Mr Ottley's edition. On the grammar of the translator there is much useful criticism in the 'Additional Note' to vol. ii and elsewhere: special mention may be made of his remarks on the overlapping of the perfect and agrist tenses (p. 393), and the uses of $\delta \nu \tau \rho \delta \pi \rho \nu$ (p. 138). On 6° attention might have been called to the unclassical active futures ἀκούσετε, βλέψετε: as the translator elsewhere uses the future middle of these verbs, it seems possible that the former are due to the reflex action of the N.T. citations of this passage on the text of the LXX. Πατῶσιν, 25¹⁰ A, need not be due to 'error of transcription': A has other instances of confusion between verbs in $-\dot{\alpha}\omega$ and $-\dot{\epsilon}\omega$, anticipating the coalescence of the two types in modern Greek. The causative use of βασιλεύειν (p. 300) might have been illustrated by the similar use of $\partial h \theta \epsilon \psi \epsilon \nu$ and $\mu \omega \rho \epsilon \psi \epsilon \nu$ in $44^{25} f$: a causative force might also in later Greek be imparted to a verb by the prefix $\epsilon \kappa$, and there can be little doubt that $\epsilon \kappa \tau \epsilon \kappa n$ (with $\epsilon \kappa \beta \lambda a \sigma \tau \eta \sigma n$ B) which renders the hiphil in 5510 should be rendered causatively and not as in Mr Ottley's translation. The Isaiah translator, however, uses ποιείν άμαρτείν 20^{21} , not έξαμαρτάνειν = 'cause to sin' of the Books of Kingdoms. The statement on p. 173 that 'in the Pentateuch, LXX represent [Shaddai] as a rule simply by $\theta \epsilon \delta s$ ' is not quite correct; in N 24° $\theta \epsilon o \hat{v} = 10^{\circ}$, as in Isaiah: clsewhere אַל ישרי is rendered by (5) $\theta \epsilon \dot{\omega} s$ with $\mu o \nu$ or other possessive pronoun: 5 $\theta \epsilon \dot{\omega} s$ $\mu o \nu$ Gen. 283, 43^{14} , 48^3 , δ $\theta \epsilon \delta s$ δ $\epsilon \mu \delta s$ 49^{25} , δ $\theta \epsilon \delta s$ $\sigma \delta v$ 35^{11} , $\theta \epsilon \delta s$ $\alpha \tilde{v} \tau \tilde{\omega} v$ Ex. 6^3 : the Isaiah rendering, as usual, finds some support in the Pentateuch, but in this case not in the earliest books. On 68 I see that Mr Ottley had anticipated me in pointing the way to the explanation of εγώ είμι followed by a finite verb. In the translation I have noted the following points: $\delta\iota\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\chi\theta\tilde{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu$ 1¹⁸ is surely middle, not 'let us be convicted': there seems to be no reason for rendering κυριεύουσιν in 312 as a future, while in 510 the fact that ἐργῶνται is a future seems to be missed: in the catalogue of female finery 'reclining veils' 3^{23} (θέριστρα κατάκλιτα) does not convey a very distinct meaning, are not some kind of 'light summer dinner dresses' intended? In 710 'spake' should be 'spake again'; 'your Fear' 813 should be 'thy Fear'; 'more' 229 should be 'many' (πλείους as positive). In 588 πρόιμον, notwithstanding the

Hebrew, should probably be simply 'early', not 'early in the morning': a clear distinction seems to be drawn in LXX between $\pi\rho\delta\iota\mu$ os 'early' (opposed to $\delta\psi\iota\mu$ os and presumably derived from $\pi\rho\delta$) and $\pi\rho\omega\iota\nu$ os (opposed to $\delta\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\nu$ os, from $\pi\rho\omega$).

If attention has been drawn in this notice to a few minor blemishes and to one regrettable omission, it is but fair to pay a tribute of admiration to a work of much solid learning and critical acumen, one of the first of its kind by an English scholar. Constant reference has proved its usefulness to at least one of its readers.

H. St J. THACKERAY.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Ecclesiastes. By G. A Barton, D.D. (International Critical Commentary.) T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1908.

DR BARTON'S commentary is a thoroughly useful book. In his preface he disclaims originality, but he endeavours 'in an impartial spirit . . . to go whither the evidence points'. The work is marked by sound common sense, and contrasts favourably with some of the recent literature on Koheleth, notably in the refusal to see in it a metrical production which must frequently be emended in order to produce metre. Its acceptance as canonical he dates, perhaps with undue certainty, from the Council of Jamnia. The date of the writing itself he fixes soon after 198 B.C.; and he throws in his lot with those who maintain its priority to Ben Sira and the Book of Wisdom. title 'Koheleth' is 'a pseudonym which probably designates the name of an office', and the author 'belonged to that wealthy sceptical aristocracy out of which the Sadducees were developed'. Dr Barton agrees with the present writer in distinguishing the hands of a Hasid and of a Hokma glossator, the latter of whom added several proverbs, for the most part irrelevant to the context, and the former corrected the tendency of Koheleth's words by the insertion of orthodox utterances. He also agrees with him in thinking that the book shews no direct influence of Greek philosophy, Stoic or Epicurean, and that it contains no Graecisms in its language or vocabulary. To the latter rule, however, he makes one exception—ועשם (vi 12) which he explains by reference to the Greek ποιείν χρόνον. It is scarcely probable, however, that a single instance should occur, and no more. In discussing the Epicurean traces of thought which some have alleged, he adopts Grimme's suggestion that ix 6-9 was written under the influence of the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh. There is a similarity of thought,

but perhaps hardly more than would be found in any oriental description of the ordinary pleasures of life.

As regards the Greek text Dr Barton accepts the very probable theory that the version which is included in the LXX was made by Aquila before the Hebrew text had been revised under the superintendence of Akiba, and that the version of Aquila known to us in Origen's Hexapla was made from the Hebrew after that revision.

The Commentary is full and adequate. On the famous passage xii 2-6 Dr Barton wisely avoids 'the vagaries to which excessive zeal for anatomical identification has led'.

There are, unfortunately, several misprints, especially in the case of Greek words. Ἐκκλεσιαστής occurs three times for Ἐκκλησιαστής. P. 92 for ἐυφούνης read εὐφροσύνης; p. 45 (four lines from the bottom) for 'can' read 'cannot'; p. 168 (l. 4) for 'deliver' read 'have delivered'.

A. H. McNeile.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

L'Église et l'Orient au Moyen Age: Les Croisades, par M. Louis Bréhier, professeur d'Histoire à l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand. (Lecoffre, Paris, 1907.)

This is one of the best volumes in the Bibliothèque de l'enseignement de l'histoire ecclésiastique, and no one has a better right to speak with authority on this subject than M. Bréhier. Its admirable bibliography makes the book specially useful, and, upon the whole, it may be judged the best and most complete view of the Crusades yet given. Since von Sybel wrote his small volume upon the First Crusade, the study of the original authorities and the study of Eastern history have made great steps forward: M. Bréhier's work represents quite adequately the advances that have been made. Thus in chapter i the general view of the East, with its real importance, gives us the proper aspect: the Frank protectorate in the Holy Land, the change in the eleventh century by which pilgrims travelled in large bodies and the increased fervour in pilgrimages are there described. The ideas which gave rise to the Crusades are admirably sketched, and justice is done (p. 52) to the conceptions of Gregory VII: as he started from the ecclesiastical basis the question of the reunion of Christendom loomed most largely before The formation of the Crusading States altered the whole him.

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VOL. X.

situation, and the maintenance of them became a chief object, but primarily a political object, of the Papal policy: the care of Palestine and the political ends of these States were not always easy to combine: commercial interests, especially those of the Italian towns, had soon more to do with the Crusading kingdom than had religious interests. The Crusade of 1204, and the tangled politics lying behind it, perhaps ought to have received fuller treatment, but the growing separation after that time between politics and the idea of the Crusade is rightly emphasized. As the theory of the Crusades is more fully worked out, and something of the original popular enthusiasm revives, we come under Innocent III (witness the Crusade of the children) to a more missionary movement, and this new growth (with the theorists of the Crusades) is dealt with in chapter x. The account of the closing scenes is very clear, and here, as is indeed the case throughout the work, proportion is well kept. It is this preservation of scale and completeness of view which form the special feature of the work; one feels all through that M. Bréhier is writing with reserves of knowledge and material, and when he leaves us with the taking of Constantinople (1453) we understand how the Crusades left a double legacy, on the one hand to later missions, and on the other to the great discoverers. writers have given us special views of the Crusades: few have combined, like M. Bréhier, the study of their politics with that of their theories; few writers have sketched so clearly and with such firm touch the true relations of the Crusades to their own days, and their importance for our own time. Stevenson's Crusaders in the East (1907), which has appeared since M. Bréhier wrote, may now be added to the Bibliography. Finally, it may be said that M. Bréhier's book is indispensable for any one beginning the study of mediaeval history.

Les Réordinations, étude sur le Sacrement de l'ordre, par l'Abbé Louis Saltet, professeur d'Histoire ecclésiastique à l'Institut Catholique de Toulouse. (Lecoffre, Paris, 1907.)

This work of over 400 pages, with ample notes and five appendices, traces the doctrine and practice of reordination from the earliest times down to the beginning of the fifteenth century. The treatment of ordination conferred by heretics is not only of importance in itself, but is an index to general conceptions and doctrines of even more importance in themselves. Given the basis of sacramental power, could that power be possessed and exercised by a minister, in a state of sin, of heresy, of schism, or of excommunication? This is the question the solutions of which M. Saltet treats in a historic method, with ample

learning, with full reference to the works of predecessors varied in their standpoints and in their merits, and also with the help of much material still in manuscript. The first part of the last chapter (xxii) sketches the treatment of the question from Baronius downwards. Baronius was ignorant of some treatises later than Peter Damiani's Liber gratissimus, which he held to have settled the question, and his treatment of some earlier canons was lacking in fairness. Morin's learning and material were more ample, but in attempting a reconciliation of views and practices which were really opposed to each other, he fell into a pitfall which is escaped by M. Saltet who sees two conflicting theories existing in the early Church, a rigid theory in the East, and a milder theory at Rome. Hahn's study of the question, which is pronounced useful, is held to be vitiated by use of misleading authorities. Hergenrother's study, more amply supported, is vitiated by his acceptance of the principle that no difference of practice between the ancient Church and that of to-day should be admitted to exist. Thus, as a result, his conclusions are not based upon the historic method, and are only reached by the use of some violence. Later writers are then passed under review, and the discussions of 1869, held under unfavourable circumstances, are summarized. Döllinger is held to have exaggerated real facts: the Jesuit historian Michael is held to minimize the facts exaggerated by Döllinger, while his omission of other facts belongs more to controversy than to history. Mirbt's treatment of the authorities (in his very useful works upon the time of Gregory VII) is shewn to be unsatisfactory in some details, and not to be without confusion. And it should be said for M. Saltet that he really does reach for himself a dignity of historic treatment, and a perfectly honest use of authorities, worthy both of modern criticism, and of the traditions of French scholarship.

Appendix I summarizes a very interesting process of attribution, by which the *De excommunicatis vitandis* (as given in the *Libelli de lite*, vol. ii), assigned to Bernold of Constance, is shewn to be a somewhat interpolated version of the *De concordantia canonum* of Hincmar of Rheims. The chapters in which M. Saltet deals with the age of Gregory VII are among the best in the volume: he moves among these sands of little studied controversy with a sure and easy footing. A discussion interesting to English readers is that of the reordinations made by Archbishop Theodore in England. But the work merits full consideration upon all the matters it treats of, not only for its fullness of learning, but equally for its sound historical method. The importance of the theories discussed for the general doctrine of the Church and for the growth of the Papal power cannot be overestimated. The author states their history fairly and fully, but a review of them would be a lengthy matter.

English Church History from the Death of Charles I to the Death of William III. Four Lectures by the Rev. A. Plummer, M.A., D.D., Master of University College, Durham. (T. & T. Clark, 1907, 3s. net.)

THIS is another of Dr Plummer's short courses of fresh and interesting lectures upon English Church History. Its merits are the same as those of its predecessors; frequent reference to the literature of the time: quotations from authorities not always used; a strong common sense; portraits firmly drawn and independently viewed, of the main characters discussed. The letters of the French ambassador Bordeaux. Peter Gunning's and Baker's notes, Earle's Microcosmographie, and Dryden's poems, reinforce the more obvious quotations from Evelyn Specially interesting are the sketches of Cromwell's character and his place in history, and of William III: the account of the theological writers upon Toleration in chapter iii is very useful at a time when the popular but mistaken view is that Toleration was gained by politicians in spite of the struggles of theologians and ecclesiastics. Some critics might think that the sketch of James II underestimated his ability, and that the perseverance of the Non-jurors in their schism. once it was begun, was not, from their point of view, so unaccountable as it is here judged to have been. The freshness both of view and material makes the book peculiarly useful to those who cannot read much, and who should therefore be drawn away from second-hand and second-rate abbreviations.

J. P. WHITNEY.

PATRISTICS.

Zu den Schriften des Makarios von Magnesia. Von GEORG SCHALK-HAUSSER. Leipzig, 1907, being No. 4 of Vol. xxxi, in Texte und Untersuchungen, &c.

SINCE a MS was discovered in Greece in 1867 containing the lost apologetic work of Macarius Magnes, singularly little work has been done on this interesting author, about whom so much still remains obscure. This is largely due to the German criticism which relegated him to the fifth century, and consequently to an unimportant position, as the mere echo of earlier thoughts. Last year, in the course of two articles in this JOURNAL, I attempted a reconsideration of the question, and suggested that he is really an ante-Nicene father, who deserves

¹ J. T. S. April and July 1907.

serious consideration. It so happens that he was at the same time again being considered in Germany, in the book now under review, which however approaches the problem from a different point of view, as a matter not of literary but of textual criticism. And Herr Schalkhausser extends his investigation to the other work which also bears the name of Macarius, the fragments of the Homilies on Genesis. Both parts of his book contain new and valuable information. His news with regard to the care of the Athens MS of the Apocritica is not of a satisfactory kind. Those who have read the only edition of it, begun by Blondel, completed by Foucart, and commented on by Duchesne, have taken for granted that it was in the National Library, and I was much puzzled not to find it in the catalogue. But we are now told that it is in private possession, the curator Apostolides having left it to his widow. Every scholar will echo the sentiment that 'es ware schade, wenn das MS im Privatbesitze bliebe und uns so der Apokritikos vielleicht noch einmal verloren ginge'.

The question that the book may claim to have solved is whether this Athens MS, which was discovered at Epirus forty years ago, is to be identified with the MS which has been lost from the library at Venice since the second half of the sixteenth century. We know most about this latter MS from the Jesuit Turrianus (De la Torre), who quoted largely from it in his controversial treatises. From a study of these quotations, Duchesne argued that the MSS were the same. I must confess that I was not satisfied, but as that was not the main object of my writing, I contented myself with saying that the arguments of Duchesne were unconvincing. We are now given a careful setting forth of all these quotations, which point to the fact that it was not the text of the Athens MS which Turrianus had before him. The strange part of the lengthy discussion thus entailed is that, after nearly a hundred pages spent on the problem, there follows half a page (on p. 112) which makes much of what has gone before quite superfluous. It seems that the Athens MS, which only contains three out of the five books of the Apocritica (and even they are mutilated at both ends), consists of 125 leaves, but an ancient catalogue reveals the fact that the Venice MS, which was complete, contained only 104. Unless there is reason to doubt this evidence, it is, of course, enough in itself to decide the question.

Besides reproducing in full (as I did myself, J. T. S. July 1907) the quotation of Turrianus from the lost fifth book, which is not in the edition of the Athens MS, Herr Schalkhausser gives (p. 10) another fragment contained in certain other MSS, and purporting to be by Macarius. These other MSS contain the famous chapter (iii 23) on the Eucharist, which is the most familiar and oftenest cited passage in

the Apocritica. And at the end of it they add the story of the convincing of a doubting brother. Linked by a colon and a hyphen to the final statement that τὸ τρωγόμενον ἐστιν ἀδαπάνητον, comes the abrupt commencement of a narrative. 'Αδελφός τις άμφέβαλλε περί των άγιασμάτων, λέγων μὴ είναι αὐτὰ τὸ σωμα καὶ αίμα τοῦ κυρίου, ἀλλ' ἀντίτυπα τούτου. It proceeds to tell of the vision he had while the deacon was reading the gospel, of the heavenly Child slain and offered for food, of his inability to eat the flesh thus given, and of its being turned into bread as a concession to man's weakness. There seems no doubt whatever that the story is a mere insertion, of a date much later than Macarius. Perhaps some one who reads this may recognize the source whence it comes. But I venture to think that this insertion gives considerable point to my own argument with regard to another passage in the book. One of the chief objections that have been brought to the ante-Nicene date of Macarius lies in his language with regard to the Trinity, and his use of the expressions μία οὐσία and τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις. The passage in question shews a sudden and complete change of style, contains οὐσία and ὑπόστασις in a sense different from their general use in the book, and seems strangely tactless in answering a pagan opponent who discusses the Monarchia of God. But all is explained if we can suppose that it is a later insertion, suggested by the washing of Baptism (1 Cor. vi 12), which is the topic Macarius is dealing with. If we are now told of some half-dozen MSS which give Apoc. iii 23 with a later insertion added without comment, apparently because of a certain appropriateness to the subject, does it not make it easier to suppose that something of the same kind has happened in the Athens MS in the case of Apoc. iv 25?

The second part of the book under review deals with the Homilies on There seems no reason for doubting the genuineness of one of the extant fragments, which is contained in a Vatican MS. But the others, known as Ottobonian, must be regarded as on a different level, and, indeed, the Vatican MS is itself an argument against them, for it contains an Origenistic, and therefore quite Macarian, explanation of the coats of skins, whereas they give a different one, and in this and other ways they shew a different style. Herr Schalkhausser has found these Ottobonian fragments in Theodosius Melitenus, and other mediaeval chronicles. He therefore concludes that they formed part of a κοσμοποιία, and that, in the catena of commentaries on the first three chapters of Genesis, the name of Mayvήτης came at some subsequent time to be put opposite the passages in question. gives a lengthy table shewing the various sources from which the account in Theodosius is drawn. It may be mentioned that among these is a passage, contained in one of the fragments, which comes

almost literally from Methodius's work On the Resurrection (p. 141). It will thus be seen that, of the ten reputed fragments of this last work of Macarius as given by Duchesne, we can now only be certain about one.

We are much indebted to Herr Schalkhausser for so much valuable information with regard to some of the problems of Macarius suggested by the text, and all the more as they have involved so laborious a study. But there are some who will think that the literary problem is more interesting and more important, and on this we are still looking for fresh criticism and more light. One cannot help remarking in conclusion, that it is very disappointing not to find a word about Macarius in so comprehensive a new work as Zöckler's Geschichte der Apologie des Christentums. In it Firmicus Maternus figures as one of the representatives of the fourth century, and Rudentius (who is allowed four pages), of the fifth. Whichever century can rightly claim the Apocritica of Macarius, it has surely an equal claim to representation. That the objections of the Neoplatonist opponent are given entire, is sufficient in itself to give the book a unique value; and if the answers are by an Origenist who is no slavish copier of his master, they are at least worthy of mention in some place subordinate to the Contra Celsum.

T. W. CRAFER.

S. Jean Chrysostome et ses œuvres dans l'histoire littéraire. By Dom Chr. Baur. (A. Fontemoing, Louvain and Paris, 1907.)

This work, by a learned Benedictine scholar, is divided into two main sections: viz. St Chrysostom in (1) the Greek, and (2) the Latin, Church. This, at least, is the division given in the Table of Contents (pp. ix-xi); but it does not appear why that part of the book which deals with St Chrysostom in modern times is ranged exclusively under the head of the Latin Church.

The allusions to, and appreciations of, St Chrysostom in Greek and Roman writers, whether contemporaneous or of later date, are collected and discussed in pp. 1-80. But the most valuable (as the longest) section of Dom Baur's work is that already referred to, entitled *Temps Modernes*. It occupies pp. 81-295, and contains a list of the various editions of Chrysostom, both of his entire works and of separate treatises or sermons.

¹ Duchesne De Macario Magnete: Appendix.

involved in its formation to meet human needs. In referring to this question Zöckler falls foul of a remark in J. O. Hannay's Spirit and Origin of Christian Monasticism, a book which in other places he praises, to the effect that the Greifswald professor suggested in Askese und Mönchtum that 'the list was originally compiled and the faults classified by St Macarius the Great'. It was a perfectly justifiable remark. Zöckler's own words are: '. . . die Frage, ob vielleicht schon ein älterer als Evagrius (etwa dessen Lehrer, der sketische Makarius) das Schema zuerst aufgestellt habe, hier ausgeschlossen bliebe'.

Other landmarks in the developement of the seven virtues are provided by Ambrose, who, as is well known, prefixes the classical quartet, under the title *Virtutes principales*, to his discussion of the New Testament triad, Augustine with his more philosophical basis in love, Cassian who introduced the scheme of eight principal faults to the West, and Gregory the Great.

The section on the last-named is one of the most important in the book. It is in Gregory that we first find firmly established the seven deadly sins which played such a part in mediaeval teaching. They are superbia, invidia, ira, tristitia (= acedia), avaritia, gula, luxuria. Zöckler says that this arrangement, as compared with that of Cassian, shews that it was designed more for non-monastic circles. It is no doubt true that Gregory took a wider sweep, but is it so certain, as Zöckler supposes, that a non-monastic interest is shewn by the insertion of invidia? Browning's Spanish Cloister suggests the contrary, and actual proof that there was danger of such a vice within monastery walls may be found, e.g. in the Chronicle of Jocelyn of Brakelond. Gregory did not go on to draw up an exact list of seven virtues. For that we have to turn to the Master of the Sentences. The magic of the number seven, which, as Zöckler reminds us, did not begin with Christianity (for it appears possessing a certain holiness, e.g. in connexion with the Delphic Apollo), is seen in forerunners like Theodulf of Orleans, who attempts to weave the seven liberal arts, Grammar, Rhetoric, Dialectic, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astrology, into the Christian life, and Hugh of St Victor, who contrasts the seven sins with the seven gifts of the Spirit, which are, as he says, 'dona solummodo, non merita,' of which the virtues are the outcome, and in saying so assists the conception of their completeness and heavenly origin, but reaches its greatest height in Peter Lombard. In him not only do we have seven deadly sins, seven sacraments, seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, seven works of mercy, but also seven Christian virtues have a definite fixed place, and even the Beatitudes are compressed into seven.

We cannot follow our author further in detail. It must be sufficient to say that he traces the history carefully up to the Reformation, when a reaction set in against what seemed the artificial character of the current moral teaching, the 'odiosissimus ac taediosissimus catalogus, imo omnino noxius', as Luther said with his Teutonic love of superlative.

The book carries us right down to such modern writers as Häring and Stange, and will be found to contain a great deal that is interesting about other categories, that men have fashioned for themselves for the spiritual life as well as the mystic seven. We are brought into touch with the Skalenethik, the Subida del Monte Carmen, and the Pilgrim's *Progress.* The author gives a fair and clear account of all that he deals with, but writes from a somewhat conventional point of view, and sometimes we feel that he misses the right value of things. In the first place he draws too marked a contrast between the Christian and the classical virtues. It is true that taken independently the one is a 'theonome moral', the other an 'autonome'. But surely a life based on the Christian affirmations cannot afford to neglect the virtues of paganism. For many, indeed, the progress is through the latter, and it is by a realization of their inadequacy taken alone that the others are reached. And so Ambrose was psychologically on the right lines. In the Middle Ages, too, they were, though perhaps in a formal way, trying to conserve goods.

Again, when he speaks of the Siebenlasterschema as 'klösterlich-klerikales Fabrikat ohne jeglichen Schriftgrund und ohne irgend welchen Nutzen, sei es für katechetische, sei es für pädagogische oder pastorale Zwecke' (pp. 2 and 6), he accuses it of lacking just the one thing it did possess, namely, great teaching value for simple people, by providing definite signposts as to dangers in the personal life. Zöckler prefers the ten commandments, which are just as much or as little an arbitrary scheme, and though they naturally possess a great and in some ways permanent value, yet they fall far short of that intimate acquaintance with the inmost temptations of the individual which represents the contribution of early monasticism to Christianity, and gives to the ethical ideas hammered out then a survival value even at the present day.

A. S. Duncan Jones.

THE CANON LAW.

Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima. Tomi secundi pars prior. Concilia Ancyritanum et Neocaesariense. Ed. C. H. Turner. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1907.)

THIS instalment of Mr Turner's monumental work forms the first part of the second volume. As he had the material ready, he wisely determined to publish it out of its due order, for the second fasciculus of vol. i has not appeared yet. We have here the versions of the two Councils of A.D. 314 which were held at Ancyra and Neocaesarea, and are of fundamental importance for the history of canon law. versions are: (1) the Gallica with its Spanish abridgement, (2) the so-called Prisca, (3) the so-called Antiqua of Isidore, with its epitome by Fulgentius Ferrandus, (4) the so-called Vulgate of Isidore with its Spanish epitome, (5, 6) the first and second interpretations of Dionysius Exiguus. Most of these had been published already (the Gallica and Isidori antiqua by Maassen). The first version of Dionysius and the Spanish epitome of the Isidorian Vulgate of the canons of Ancyra are printed for the first time. Of these texts, the Dionysii prima has the particular interest that it sometimes corrects the Isidori antiqua by the Greek original. The new material which Mr Turner has assembled for the other texts is considerable. For the Spanish epitome of the Gallica, Mansi, the previous editor, had only one codex (of Lucca); the present editor has collated the older and better MS of Verona as well as the later Vaticanus 5751. For the Isidori antiqua he has summoned to his aid two much-travelled books, a Lugdunensis (saec. vii) which passed through Paris to Petersburg, and a Remensis (saec. viii) which after more than one migration reached the Phillipps library at Cheltenham, and is now in Berlin.

The editor's critical work exhibits the judiciousness, acumen, and unsparing care which the previous fascicles have accustomed us to expect. In the Isidorian and Dionysian texts, where the tradition is comparatively abundant, I surmise that scholars will seldom dissent from his critical inferences. In the more interesting cases of the Gallica and the Prisca, where the manuscripts are few, there is wider room for conjecture and for variety of opinion. Mr Turner has here shewn admirable certainty of hand in his restorations. In the Gallica, for instance, his changes in canon iv (p. 5), his conversionem (Maassen conversationem) for conventionem in canon v (p. 6), his conjecture for alteri in canon ix (p. 13), will all strongly recommend themselves. In the Prisca, I may call attention to his diverse (iv p. 21), dominicum for dominicam (xiv p. 24), supereunt, which ought to be right (xv p. 25),

docere (xi p. 31), and above all to his brilliant morigerare for migrare (ix p. 30).

There is, however, one passage in the Gallica of which his treatment seems to me to be unacceptable. It is in canon xviii (p. 9), of which his text is as follows:—

si quis episcopus fuerit ordinatus et non receptus fuerit ubi ordinatus est, requirat alteram parrochiam. si autem + uiolenter uoluerit + et rixas concitauerit aduersus illos, hic exsecrandus est. si autem uoluerit ibi esse, non auferatur ei dignitas presbiterii.

The words uiolenter uoluerit, here confined between the crosses of corruption, are surely quite sound and just what we should expect. The fault of the text lies not there, but in the omission of an infinitive clause. This is proved by (1) the Greek β_{i} δ_{i} n the next clause, which is meaningless if the equivalent of δ_{i} δ_{i}

In Gallica iii (p. 4) for †concessas † I conjecture inconcessas, 'forbidden'. In Prisca i (p. 20) I prefer the editor's conjecture praedicare (for J praecare I pactere) to the alternative tractare which he adopts, but on such a point I feel that it is dangerous to differ from him. In iv (p. 21) ad fin. one would expect probetur. In x (p. 23) for distipulatae should we not read dispoliatae?

These texts supply a certain amount of illustrative material for lexicography and the study of degenerate Latin. We have such forms as aumentum, lacrimetur, misericordie (adv.?), periculus; paganizare, festinantia, perincidere; pareat (for appareat), which we are accustomed to think of as archaic. Interesting, too, are mistranslations like sub hora for ἐπὶ ὅρφ, and the misapprehension of ἀλογεύομαι. This verb in the sense of in animalibus fraciscere (to use the phrase of the Prisca) is obviously derived from ἄλογον, 'animal', and not (directly) from ἄλογον. But in the Isidorian canons it is rendered quod nos latine possumus dicere 'de his qui irrationabiliter uersati sunt sine uersantur' (p. 92), and also qui sicut muta uixerunt animalia (p. 100). This shews that the interpreters were not familiar with the popular use of ἄλογον, afterwards specialized to mean a horse.

J. B. BURY.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

Church Quarterly Review, October 1908 (Vol. lxvii, No. 133: Spottiswoode & Co.). The Lambeth Conference—D. Stone Eucharistic doctrine and the canon of the Roman Mass—The increase of the episcopate in its latest developements—E. Wordsworth The higher education of women—The doctrine of divine immanence in New Testament theology—The archbishopric of Cyprus—H. H. Jeaffreson Mr Frederic Harrison's Studies—C. H. Turner Irregular marriages and the earliest discipline of the Church—Liberal policy and religious education in Ireland and in England—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, October 1908 (Vol. vii, No. 1: Williams & Norgate). P. RAMANATHAN The miscarriage of life in the West—C. Johnston A Chinese statesman's view of religion—F. W. VON HERBERT The Moslem tradition of Jesus' second visit on earth—C. Plater A great social experiment—W. James Hegel and his method—F. C. S. Schiller Infallibility and toleration—C. S. Peirce A neglected argument for the reality of God—B. Russell Determinism and morals—C. Stephen Pain—T. K. Chevne The 'Jerahmeel theory'—A. C. McGiffert How may Christianity be defended to-day?—J. Moffatt Bookless religion—J. P. Hopps Evangelical bargaining—Discussions—Reviews—Bibliography.

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November 1908 (Seventh Series, No. 35). W. M. CALDER A fourth-century Lycaonian bishop—W. M. RAMSAY A Laodicean bishop—J. ORR The Resurrection of Jesus: 10. Doctrinal bearings of the resurrection—D. R. FOTHERINGHAM The date of the Exodus—D. S. MARGOLIOUTH G. A. Smith and S. Merrill on Jerusalem—X. Professor Mayor and the Helvidian hypothesis.

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(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, October 1908 (Vol. xii, No. 4: Chicago University Press). C. CLEMEN Does the Fourth Gospel depend upon pagan traditions?—F. THILLY Can Christianity ally itself with monistic ethics?-W. W. FENN and W. D. MACKENZIE The relation between the resurrection of Jesus and the belief in immortality -D. S. Mussey Were the spiritual Franciscans Montanist heretics?-G. A. BARROW The Christian experience of the Trinity—Critical notes -Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, October 1908 (Vol. vi, No. 4: Princeton University Press). Herman Bavinck — W. H. JOHNSON Pragmatism, Humanism, and Religion—B. B. WARFIELD The first question of the Shorter Catechism—A. v. C. P. Huizinga The function of authority in life and its relation to legalism in ethics and religion— Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, October 1908 (Vol. xxv, No. 4: Abbaye de Maredsous). D. DE BRUYNE I Les deux derniers chapitres de la lettre aux Romains: II Un nouveaux manuscrit de la troisième lettre de S. Paul aux Corinthiens-P. Leiay L'héritage de Grégoire d'Elvire-A. WILMART L'Itinerarium Eucheriae—G. MORIN Pour la topographie ancienne du Mont-Cassin (suite et fin): Appendice: Les quatre plus anciens calendriers du Mont-Cassin-P. DE MEESTER Études de théologie orthodoxe: C. Conditions du premier homme avant la chute -G. Morin Une erreur de copiste dans le texte d'Irénée-H. Gaïsser Bibliothèque musicologique—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques -U. Berlière Bulletin d'histoire monastique.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, October 1908 (Vol. ix, No. 4: Louvain, 40 Rue de Namur). G. ARCHAMBAULT Les MSS du dialogue · avec Tryphon—J. Lebon La Christologie de Timothée Ailure, archevêque monophysite d'Alexandrie, d'après les sources syriaques inédites—A. FIERENS La question franciscaine: Le manuscrit II 2326 de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique (suite, à suivre)—A. BAYOT Un traité inconnu sur le Grand Schisme dans la Bibliothèque des ducs de Burgogne—L. WILLAERT Négociations politico-religieuses entre l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas catholiques (1598-1625): Intervention des souverains anglais en faveur du protestantisme aux Pays-Bas (suite et fin)—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, July 1908 (2nd series, Vol. iii, No. 3: Paris, Rue du Regard 20). S. Valhe Saint Euthyme le Grand, moine de Palestine (suite)—L. Leroy Une version arabe d'une homélie inédite sur la Pénitence, attribuée à saint Jean Chrysostone (fin)—F. Nau Histoires des solitaires Égyptiens (suite, ms Coislin 126, fol. 198 sqq.)—R. Griveau Histoire de la conversion des Juiss habitant la ville de Toméi, en Égypte, d'après d'anciens manuscrits arabes—S. Grébaut Littérature éthiopienne pseudo-Clémentine: Texte et traduction du Mystère du jugement des pécheurs (fin)—F. Nau I Introduction de la chronique syriaque anonyme, éditée par Sa Béatitude Mgr Rahmani (suite): II Le xve Congrès international des Orientalistes (Copenhague, 14-20 août 1908)—Bibliographie.

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, November 1908 (Vol. ix, No. 4: Giessen, A. Töpelmann). Kreyenbühl Der alteste Auferstehungsbericht und seine Varianten — Fiebig Das Griechisch der Mischna — T. Nissen Die Petrusakten und ein bardesanitischer Dialog in der Averkiosvita II—O. Dibelius Studien zur Geschichte der Valentinianer II—Miszelle.

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Theologische Quartalschrift (Vol. xc, No. 4: Tübingen, H. Laupp). RIESSLER Zum Jacobssegen—PFÄTTISCH Christus und Sokrates bei Justin—DI PAULI Die Irrisio des Hermias—ZELLER Zur Loretofrage—ERNST Zeit und Heimat des Liber de rebaptismate—Rezensionen—Analekten.

The Journal of Theological Studies

APRIL, 1909

CHRIST BEFORE HEROD

LUKE XXIII 1-16.

THE part played in the proceedings of the Passion by Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, is one of those incidents which are peculiar to the third Gospel of the canonical four. The narrative has been vigorously assailed by modern criticism. Some have declared it destitute of any foundation. And even in the more conservative historians we find assumptions and concessions, respecting the purport of the story as intended by the Evangelist, which, if valid, create difficulties and doubts. The purpose of this essay is to suggest, with the submission due from one having no special competence in the subject, that the case against the narrative is itself entirely mistaken, and rests, so far as it has any basis at all, upon a traditional misapprehension and misinterpretation of the statement impeached.

The present position of the question, as it appears from the sceptical side, will be seen in a full quotation translated from the commentary of Loisy. My investigation of this matter, as a case in some ways typical and important, was conceived in the course of studying his two elaborate and interesting volumes on the Synoptic Gospels. Criticism, he says, has seen in this episode

'a legendary fiction accepted, or even invented, by Luke. The latter hypothesis must be rejected as improbable, since everywhere else the evangelist depends upon written documents. He found the mention of Herod in one of the gospels which he knew and used. But did this document deserve complete confidence? May not its data have been somewhat modified by Luke for the purpose of inclusion in his narrative? It has been remarked that, not having mentioned the silence of Jesus before Pilate, he has put this touch into the appearance

¹ Les Évangiles Synoptiques ii 638.

VOL. X.



before Herod; that the accusation of the priests seems to be imported from the same source; and that the soldiers of Herod and the "splendid robe" similarly take the place and part of the Roman soldiers, who, in the first two Gospels, and in the fourth, array the Saviour in a robe of purple. The "splendid robe" of Luke need not be white, and if it be, the purple may have been discarded by the evangelist as an object not possible for the mockery of a king.

On the other hand, the story of Luke has long prepared us for the intervention of Herod. We are informed first that the tetrarch desired to see Jesus,3 and again later,4 that he designed to put him to death, and that upon this occasion the Pharisees who gave warning of the design were requested by Jesus to tell Herod that, for the death of a prophet, the only possible place was Jerusalem. All this, in the conception of the evangelist, is connected with the incident now before us. But the train of events he probably did not make; he found it readymade in a document or documents, containing notes of the relation between Jesus and Antipas. A passage in the Acts, a prayer of the disciples in which Herod is expressly noted as a participant in the condemnation of the Saviour, is inspired by the same source or derived from the same tradition. In that passage is mentioned a prophecy, which was in the mind of the author when he describes in his Gospel the parts taken, in the story of the Passion, by the Jewish priests and people, by Pilate, and by Herod: "Why did the nations rage and the peoples imagine vain things? The kings of the earth assembled, and the rulers were gathered together, against the Lord and against his Christ." 6 This text from the *Psalms* may have had some influence in shaping the Gospel-narrative, but has not affected it very much, and certainly cannot have created it.

It was supposed by Renan, that Luke was acquainted with a document, "in which the death of Jesus was by mistake attributed to Herod", and that, "in order not to lose this datum totally", he "pieced the two traditions together". A pure mistake it could not be, but there is room for mistake with design. The apocryphal Gospel of Peter gives a glimpse of the way in which legend enlarged the part of Herod in the Passion, and thus improved upon the lead of the Synoptic Gospels in shifting the responsibility from Pilate; but the part of the procurator could not conceivably be suppressed. The document, upon which Luke has drawn for information about the attitude of Herod towards Jesus, cannot, so far at least as concerns his part in the Passion, be that which was used by Mark. It was a source resembling the Gospel of Peter, possibly a former edition of this Gospel, and parallel to Mark and to

¹ robe brillante.
2 Some Latin versions render the adj. by albus.
3 ix 7.
4 xiii 31.
5 iv 27.
6 Ps. ii 1-2.

Matthew. In it, all the main points of the trial by Pilate were transferred to Herod, so as to let it appear that the tetrarch gave the sentence and directed the execution. So free a treatment of history the framer of our third Gospel could not admit; but he has summarized that version in a scene, which, so far as it goes, serves to exhibit the innocence of Jesus and the goodwill of Pilate, and to throw upon the Jewish king and his soldiers the odium of the mockery really enacted at the residence of the Roman governor... The purpose of clearing Pilate explains why, in the original document, his place was in a manner filled by Herod, and the substitution may be, to some extent, an echo of the original data respecting the measures which Antipas was disposed to take against the preaching of Jesus in Galilee.'

Now it will be seen at once that the key-stone of this criticism, the base, hinge, handle, sum of it, is the resemblance, between the trial by Pilate and the trial (so called) by Herod, in the remarkable particular of the mockery. Were it not for this, the suggestion that the two scenes are suspiciously parallel, and the inference that one may be an invention which imitates the other, would never have occurred to any reasonable mind. Except in this, the resemblance, so far as it exists, is the natural and even necessary result of the circumstances. The Accused, who made but little answer to the examination of Pilate, made none to the questions of Herod. We may well suppose so. The accusers were in both places the same persons or some of them. Of course they would be. But the repetition of the mockery is a different matter. The derisive play or performance of the Roman soldiers after the condemnation, whatever its nature or occasion, is an exceptional and irregular incident, a thing which, though in no way improbable, could by no means be presumed from the circumstances. And if, as all seem to understand, and as we must understand from the description of the interview with Herod as now interpreted,—if it is alleged by the author of the third Gospel that the tragic farce of the legionaries was previously rehearsed, as it were, by the Jewish prince; that at an earlier and totally different stage in the proceedings Herod anticipated the Roman performance both in idea and in detail; that he also fixed upon the title 'King of the Jews' as a topic for sport, and expressed his parody by a symbolic investiture, and above all, as if to eke out the lack of resemblance in his own person, actually incited or encouraged his soldiers to assist in the exhibition;—if that is the allegation of Luke, it is certainly surprising. And when it is added, that of the four canonical narratives, that of Luke, the only one which notices the act of Herod, is also the only one which does not notice the act of the legionaries, the suspicion of a transference, repetition, or mistake of some kind cannot with prudence be rejected, and, if admitted, may, or even must, extend to the whole source, in the use of which the third Gospel is here peculiar. It would be easy to shew that such doubts have had their legitimate effect upon minds as remote as possible from prejudice against the canonical witnesses.

It is therefore of some interest to enquire, what precisely is the extent of resemblance between the behaviour of Herod Antipas, as described by St Luke, and that of the Roman soldiers as described by the rest. We may, perhaps, find that in fact there is no resemblance, and that the contrary assumption, though ancient, wide-spread, and readily explained, is none the less certainly wrong.

To approach the subject properly, we must first review what is said or suggested by the first three Gospels, and especially by the third—the fourth has nothing relevant—respecting the attitude or sentiments of the tetrarch towards the movement in his little dominion, which has given him such an unenviable celebrity. In this respect already, there is a noticeable difference between the original documents and the common colouring of accounts which are intended to reflect them. The 'hostility of Antipas', 'the designs of Antipas', 'the danger from Antipas', are phrases easily found, as one may say, anywhere except in the Evangelists. Nor is this surprising. The tetrarch of Galilee, by all accounts, was a bad, weak man, whose poor appearance in history would be unnoticed, were it not that, during certain obscure occurrences, soldiers, who swore by his head, must have stared in the streets of Chorazin and Capernaum, of Nazareth and of Nain. shares the horror of a name, which, wherever the Bible stories are told, has perhaps of all names the most detestable sound to the ears of the simple and tender. The 'Herod' of infantile imagination, the legendary 'Herod', compiled from the criminal record of the whole family, is a creature scarcely human. It is rather a sort of ogre, who massacres the babes of Bethlehem, to whose table the head of John Baptist is brought in a charger, who stretches forth his hands to vex certain of the Church, who kills James, the brother of John, with the sword, who, 'because he saw it pleased the Jews', proceeds further to take Peter also, and whose proper and exquisitely hideous end is to be eaten of worms and give up the ghost. It may not be altogether easy, even for the learned and critical, to disengage from this genial confusion, and to weigh strictly upon evidence, the question whether, in a particular case and relation, the wickedness of an individual Herod was of a specified quality,—whether the sentiments of Antipas, respecting the Preacher of the Kingdom, are, or should be, defined as hostile sentiments. They are not so described in the Gospels. The first two can scarcely be said to throw any light on his feelings, the third is explicit about them, and excludes the supposition of hostility.

If we depended only on St Mark and St Matthew, we should hardly regard the tetrarch as having any connexion, except indirectly and remotely, with the figure and story of Christ. In those narratives he is connected rather with the Baptist, and upon the death of the Baptist disappears from the scene. We are told indeed with some emphasis, that when, by the preaching and works of the Twelve, the name of their Master was brought to the ears of 'the king', then, among various popular opinions about Him, the one which commended itself to Herod was thisthat the new prophet must be in some sense a resuscitation of the former: 'it is John, whom I beheaded; he is risen from the dead.' 1 The notice seems to promise a sequel, but there is none. This silence however is significant and expressive. It forbids us to attribute to the ruler of Galilee or his government any overt act of hostility to the movement; of which surely, had it occurred, the tradition must have preserved some trace. It forbids even the supposition of anything properly called a design; for to imagine this would be to raise gratuitously the question why the design was not executed, and who or what it was that protected from the sovereign the humble objects of his machination. It is clear that, so far as Christian tradition remembered, Antipas, during the activity of the Founder, neither did nor devised against him anything at all. Of the prince's mere disposition and feelings, so long as this was the case, people in the rank of the disciples could scarcely know anything; nor do they pretend to

1 Mark vi 16 (cf. Matt. xiv 1).

know. If we were to admit, as literally and precisely correct, the statement about Herod's opinion which is quoted above, what sentiments should we properly infer from it? How would a king esteem, and how would he be likely to treat, the resuscitated embodiment of a person whom he had reluctantly put to death? It seems impossible to say, and the Evangelists give us no guidance. Only, inasmuch as they here take occasion to relate the story of Herodias and her daughter, of which the plain purport is, that in persecuting the Baptist Herod acted against his own feelings and will; that it was the women of his family, who forced him to imprison, and tricked him into beheading, a man whom he personally regarded with interest and a certain awe; we should perhaps suppose, if anything, that upon this view he would be rather disinclined than inclined to molest another John who gave no provocation.

For by the successor no provocation was given; and this again is a point in which the silence of the Gospels is significant for our purpose. On one occasion only, and that private, are any words, referring to the tetrarch personally, attributed to the Saviour. The passage is from Luke, and will be considered presently. On another occasion,² also private, the habitual warning against the religious leaders of the time, against the 'leaven' or spirit of the Pharisees, is coupled with a warning against 'the leaven of Herod', the mixture of Jewish practices and foreign culture, of which the family were representative. And elsewhere in private discourses an oblique reference may be discovered or suspected. But in the preaching not a word is reported reflecting even remotely upon the ruler of Galilee or his administration. tical topics the Preacher, so far as appears, was invariably silent; and indeed it is obvious that, apart from any consideration of danger, no other course would have been consistent with the essential novelty of the teaching, the non-political colour which was put by the Teacher upon the announcement of 'the Kingdom of God'. At the very end of His career, His enemies are still trying, and trying in vain, to extract from Him a condemnation or repudiation of the secular authorities.3

This last affair, concerning the test-question of the tribute-money,

is one of the few places in which the Gospels bring upon the scene the persons or class who are described as 'the Herodians'. The impulse of the attack comes from the religious adversaries, 'the Pharisees', but 'Herodians' are for this occasion joined with them. And similarly in Galilee, when the religious leaders become definitely hostile to the new teaching, and design to get rid of the Teacher, they endeavour, apparently with some success, to draw in supporters of the tetrarch: they take counsel on the subject with 'the Herodians'. It is manifest that, for persons destitute of official protectors or patrons, this situation, however small the number, and however limited the powers, of those moving or disposed to move against them, was in itself dangerous. There was from this time danger in Galilee; and we may legitimately use the fact to explain whatever it will explain—the interval of privacy in the teaching, the journey in the direction of Tyre, and the like. But when we come to the question with which we are here concerned, how nearly these 'Herodians' were connected with Herod, and whether what is said about them implies anything about him, the answer must be purely negative. In a recent book by a specialist in this history, the Pharisees who take counsel with the Herodians are described in modern terms as 'complaining to the police'.2 The expression is probably adequate. For the less high in rank we place the persons concerned, the more natural is the apparent fact, that their acts, if they acted, and their measures, if they took any, had no visible result, and that, during all the months, or perhaps years, of the Galilean ministry, neither Master nor disciples were on any recorded occasion arrested, molested, or even prohibited, by command or in the name of the public authority. When the most is made that can be made of 'the Herodians', it remains possible and not unlikely that, from Herod and those about him, from the government, the Christian movement, as a matter of politics, had received no consideration at all. And we shall see that this, or something like it, is assumed and implied by St Luke, when he describes the action and behaviour of the tetrarch on the day of the Passion.

If, going beyond the record, we ask what is presumable, we

¹ Mark iii 6.

³ Burkitt The Gospel History and its Transmission p. 91. See the whole context and chapter.

shall be as far as ever from the conclusion, that Antipas, from the necessity of his position as ruler of Jewish subjects, must have regarded the Messiah with hostility. The assumption is not uncommon, but it seems to overlook an important and essential part of the facts. If the expectation of a Messiah and of a theocratic state had been now first created, if the announcement of 'the Kingdom' had been, as such, new, then indeed it would of course have been dangerous and detestable to a ruler in possession. But since the expectation and the political danger of it already existed, why should such a ruler be alarmed or displeased by the doctrine that 'the Kingdom' was not to be realized by force? Surely nothing is more certain than that such was the doctrine of Christ, and that, so far as the new teaching bore upon politics, precisely here lay its novelty, and the distinction, for example, between Christ and the Baptist. The effect of this doctrine, if accepted, was surely to eliminate the existing danger; and if all the Jewish subjects of the tetrarch could have been instantly converted to the principles of the Sermon on the Mount, his position would have been, so far, not less but much more secure. Undoubtedly the new Messiah proclaimed, like the predecessor, that 'the kingdom of heaven was at hand', and that in some way, but without rebellion, without violence, without ordinary means, it was in some form to appear and be established forthwith. But, without entering into subtleties of interpretation, which were certainly not in the view of Antipas, we may surely think that, in a statesman of Greek education and Roman experience, this prophecy, merely as such, would excite feelings quite different from alarm. When we add that, according to the Gospels, the Messianic claim, during the Galilean ministry, had been, so far as possible, concealed, and that in Galilee, so far as we are told, no demonstration had occurred, upon which it was even possible to put a political colour, it will appear that, if we are to speculate, the indifference of the Galilean government and sovereign, as politicians, should be supposed rather an indifferent goodwill.

And now let us consider precisely the statements of the third Gospel. These are, after all, our only authority for the expectations which the author means us to bring to the interview which he only describes. When we have noted, but without pressing, the indications that the source or sources special to him, as compared

with Mark and Matthew, were connected in some way with the person or household of Herod, let us next observe, that, when he uses the same sources as the other two, he omits, if he had before him, even the slight traces, which they exhibit, of collision between the Christian movement and the party or principles of the prince. The 'leaven of Herod' and 'the Herodians' disappear, when passages, which in the other versions contain such mention, are almost identically reproduced. We may perhaps, without affirming anything upon this evidence, infer safely that it was not in the design of the author to prepare us for enmity on the part of Herod against Christ, since he has neglected what, for this purpose, lay to his hand.

Over the relations between Antipas and the Baptist he passes summarily, but without changing materially the data of Mark. In the description of the Baptist's ministry, his imprisonment is mentioned by a brief anticipatory note,3 with the addition that the rebukes, by which it was provoked, referred not only to the connexion with Herodias, but to the 'many other evil things which Herod had done'. His immorality is common ground and unquestionable. The death of John is not related at all, but is assumed in describing how Herod regarded the successor.4 Here St Luke modifies the common tradition significantly. Upon the variety of popular opinions—that in the new preacher and worker of miracles 'John was resuscitated', or 'Elijah had appeared', or 'one of the ancient prophets had arisen'-Herod remained in doubt: "John", he said, "I myself beheaded; but who is this, of whom such things are reported to me?" And he was desirous to see him.' The correction, by which the supposed resuscitation of the Baptist is no longer represented as credible to the tetrarch, points to better knowledge of him, or at least a more likely conception. What the narrator asserts positively, and all that he asserts, is that the report of the new performances, and especially of the remarkable cures,5 excited the prince's curiosity, so that he wished to see the Physician, to whom, and to whose pupils, such things were attributed. To this carefully limited proposition the evangelist

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<sup>1</sup> Luke viii 3 (cf. xxiii 49).
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² Luke xii I (Mark viii 15), Luke xx 20 (Mark xii 13).

Luke iii 18. Luke ix 7. See the context.

recurs in the final scene. To keep in his track, we must ignore what he ignores, and hold by the statement, as the whole of what we are to assume about Herod, that he was curious about Christ, especially as a performer of miracles, and therefore desirous to see Him.

Between this and the interview, St Luke has but one reference to Herod. The passage is peculiar to his Gospel, and must be read in the author's own light. It occurs among the mass of anecdotes, remarks, and discourses which the Evangelist puts together, without pretence to definite sequence or chronology, in connexion with the last journey to Jerusalem.¹

'Just at this time 2 came some Pharisees, saying to him, "Depart and go hence, for Herod desires to kill thee. And he said to them, Go and tell this 3 fox: Behold, I cast out devils and accomplish healings to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I am perfected. Only I must journey on to-day and to-morrow and the day after, for it cannot be that a prophet should perish out of Jerusalem. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent to thee, how often did I desire to gather thy children, even as a hen gathers her brood under her wings, and ye would not. Behold, your house is to be left unto you desolate. Verily, I say to you, ye shall not see me till the time be when ye shall say, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord."

The reader will consider, whether there is here anything relevant to our enquiry. The main point is plainly the imminence of the end, the foreseen imminence of the only possible end. The warning of the Pharisees, mentioned for the sake of the answer, implies what the author has told us before, that Herod was a bad man, to whom an evil purpose might be attributed. And so much the answer confirms. But that more is meant, that we are to infer anything positively about the tetrarch, seems impossible, since everything material to such an inference is undetermined. With what purpose and in what spirit the warning is given, whether it is true, whether authorized, whether believed,—all is uncertain. We have still therefore, as the sum

¹ Luke xiii 31 ff. For a full discussion see Loisy Évangiles Synoptiques ii 125.

 $^{^2}$ èv αὐτῆ τῆ ἡμέρα (or ὤρᾳ). But the context (see ib. 22) does not give any place or time, and we must take the phrase loosely.

[&]quot; ταύτη, not (as in A. V.) 'that fox'. See further the note at the end of this essay, p. 352.

of what the narrator has told us of Herod's mind, the statement, that he was curious about the reported performances, and desirous to see the Performer.

Coming then, with this preparation, to the final scenes at Jerusalem, we read in Luke that, after the night-arrest, the Prisoner is detained at the house of the high priest till morning, when a meeting of the Sanhedrin is held there. replies to questions touching His Messianic and superhuman claims, they conclude that, from their point of view and on grounds of religion, 'no further testimony' is needed to justify their next proceeding,1 which is to go in a body to Pilate, the Roman governor or procurator of Judaea, and prefer at a public audience an accusation of political treason. 'We found this man perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, saying that he himself is Christ a King.' Pilate, after an examination, declares that no crime is made out. The report of the interrogatory is extremely concise, and does not signify the topics or the ground of conclusion; but from the reference in the accusation to the payment of tribute, a point upon which, as we have been expressly told,2 the enemies of the Defendant had recently tried, and failed, to obtain from Him a declaration suitable to their purpose, we must understand that, so far, the case has rested upon what has happened in Jerusalem since the triumphal entry. The procurator decides, as he well might, that these proceedings, as described in the Gospel, do not support the charge of rebellion against the Empire.

The accusers however persist, and try to strengthen their case by a new statement ³: 'He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judaea, ⁴ beginning from Galilee unto this place.' The emergence of Galilee, as the place where the alleged agitation had commenced, draws from Pilate the question, whether the man is a Galilean. 'And on learning that he was from the dominion of Herod, he sent him up to Herod, ⁵ who was himself also at Jerusalem in these days.' The last words probably mean

¹ Luke xxiii.

² Luke xx 20.

³ ἐπίσχυον λέγοντες in v. 5 seems to be so meant.

⁴ Used, as the context shews, loosely for the Jewish parts of Palestine.

⁵ ἐπιγνοὺς ὅτι ἐκ τῆς ἐξούσιας Ἡρώδου ἐστίν, ἀνέπεμψεν αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἡρώδην. The preposition in ἀνέπεμψεν, for which we have no exact equivalent, seems to signify merely that the sending to the tetrarch was a means of 'referring' the question to him.

what we should at all events suppose, that the occasion of the tetrarch's visit was the Passover.

Now it is of the first importance, for conceiving and interpreting rightly the scene which follows, to fix precisely the motive and legal nature of the procurator's reference, and the part which, by this reference, the tetrarch is invited to take. It is common to assume, expressly or tacitly, that Herod is invoked as a judge. The Authorized Version itself betrays this tendency, by putting upon the clause 'he was from the dominion 1 of Herod', that is to say, from the territory of which Herod was ruler, the narrower and more limited sense 'he belonged unto Herod's jurisdiction', which suggests the personal relation of ruler and subject, and a judicial competence in Herod, grounded upon this rela-Similar language pervades modern descriptions generally. M. Loisy, to take the nearest instance, speaks of the tetrarch's 'office as a judge'. The 'trial before Herod', the 'judgement of Herod', and the like, are phrases in common use. And the same conception underlies the view, too familiar and too often repeated to need illustration, that the reference to Herod is an exhibition of Pilate's weakness, and that Pilate's purpose in it is to diminish or shift his own responsibility for a judgement. But how can this possibly be? How should the procurator be able, or imagine himself able, to give the tetrarch of Galilee jurisdiction in Jerusalem? And why should so unreasonable an explanation be sought for a step which, upon the facts as presented by the Evangelist, was surely not only justifiable but necessary? The accusation, when it assumes that form, which the narrative represents, quite naturally, as a second form, an expansion and reinforcement of the original charge, becomes this: that the occurrences in Jerusalem, which Pilate had already declared to be no proof of sedition, were only part of a course of seditious preaching, an insurrectionary movement originated Moreover, according to the story presented by in Galilee. St Luke, which, whether it be complete or defective, we must here take for granted, the procurator would learn upon enquiry, that of the teaching and career, which were alleged to be seditious, not only the beginning, but almost the whole, had taken place in the territory of the tetrarch.

1 Literally, power, ¿fougía.

But this charge, the charge in this amended form was such that, in justice to the parties and the public interest, no judgement could be given upon it without consulting the government of Galilee, whose knowledge or whose ignorance must be material and almost decisive. We may well suppose indeed, that precisely for this reason the Sanhedrin or their representatives did not at first take this line of attack, but tried to make out their case upon what had passed within or about Jerusalem. Upon the second charge, the charge as amended, they could hardly expect to procure a conviction without the assistance of the tetrarch: and on this, as the sequel shews, they could not count. whatever their motives, when they did take this line, the course for the procurator was obvious,—to obtain a report or information from Galilee, to ascertain whether or not the Galilean authorities concurred in the accusation. And if no Galilean authority had been immediately accessible, the case, it would seem, must necessarily have stood over for enquiry. In the actual circumstances, the tetrarch himself, being in the city, and lodged perhaps in the very building, was the obvious and indispensable informant. And since a person of his rank and independence could not be summoned, the proper and only way was that which the procurator took, to address an enquiry to the prince, sending of course with it the prisoner and some supporters of the accusation, so that Herod, before answering, might examine them if he thought fit.

Therefore, in figuring the scene at Herod's residence, we have to remember that it is no public or prepared audience. Nor is it a trial. Representations in art, which shew the prince in robes, and surrounded by the pomp of a tribunal, guards, apparitors, and so forth, betray an error which, though mainly arising from a misinterpretation presently to be considered, owes something probably to mistake at the point now before us. The tetrarch at Jerusalem was a private person, and the visit which he receives, as related in the Gospel, implies nothing inconsistent with this fact. What sort of state he kept in the city as a visitor, is, I suppose, not ascertainable; but in whatever condition he habitually spent a private morning, in that he would be found. The party sent from the procurator's court would be small and inconspicuous, and would most probably go by private communica-

tions,—circumstances, we may note in passing, which explain why the incident was unknown to the tradition represented by Mark: we may well suppose that, of the spectators at Pilate's tribunal, few were aware for what purpose the hearing was suspended and the Prisoner withdrawn. Of those who went, fewer still, and the fewest possible, would be admitted to the prince's presence—the Prisoner, one of His guards, the messenger of Pilate, two or three of the Sanhedrin, some six persons, let us say, altogether. Of Herod's attendants the story, as we shall see, says nothing. We may assume perhaps that he would not choose to receive the partyalone; and indeed the servants in waiting are the most probable source of the information which Luke has reproduced. But they would be few—two perhaps, a secretary and a page—and naturally not military, or at all events not in The apartments and access, whether or not connected internally with the praetorium itself, would doubtless, in such a city and time, be well guarded; but a prince does not sit with his guards. The whole scene, including in all something under a dozen persons, must be figured as purely domestic; and it is in this atmosphere only that the interview described in the Gospel finds a fit and natural setting.

As we propose now to shew, *first*, that this narrative is simple, harmonious, and adapted to the context, so long as we do not import the supposed mockery of the prisoner; and further that, with this importation, it becomes absurd, inconsistent, and inexplicable either as a reality or as an invention; and finally that for the mockery, as now supposed, or indeed for any mockery at all, the author offers no warrant; it will be convenient first to consider the passage as it would run, if the words, in which the mockery is now discovered, were omitted.²

¹ The words of Luke, in describing the accusers before Herod (οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς, 'the chief priests and the scribes'), would imply, if pressed, that two of the three classes of the Sanhedrin were represented, and each by more than one person. But to press the words thus would be unsuitable to the style. Nothing is meant but that some of the Sanhedrin were there, that the accusers were represented.

^{2 &#}x27;Ο δὲ Ἡρώδης ἰδὼν τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐχάρη λίαν. ἦν γὰρ ὲξ ἰκανῶν χρύνων θέλων ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ ἀκούειν περὶ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἤλπιζέ τι σημεῖον ἰδεῖν ὑπὶ αὐτοῦ γινόμενον. ἐπηρώτα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν λόγοις ἰκανοῖς· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ. εἰστήκεισαν δὲ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς εὐτόνως κατηγοροῦντες αὐτοῦ. ἐξουθενήσας δὲ αὐτὸν ὑ

'And when Herod saw Jesus, he was exceeding glad: for he was desirous to see him of a long season, because he had heard many things of him: and he hoped to have seen some miracle done by him. And he questioned him at much length, but he gave him no answer. And there stood the chief priests and the scribes, accusing him with all their might. But Herod thought him of no importance, . . . and sent him back to Pilate. And at this time Pilate and Herod were made friends, for before they had been at enmity with one another. And Pilate, when he had called together the chief priests and the rulers and the people, said to them, You have brought this man to me, as one that perverts the people,¹ with the result that ² I, having examined him before you, have found in this man no ground for the accusation which you make against him. No, nor yet Herod; for I sent you to him ³; and it proves that nothing deserving of death has been done by him. I will therefore give him a lesson, and let him go.'

In brief, Herod, by his reply to the enquiry, disowned the capital charge altogether. The narrative, which here as everywhere follows the external aspect of the proceedings and not the technical machinery, notes the tenor of the reply only when it becomes public by the declaration of the procurator. The documents, script and rescript, are not mentioned, any more than presently the sentence of Pilate will be recorded in technical form 4: we are to suppose the necessary correspondence. Respecting the precise limits assigned to Herod's disclaimer, there is room for doubt. If it were exactly reflected by the words 'nothing deserving of death has been done by him', it would admit or suggest that the prisoner might deserve the 'lesson' which Pilate next proposes to inflict. But upon the whole story, and in consideration of what we shall observe hereafter, we should

^{&#}x27;Ηρώδης . . . ἀνέπεμψεν αὐτὺν τῷ Πιλάτφ. Εγένοντο δὲ φίλοι ὅ τε Ἡρώδης καὶ ὁ Πιλάτος Εν αὐτῆ τῆ ἡμέρα μετ' ἀλλήλων' προυπῆρχον γὰρ ἐν ἔχθρα ὅντες πρὸς ἐαυτούς.

Πιλάτος δέ, συγκαλεσάμενος τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τὸν λαύν, εἶπε πρὸς αὐτούς, Προσηνέγκατέ μοι τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον ὡς ἀποστρέφοντα τὸν λαύν· καὶ ἰδού, ἐγώ, ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν ἀνακρίνας, οὐδὲν εὖρον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπφ τούτφ αἴτιον, ὧν κατηγορεῖτε κατ' αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ 'Ἡρώδης· ἀνέπεμψα γὰρ ὑμᾶς πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ ἰδού, οὐδὲν ἄξιον θανάτου ἐστὶ πεπραγμένον αὐτῷ· παιδεύσας οὖν αὐτὸν ἀπολύσω. Luke xxiii 8-16.

¹ τὸν λαόν, the Jewish subjects.

² Such is the effect of ἰδού in both places. The Biblical style ('behold') hardly gives, in this passage, a true reflexion of the original.

³ On the doubtful reading here, which does not affect the present question, see note at the end of this essay, p. 349.

⁴ υ. 25 τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν παρέζωκε τῷ θελήματι αὐτῶν.

not construe the words in this way. The limitation 'deserving of death' comes from Pilate, and refers only to the question arising, for him, upon the rejection of the capital charge. The contribution of the tetrarch is concluded in the 'No, nor yet Herod'. In Galilee, as in Jerusalem, the Defendant, so far as was known, had committed no act of sedition. With this negative the legitimate function of the tetrarch was exhausted; and that he exceeded his function, to the prejudice of the accused, is most improbable, when we see how the accusers were received.

For in the foregoing scene, nothing is more apparent than the absence of all co-operation, sympathy, or touch, between the tetrarch and the Sanhedrin. The mere fact that he gives them no assistance is remarkable, and should be found strange by those who assume 'the hostility of Antipas', and suppose the Christian movement to have been regarded with fear, malevolence, or suspicion by the government of Galilee. What then prevented the unscrupulous Herod from using the weapon put into his hand, and crushing the agitator by simply informing Pilate that He was a dangerous person? But the Evangelist is in no such difficulty, having alleged nothing contrary to what he alleges here,—that Herod contemned the Defendant, 'thinking him unimportant', insignificant, or more exactly, 'a cipher', 'nothing', that is to say, politically nothing, of no account for the purpose of the accusation, not appreciable as a disturber of the peace. supposed, the capital charge was ridiculous. Herod so opined, and reported accordingly to the procurator.

But further we see, and it is the chief trait in the scene, that the prince, notwithstanding his nominal religion, behaved on this occasion to the reverend and learned councillors, who waited on him, with a negligence and nonchalance which cannot have been without malice. His delight in the appearance of the Galilean, whom, as a celebrated wonder-worker, he had long been desirous to meet, and his hopes of a performance, pre-occupied him, it appears, completely. Upon this topic (so the connexion implies) he pressed the famous Magician with an interrogatory not at all abridged by an absolute lack of response, or by the invectives of the impatient delators. 'And the chief priests and the scribes stood there, accusing him with all their

might.' Eventually, when their turn comes, they are dismissed with a contempt which, though pointed at the Prisoner, glances inevitably upon those who would represent Him as formidable. Anything more offensive to clerical magistrates than the whole performance one cannot conceive. And to the original observer and reporter-who, though in the service of Herod, may be supposed, since his report reached the disciples, not partial either to the prince or to the visitors—to him at least it seemed, that the mortification was designed. For it is added, without relevance to the story of the defendant, that there ensued a truce and alliance between Herod and Pilate; Herod, for some reason, such as in the political tangle of Judaea is easily conceivable, was at this moment well pleased to disoblige and snub the Sanhedrin. and to range himself with their adversary, the Roman governor. So at all events he did, both by his behaviour and by his report. In all this, his part is perfectly consequent.

But now let us try the effect of inserting, with the current interpretation, the words of 'the mockery':

'And the chief priests and the scribes stood and vehemently accused him. And Herod with his men of war set him at nought and mocked him, and arrayed him in a gorgeous robe, and sent him again to Pilate.' 2

Herod, that is to say, before dismissing the defendant, indulged himself and his military suite with the amusement of flouting such a 'King of the Jews', and improved the jest by robing him suitably—and disrobing him, doubtless, like the Roman soldiers afterwards, when the farce was done.

Now as to the mere probability of such a performance by a prince, we will not say much. It may be differently estimated. There have been princes capable of behaving so, royal bullies and players of pranks, reckless alike of the victim and of their own dignity,—Caligula, for instance, and Henry III of France, and perhaps, in certain moods, our own Richard II. We are to suppose that Antipas was a specimen of this peculiar class, a tyrannical buffoon. The fact wants proof; but let us suppose

¹ Literally 'at full strain', or 'full pitch', εὐτόνως combining both suggestions. English does not seem to afford any compact equivalent. Vehemently, energetically, &c., are near, but miss the note of sarcasm.

² ἐξουθενήσας δὲ αὐτὸν δ Ἡρώδης σὺν τοῖς στρατεύμασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμπαίξας, περιβαλὼν αὐτὸν ἐσθῆτα λαμπρὰν ἀνέπεμψεν αὐτὸν τῷ Πιλάτω.

it. Even then, even in a Caligula, we should expect a method in madness, the pursuit, however extravagant and indecent, of some idea, the choice and hold of an object. But Herod, according to the representation, was incapable even of this. He was discharging 'the King of the Jews', dismissing Him as innocent. He was about to inform the procurator that he found no fault in the man. Whatever his motive, honesty, pride, or malice against the prosecutors, that was the line which he took. And then, as part of this proceeding, as an incident in the acquittal, he gets up a charade—for the robe at least must be fetched—which means, if anything, that the charge is true, and that the defendant is guilty of the pretensions for which he is mocked. Herod discharges the accused, but treats Him first as the executioners did after sentence. The thing seems senseless and, on the face of it, incredible.

But if the mockery makes difficulty for those who would conceive the scene as a reality, still greater, and every way desperate, is the embarrassment of those who would explain the whole story, including this incident, as an invention. The theory of sceptical criticism, upon the evangelical narratives of the Trial and the Passion, is in general, as we saw at the beginning, this: that Christian tradition tended to exculpate the officials of the Roman Empire by transferring the odium of their acts to the detested Jews. Thus the tetrarch, a Jew, was made to take, or to share, the responsibility of the procurator as judge. A Jewish trial was devised to replace the Roman. And the third Gospel, which inserts the trial and mockery by Herod, betrays, it is said, this purpose, by omitting the Roman mockery, which was recorded in the source common to Luke and Mark.

This last point however (let us note in passing) depends plainly upon the assumption that, according to Luke, the Roman mockery did not happen, was not a fact. If he had a motive for omitting the incident, though it was a fact, the argument from the omission collapses. And such a motive he exhibits. It is he who, at the moment of the crucifixion, records the prayer, so sacred and so pathetic that it will hardly bear quotation in debate, for the executioners who 'know not what they do'. It is surely conceivable that such a narrator should pass over in silence the brutal sport of the legionaries, as he

passes in silence the scourging which they inflicted, not because these things did not happen or because he wishes so to suggest—for the scourging was an incident of the sentence, and, if not denied, would be supposed as of course,—but because he thought, with some reason, that there was no moral interest in actors hardly more responsible for their parts than the reeds, rods, nails, and cross.

But however this may be, and though we were to grant that the Herodean mockery, according to Luke, replaces the Roman, suppressed as *non factum*, it is still impossible, as the critics have perceived and acknowledged, to account on these lines for his version of the Herodean episode as a whole.¹

For it is obvious that, to relieve Pilate, Herod must condemn, whereas, according to St Luke, he acquits, thus increasing and not diminishing the culpability of the procurator, in giving sentence contrary not only to his own opinion but also to that of his referee. Accordingly we discover a new motive for the fiction: the episode was imported in order that the innocence of the accused might be certified by two judges instead of one. But here again we stumble upon the mockery, which, as we saw, and as all see, clashes with the acquittal, and goes far to annul So in fine we have, from M. Loisy, a third and composite theory. First some one, not Luke, is to invent a Herodean trial, condemnation, and mockery, parallel to the Roman, by way of counterpoise to Roman responsibility. The evangelist accepts the trial, but, to get the advantage of Herod's testimony, changes the condemnation to an acquittal, but yet again retains the mockery, because this compensates for that of the legionaries, which, out of tenderness for Romans, he will To shun the opposing rocks we run (so it seems) suppress. upon both. The method and performance of Luke are surely on this shewing utterly incomprehensible. The truth is that the procedure of Herod as now supposed, by which the defendant is first flouted as a usurper of royalty and then absolved of rebellion, is incoherent. Take it as fact or as fiction, and turn it however we will, we shall not explain what does not agree with itself.

¹ See here the citation from M. Loisy, supra p. 321, noting the successive stages of the theory, for which the author gives full references.

To eliminate the acquittal is impossible: the 'No, nor yet Herod' is as clear as words can be. Error of interpretation must be found, if anywhere, in the verse:

'And Herod with his men of war set him at nought, and mocked him, and arrayed him in a gorgeous robe, and sent him again to Pilate.'1

Here there is at any rate one term which, as a translation, is artificial and unsatisfactory. Herod's 'men of war', that is to say, the soldiers present (as this version assumes) at the interview, and partners in the mockery, appear in the original as his strateumata, his 'troops', or rather 'forces'. But if such is the author's meaning, his choice of a word is amazing. The irony of M. Loisy, 'We must not ask how the tetrarch should have armies in Jerusalem', touches the objection truly, but ignores the chief part. It is quite true that a corps of guards, such as might accompany the prince on such a journey, should not be described as a strateuma, and still less by the plural strateumata. We are not, of course, to demand precision from the author in military matters any more than in judicial. We are not surprised when, in his Acts of the Apostles, the garrison of Jerusalem appears as the strateuma or 'force' of its commander Claudius Lysias, both in the narrative and in the commander's dispatch to his superior.² The term, whether technically correct or not, is intelligible and natural. And we will go so far as to suppose, though it does not follow, that a body of guards, if assembled and acting under the prince's command, might, by the same author, be called his strateuma, or conceivably, by a stretch of magnificence, his strateu-But here the author is speaking, as the interpretation mata. assumes, of soldiers in waiting, companions or personal servants, who are found with their master in the room or place where he receives unexpectedly a civil deputation. Such persons, if such there were, would be indicated as stratiotai, 'soldiers'. To call them *strateumata*, 'forces', is a mere abuse of language, unnatural, and not easily to be imagined.

Nor, even if properly described, would they fit their place in the narrative. 'Herod, with his soldiers, contemned' the prisoner.

ι έξουθενήσας δε αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡρώδης σὺν τοῖς στρατεύμασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμπαίξας, περιβαλὼν αὐτὸν ἐσθῆτα λαμπρὰν ἀνέπεμψεν αὐτὸν τῷ Πιλάτω: Trans. A. V.

² Acts xxiii 10 ἐκέλευσε τὸ στράτευμα καταβὰν άρπάσαι αὐτὸν ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν, and ib. 27.

But what sort of co-operation is this? The word marked¹ describes a feeling or judgement of the mind; it means literally 'to make nothing of', to regard as a cipher, and so to despise or contemn. And the tense used signifies that Herod came to, took, this contemptuous view or opinion. The impropriety of saying, that he formed his opinion with the help of his guards, is veiled in the Authorized Version, which, to suit the prevalent idea, adopts the dexterous modification 'set him at nought', thus suggesting and preparing us to expect some action or performance. Of this in the original word there is no trace.

But if, dismissing all preconceptions, we take the phrase as it is, and write 'Herod, with his forces, contemned him', or, more exactly, 'Herod, with his forces, thought nothing of him', there is surely, so far, no difficulty. The English means that to a sovereign supported by military power the prisoner seemed an insignificant adversary; having troops at his back, he contemned such a person in the character, imputed by the accusers, of a dangerous rebel and claimant to the throne. And the Greek may and should mean the same. It may perhaps be implied, that the strength of the prince was in some way represented by the state or attendance with which he, or his apartment, was surrounded. But the words do not say so, and at all events it is not the point.

To this it is next added that 'he jested upon him' or 'there-upon'.² Here again we must carefully observe, that the original word, though it would admit the explanation supposed to be given by the sequel, and might signify a mockery by performance, a mockery in action, neither contains any such notion in itself, nor even can be so understood, if interpreted, as is natural, by what precedes. 'Herod, with his forces, thought nothing of (the prisoner), and jested thereupon.' The jest is explained by the words 'with his forces',—a connexion more apparent in the original, from the order of the words, than it can be made in the order of English. The suggestion that the prisoner

¹ εξουθενήσας. 2 καὶ εμπαίξας.

³ ἐμπαίξας (αὐτῶ). Though the pronoun supplied is doubtless masculine, the translation 'thereupon' is more correct than 'upon him', because the context marks that it is as an adversary of Herod and his forces that the person is derided.

⁴ Because σύν τοις στρατεύμασιν αὐτοῦ is brought close to έμπαίξας.

was a rebel, with pretensions to Herod's throne, was received with a sneer: 'I and my forces are not afraid of him', or the like,—a form of speech, let us note, in which the rhetorical amplification *strateumata* (plural) is natural. And the jest, let us note also, might be so delivered that the sting of it would be all for the accusers; and so, from the drift of the whole anecdote, we should understand. The 'priests and scribes', who would signalize a danger to the military establishment of Galilee, are told in effect to mind their own affairs.

So far, then, there is no hint of personal affront to the defendant. It remains to consider the act of robing. Here, from the structure of Greek and its habit of accumulating participles, there is a doubt as to the grouping and connexion of words. Part for part, the passage runs thus:

'But Herod with his forces contemning him and jesting (there-) upon putting on him fine apparel sent him back to Pilate.'

Grammar admits equally the connexion of putting either with jesting or with sent. Which is meant? With the current conception of the scene, presupposing the hostility of Herod to the prisoner and the co-operation of the 'men of war', we should decide for the connexion with jesting, as apparently all interpreters, more or less definitely, now do. And it would then be possible, and preferable, to hold that, in spite of the order of words, the robing, or rather having robed, precedes the mockery, or is included within it. The translation of M. Loisy, for example 1—

'Et Hérode, l'ayant traité avec mépris et tourné en dérision avec ses soldats, après lui avoir fait mettre une robe brillante, le renvoya à Pilate'—

inclines this way; and our Authorized Version, though likewise ambiguous, is so understood and doubtless so intended. But the contrary, a disjunction of the robing from the jest, and a connexion only with the dismissal, is indicated not only by the order but by the balance of the period.² If then the robing is derisive,

¹ Les Évang. Syn. ii. 636.

 $^{^2}$ ἐξουθενήσας δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡρώδης σὺν τοῖς στρατεύμασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμπαίξας, περιβαλὼν αὐτὸν ἐσθῆτα λαμπρὰν ἀνέπεμψεν αὐτὸν τῷ Πιλάτῳ. There is nothing in the rhythm to suggest a comma after λαμπράν.

this colour must be found wholly in the act and the description of it.

Now that the words do not necessarily convey this is certain. They are not even the obvious words for such a purpose. derision must turn upon the 'royalty' of the Prisoner, upon His claiming the title of 'king'. And since in this scene, in the interview with Herod, that title has not been mentioned at all, and it has been mentioned but once before, we should expect here, for the supposed purpose, some reminder of it, some such phrase as 'roval apparel'. But that is not said. What is said, the exact shade of the words, is not quite easy to fix. The term apparel (not necessarily a single robe) conveys certainly something not Indeed that is just all that it does convey. The common. original (esthes) is a word for clothing which, by a certain poetical colour, escapes the note of commonness, but which must be defined according to the occasion. The robes of Herod Agrippa at his last audience are called esthes, with the addition of the epithet royal. At the sepulchre it is in raiment (plural), which 'shines like lightning', that the 'two men' appear to the seekers of the body.² Clothing merely as such is not esthes, and there is perhaps a shade of dignity in the word used for 'putting on'." But 'arrayed in a gorgeous robe' (A.V.) is not exact either in the substantive or the epithet, and shews, like the whole verse, the deflecting influence of the prevalent assumption. 'Fine apparel', 'splendid apparel', seems about right; the epithet 4 here adds little, if anything, to the denotation of esthes. However, the clothing is rich; and apparently, though it would be brought by a servant, the prince himself puts it on. That is what is said, and there is no reason to gloss it.5 On the whole then clearly the act is a mark of honour.

But why should we suppose it ironical? It is now so supposed, because we take for granted that Herod is hostile to the Defendant, and because otherwise there is no part for the 'men of war'. But since there are no such performers, and since Herod declares in

¹ ἐσθητα βασιλικήν, Acts xii 21.

² Luke xxiv 4 ἐσθήσεσιν ἀστραπτούσαις,

³ περιβαλών. See Luke xii 27.

⁴ λαμπράν, a common metaphor in such connexion.

⁵ As in 'après lui avoir fait mettre', Loisy.

favour of the Defendant, why should he not dismiss Him with honour?

There is every reason, from Herod's point of view, why he should. It is the proper outcome of the situation and the proceedings. Herod, from the first and throughout, according to the story, exhibits an eager interest in the Galilean thus brought into his presence, because of the reports about His extraordinary powers and performances. That he overacts this sentiment, for the discomfiture of the accusing magistrates, seems to be suggested, but not at all that the feeling is feigned. The reports, as they appear in the Gospel, must have excited interest, and a certain respect, in any one not prepossessed on the other side; and Herod was no fanatic either of religion or (as far as we know) of philosophy. The opinions and feelings, which he brings to the interview, he retains to the end. The refusal of the Magician to respond to his advances, though it could not please, must stimulate his curiosity, and might naturally increase his respect. He 'was hoping to see some miracle done by him', and, on parting with Him, he hopes so still. Backed by his opinion, Pilate will dismiss the ridiculous charge of sedition. The wizard will then be at liberty, and able, if willing, to satisfy the royal desire. In this expectation, Herod, before parting with Him, bestows on Him a royal gift and mark of favour. The form of it, a rich and valuable costume, is familiar in oriental practice, and such as the garb of the Prisoner, after the outrages of the night, might suggest as acceptable. The act of investiture is conceived in the spirit, however different in the circumstances, of that commanded by Ahasuerus for Mordecai. If it is a little extravagant (and this seems to be meant), that is in keeping with Herod's attitude throughout. He overacts his respect at the departure, as he does his interest at the arrival, with an eye to the prosecutors and a certain pleasure in disagreeing with them. And he does his best to publish his disagreement, by the changed appearance which the Defendant will present on His return to the praetorium. But the compliment, after all, is royal, and itself signifies the prince's political 'contempt'. Only a conscious superior could take such a liberty. That he accompanied the gift with a jest, and a jest upon the 'royalty' of the recipient, is conceivable, but would be hardly congruous; and at all events it is neither said nor suggested.

The whole passage will run somewhat thus:

'Herod, when he saw the celebrated 'Jesus, was delighted above measure. For he had been wishing to see him a long while, because he had been hearing much about him. He was hoping too to see some feat performed by him. And he persisted in questioning him at some length, though the Master made him no answer. And there stood the chief priests and the scribes, accusing him with all their might. But Herod "with his forces" thought him not important, and jested thereupon, and, having clothed him with fine apparel, sent him back to Pilate. And that very day Pilate and Herod were made friends, having before been at enmity with one another.'

But if this interpretation be correct, evidently the alleged resemblance and parallelism between this scene and the mockery by the Roman soldiers, as related in the other Gospels, is nothing. In language the only noticeable points of contact are that the verb to jest or mock 3 appears, but with a different connexion and meaning, in Mark and Matthew, and that, in John, the soldiers clothe4 their prisoner. There is a robing here and a robing there. But in substance and spirit there is neither likeness nor opposition. There is simply no analogy at all. Circumstances, actors, things said and done, the meaning of them,—all are different; and it is not even conceivable that the story in Luke should be an equivalent or compensation for the other.

To complete the consideration of the subject as presented by M. Loisy, a word must be said about the allusion to Herod's part in the Passion, which we read in the Acts of the Apostles, and also about that part as it appears in the Gospel of Peter. In the Acts 5 'Herod and Pontius Pilate with nations and peoples of Israel' are conjoined as acting against the Messiah. The passage, part of a prayer, may possibly not have been composed by the author of the Acts; but since he gives it without remark, it should be, in his view, not inconsistent with what he has related of Herod in his Gospel. Nor is it inconsistent, even if the action

¹ τὸν Ἰησοῦν. In Greek such as that of the Gospels, this shade of expression is often not significant; but the phrasing of this anecdote, for some reason, is more delicate than that even of Luke is usually. The article therefore should, I think, be pressed.

² Or perhaps merely 'the other', but I think αὐτός has the more specific sense. It indicates partly Herod's conception, partly that, quite different, but analogous, of the reporter.

³ ἐμπαίζειν. ⁴ περιέβαλον. ⁵ iv 27.

of Herod, mainly favourable to the Defendant upon any interpretation, was, as it is here interpreted, in purpose favourable altogether. Herod stands in the Gospel, as he is joined in the allusion, with Pilate, favourable too, and is also contributory to the result. His behaviour, though not ill-meant, is inconsiderate and unworthy of his position. His innocent subject is threatened by formidable enemies. He declares indeed in favour of the Accused, but does it, from personal and irrelevant motives, in such a way as to exasperate the accusers, and then leaves the affair to its course. He may well be placed, without discrimination, among those who accomplished what was 'determined before to be done'.'

On the other hand, it does not appear that his part, as described in the third Gospel, resembles at all, in fact, colour, or tendency, what is alleged in the recently discovered fragment of the Gospel of Peter. It may be true (the enquiry does not here concern us) that this document contains some peculiar and authentic traditions. But in the political and judicial aspects of the matter, where our third Gospel is solid, the other seems to ignore the very elements of the situation. A writer who apparently conceives 'the Jews', the tetrarch of Galilee, and the procurator of Judaea, as acting together in a joint council or tribunal, where, when Pilate has retired, 'Herod the King' takes the lead and awards execution,2 whatever were his motives and his sources of information, in these affairs is neither guided by our third Gospel nor admissible for the interpretation of it. If his object was 'to minimize the sin of the Procurator by laying the chief guilt at the door of Herod, the representative of the Jews',3 it was one which, as we have seen, cannot possibly have affected St Luke, whose story has the contrary effect.

It is possible, that is to say, not irrational or illogical, to suppose the story, as given by St Luke, to have been invented for the sake of the acquittal, and in order to confirm the favourable opinion of Pilate by that of Herod. The interpretation here given removes

¹ Acts iv 28.

² The fragment begins just here, but such is the representation: τῶν δὲ Ἰουδαίων οὐδεὶς ἐνίψατο τὰς χεῖρας, οὐδὲ Ἡρώδης οὐδὲ εῖς τῶν κριτῶν αὐτοῦ· καὶ μὴ βουληθέντων νίψασθαι ἀνέστη Πειλᾶτος. καὶ τότε κελεύει Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς παραλημφθῆναι τὸν κύριον κτλ.

³ Swete, note to the Gospel of Peter, l.c.—Is it not however possible, that these absurdities are due to mere ignorance?

an obstacle to this supposition, by shewing that Herod's acquittal is not qualified, according to St Luke, by any such performance as the mockery. But of course in any history, any allegation not irrelevant must have a conceivable motive, and must be, so far, explicable as an invention. That, in itself, is no ground for suspicion, and in the present case we do not find any other.

The gift of Herod, the 'fine apparel', has a consequence in the story, not indeed important, but worth attention, because the fact, though stated in the third Gospel only, illustrates an incident common to all. The clothes of a person executed were the perquisite of the executioners. Now upon this occasion, the partition of the clothes among the soldiers, who carried out the sentence, was made with more care and attracted more attention from the spectators than we should naturally expect, if it were not for the special circumstance of Herod's donation. The narrative of Mark in particular throws this detail into picturesque relief: the dividers cast lots 'what every man should take'. To suggest, as some do, that this may be supposed an invention, because others, 1 but not the original narrator, regard it as the fulfilment of a prophecy, is surely not legitimate. But if the pitiable booty, which the soldiers divide, had been such as from the general circumstances of the case we should have imagined,—common clothes, not costly, which had sustained the soil and violence of all that passes between the 'small upper room' and 'the place of a Skull'; we might wonder, while accepting the fact, that 'what every man should take' was a matter worth arbitrament, and that, in such a scene, so rapid and colourless a transaction was perceived and remembered. If the pieces could differ in value, then, being such as are commonly worn in the East, they might, as one narrator reminds us,2 be parted by tearing them up. But the gift of the tetrarch, though unknown to the tradition of St Mark, accounts for what his informants observed. The additions or substitutions of Herod were things of price, such as the gazers at an execution would seldom see, and which would fetch a sum important to a legionary: and they were moreover, it is likely enough, such that to tear them would ruin their value. The 'seamless tunic' of the fourth Gospel, whatever be the purpose of the author in

¹ Matt. xxvii 35; John xix 24.

² John xix 23-24.

dwelling upon it, is a property comprehensible with, but not easily without, the investiture by Herod, regarded not as a disguise for the moment, but as a gift. For men on military wages, the clothes, so augmented, would be an exciting windfall; and only the lot could settle the momentous issue, who should take the pieces which came from the wardrobe of a prince.

By St Luke the incident of the partition is touched slightly, as are most acts of the soldiers which do not disappear. But the use of the lot he notes, nor does he forget the cause of it, and whence came the spoil which made an allotment necessary. 'And in parting his clothes', he says, 'they cast the lot; and there stood the people, gazing.' The word, and the turn of phrase, are identical with those which he has used in describing the attitude of the councillors during the proceedings of Herod: 'There stood the chief priests and the scribes, accusing him with all their might.' The touch refers us back, with a note of irony, from the fate of the gift to the intent of the donor; and 'the people',3 spectators of the despoiling, follow their leaders, who railed at the putting on. To these, in fact, the narrator immediately returns, adding that 'the magistrates too', that is to say, such persons as composed the Sanhedrin, 'sneered along with them, saying, He saved others, let him save himself, if this is the anointed one, the chosen one of God.' 4

In this mockery, the text of Luke exhibits a divergence not insignificant, upon which perhaps some light may be thrown from our point of view. By writing 'the anointed one of God, the chosen one', 5 and by omitting 'along with them' from the introductory words, one class of copies gives to the sneer a purely religious bearing, pointed solely at the claim of the Christ, the Messiah or Anointed, and attributes it consistently not to the populace, but to the hierarchy, by whom this 'blasphemy' had been resented

¹ See above, p. 338, and compare Luke xxiii 34 with Mark xv 24 and Matt. xxvii 35.

² Compare Luke xxiii 34-35 διαμεριζύμενοι δὲ τὰ ἰμάτια αὐτοῦ, ἔβαλον κλῆρον· καὶ εἰστήκει ὁ λαὸς θεωρῶν (to be joined and punctuated so), with Luke xxiii 10.

³ The word δ λαόs marks the crowd not as such (ὅχλος), but as representative, in some sort, of Judaism. See Loisy ad loc.

^{*} ἐξεμυκτήριζου δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες σὺν αὐτοῖς, λέγοντες, *Αλλους ἔσωσε, σωσάτω ἐαυτύν, εἰ οὖτύς ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκλεκτύς.

δ Χριστός τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ ἐκλεκτός.

and avenged. But there is reason for thinking that, in the mouths of the mob, the sarcasm 'He saved others; let him save himself' was associated with the proverb 'Physician, heal thyself', and was aimed not so much at the claimant of the Kingdom as at the performer of miraculous cures. A link between the two aspects may be found in the fact that the particular method of healing, which, as practised by the disciples of the new Doctor, would be commonly supposed typical of his 'school', was that of chrisms or anointing.1 Now it was through these performances of the disciples that the attention of Herod was first called to the Master 1; and we have seen, that a curious interest in the worker of wonders, the supposed adept in medicine and magic, is the sole idea which Luke assigns to Herod as the cause of his favour and largess. Thus between the partition of the apparel and the sneer at the impotent 'saver'. so far as this related to the miraculous cures, there is, for the Evangelist, a connexion of thought: and this fortifies the case for the readings which maintain the connexion, as against those which would obliterate it.2

THE DOUBLE TEXT OF LUKE XXIII 15.

I have deferred to this place, as a detail not important to our purpose, though relevant, the variations of text which make Pilate, after declaring that Herod, like himself, found nothing in

¹ Mark vi 15, where see the following context, and compare Luke ix 6-9.

² In what sense precisely the jest, according to Luke, is taken up by the soldiers (xxiii 36-37), is not clear. They offer öξος (vinegar), i.e. probably posca, and say, εί σὺ εί ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδαίων, σῶσον σεαυτόν. In Greek this seems to have no point, nor reference to the action accompanying. Latin is open (and for the soldiers perhaps more likely), for we are immediately told that the inscription, giving the title 'King of the Jews', was in Latin as well as in Greek and in 'Hebrew'. And in Latin, low Latin, a poor but pertinent jest can be made: 'Si tu es regulus Iudaeorum, regula te ipsum', meaning 'prescribe for yourself', 'diet yourself'. This would combine the 'king' and the 'doctor', and would explain more or less the offer of drink. But the point, whatever it was, seems to have been lost in transmission, perhaps through more than one language; nor do the parallel accounts give any light. That Roman soldiers should allude to the religious connexion, in Jewish thought, between the ideas of king and saviour, seems, as M. Loisy remarks, not probable. But his suggestion that the narrator thought ot Jewish soldiers, 'soldiers of Herod', depends upon the current misunderstanding of στρατεύματα in Luke xxiii 11, and upon those deductions therefrom which this essay is designed to prevent. After all, it is perhaps not necessary that the mockery of the soldiers should have any definite point; they might be supposed to repeat, loosely and ignorantly, what was said around them by others.

the Accused to justify the charge of the priests, continue either thus:

'No, nor did Herod: for he sent him back to us,' 1 or thus:

'No, nor did Herod: for I sent (referred) you to him.'2

The question is not important; for even if we take the first, we cannot suppose the author to mean that Pilate had no other evidence for Herod's opinion than the bare fact of the return of the Prisoner, and that Herod made no communication of his view. We could hardly believe this, even if it were alleged or implied; but the words may quite fairly be understood, on the contrary, to include and imply the communication. The facts of the story are therefore the same either way.

But the choice offers a problem, and perhaps, after careful consideration, it is not merely a question of choice. If either reading is original and right, we must suppose that this reading has been deliberately changed into the other. But what was the motive? The sense of for I referred you to him seems absolutely flawless. To the other, for he sent him back to us, it might be objected, by a punctilious critic, (a) that the words, if pressed strictly, ignore the essential matter, and should be rather 'for so he has informed us'; and (b) that, in the style of St Luke, the procurator would not use the plural (though Latin) for himself only, and that, if 'us' means 'me and you', the procurator and the accusers, it is a form not very suitable to a situation in which these parties are not co-operators but rather adversaries. Pilate is not made to say 'We have examined him', but 'I have examined him in your presence's; and so also he should say rather 'Herod sent him back to me'. And from a literary point of view, these objections, though small, may But are they such as would lead to a bold alterabe sound. tion of the text, and does it elsewhere appear that the texts of the Gospels, during the process of fixing, were subjected to revision of this kind, to corrections purely literary? The variations in them are generally either minute, and such as might arise from inadvertence, or on the other hand substantial, and explicable by

3 Luke xxiii 14.

¹ ἀνέπεμψε γάρ αὐτὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, Alexandrine text.

² ἀνέπεμψα γὰρ ὑμᾶς πρὸς αὐτόν, Western text.

some motive of religious interest. This variation is of neither class, and seems very difficult to account for, if we suppose that either reading is original and right.

What we should seek is rather the common original, which, by alternative corrections, might give rise to both. And there is a form which, in some respects, certainly satisfies this condition:—for he sent him back to you, $\partial v \in \pi \in W$ $\nabla v \in \pi \cap V$ $\nabla v \in V \cap V$ for its at first sight not intelligible. It looks wrong; and each of the traditional readings is an obvious way of simplifying it.

If then it really has a good meaning, it is preferable, in point of authority, to either of the traditional readings, which disprove one another.

Could then Pilate properly say to the accusers this:—' Nor did Herod find any ground for your accusations; for he returned the prisoner to you'? I think that not only is this possible, but it is the correct form, that which really expresses the legal relation of the parties. If Herod were invoked as a judge, then no doubt the procurator should say that, when Herod acquits, he returns or refers the Prisoner to the first judge, Pilate:—'he sent him back to me.' But, as we have seen above, Herod is not a judge, nor is invoked as such, nor acts as such. The procurator, the only judge, invites the tetrarch to say whether or not he supports and concurs in the accusation of the priests, whether, from his knowledge of Galilee, he considers the Prisoner open to a charge of sedition. If Herod had answered in the affirmative, he, or rather some one on his behalf, would have appeared in the procurator's court as an accuser. It is proper and correct therefore to say, that, by answering in the negative, and refusing to join in the accusation, he remitted or returned the Prisoner to the first accusers, whom he left to make out their accusation, without his help, if they could.

And further it is to be noted, that in this case the accusers, the members of the Sanhedrin, have a position different from that of ordinary prosecutors. They are not private persons, nor prosecutors merely. They are themselves magistrates of high dignity and competence, who have legally arrested and tried the Prisoner, and could have punished Him severely at their own discretion. It is only because they desire to put Him to death, a sentence

¹ pp. 332-333.

beyond their power, that they invoke the procurator and prefer a charge of treason. By so doing, they doubtless surrender custody to the extent of that purpose, but perhaps not, even technically, for all purposes. It is not clear that the procurator could, even then, assume absolute control and prohibit any further proceedings. He himself speaks rather as if, upon the dismissal of the capital charge, the question of other punishment would be matter for arrangement between him and them. He seems to propose, if they agree, to 'give him a lesson and let him go'. Substantially then, whether technically or not, the Prisoner was still the prisoner of the Sanhedrin; and for this reason also it is proper for Pilate to say, that Herod, by dismissing the accusation, returned him, not 'to me', but 'to you'.

It should be considered then, whether the reading $\partial \nu \ell \pi \epsilon \mu \psi \epsilon \gamma \partial \rho$ $a \partial \tau \partial \nu \pi \rho \partial s \partial \mu \hat{a} s$, for he returned him to you, while it accounts for the double tradition and is favoured by the joint evidence, is not also more consistent than either with that true sense of the legal situation, which distinguishes the third Gospel in this part.

'Go ye and tell this fox '—πορευθέντες εἴπατε τῆ ἀλώπεκι ταύτη —runs the text; but why that pronoun is used, if, as we should suppose at first sight, and as is generally assumed, the words are merely a description of Herod and a reflexion upon his character, is not clear. We should expect 'that fox' (ἐκείνη), as the Authorized Version gives it.

Possibly 'this' may have suited the context of the anecdote in another document, and may be retained inadvertently; but that is not to be supposed, if any explanation is to be found in the context of Luke.

The question is perhaps connected with another, why he has chosen this place for inserting the invocation of the City:— 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets...' The invocation agrees almost verbally with Matthew,² and is drawn evidently from the same source, where it must have been recorded, as a saying, without note of place and occasion. But whereas in the first Gospel it is spoken in the temple as the peroration of a discourse against the tyranny and crimes of the

¹ See above, p. 330.

² xxiii 37-39.

hierarchy, here it is made part (if we press the connexion strictly) of a reply given in Galilee to a warning against the tetrarch. It is true that, allowing for the method and style of St Luke, and his manner of working his materials together, we need not so press the connexion, and even should not. But there is only the more reason for asking, how the composer was led to make a juncture which is barely possible, and not, as in Matthew, natural. In Luke the invocation at first sight seems to hang on to the context solely by the words 'thou that killest the prophets'; in all the rest, the supporting anecdote seems to be forgotten.

May it be suggested that, in the view of the composer, there was another and a more intimate link between the anecdote and the invocation—a correspondence of simile or metaphor between the comparison of Christ and His converts to a hen and her brood and the designation of the alleged persecutor as a fox? The conception seems not unnatural.

And if this were so, there would be no longer any difficulty in accounting for the phrase 'this fox', and for the emphasis thrown upon 'this'. By 'this fox' would be meant 'the enemy here', Galilee, as contrasted with other 'foxes' or persecutors, the enemies in Jerusalem. Enemies here may be assured, that only there can designs against a prophet be accomplished.

That this is the intention we cannot safely assert, but the supposition is preferable to that of error or oversight in a matter so simple as the use of a pronoun.

It is perhaps an advantage in this interpretation, that the term fox, when conceived as part of a simile, a symbol for 'persecutor', has not the personal note, which it has, if taken for a designation of the tetrarch, an equivalent for the name of Herod. With this latter sense, the words 'Go ye and tell that fox' have a singular colour and are somewhat startling. But in 'Go ye and tell this fox', understood as now proposed, nothing is asserted as from the speaker. The description signifies 'the person here inimical to me and mine'. It is relative to the warning of the Pharisees, and is no more applicable to the tetrarch than to any one in Galilee, who might be so conceived or so represented.

A. W. VERRALL.

VOL. X. A a

¹ By the order of words, τŷ ἀλώπεκι ταύτη, not ταύτη τŷ ἀλώπεκι. The pronoun, being postponed, becomes superfluous, unless it is to carry an emphasis.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

III. THE CONTENTS OF THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTA-MENT: (B) THE (PAULINE) EPISTLES.

'LEGEM et Prophetas cum Evangelicis et Apostolicis litteris miscet' is Tertullian's summary definition of the Church's procedure in regard to her sacred books, whether of the Jewish or of the Christian covenant 1: and we have noted in the course of the preceding articles 2 that this bipartite arrangement of the contents of both Old and New Testament is very characteristic of the earliest period, and is indeed apparently earlier than any juxtaposition of the two Testaments as two single wholes. The last article was devoted to the consideration of the 'Evangelicae litterae', the four-fold Gospel: we have now to ask what is meant by the other class of writings in the Christian Canon, the 'litterae Apostolicae'. We might naturally have supposed that, as the Apostles correspond to the Prophets, so the 'Apostolic literature' would be the letters of several Apostles, or at least of more than one-something, in fact, like the whole body of Catholic and Pauline epistles as we have it now. But in the original tradition of the Christian Church, though the 'epistles' are plural, the 'Apostle' is singular: the one Apostle is related to the several letters much as the one Gospel to the several Gospels. And that one Apostle is of course St Paul.

To this original singularity of St Paul in the tradition of the first generations a constant witness is borne, down to much later times, both by the persistent custom in Greek Christian writers of citing St Paul under the title δ $d\pi\delta\sigma\tau o\lambda\sigma$, and by the technical use of the same term for the Epistle in the liturgies. Even at this day the regular series of Epistles in the Byzantine rite is

¹ Tertullian, praescriptio adv. haereticos § 36.

² J. T. S. October 1908, pp. 21, 22; January 1909, pp. 163, 164.

drawn (apart from Acts at Easter-tide) exclusively from St Paul. And lest it should be thought doubtful whether these usages may not rather represent later developements than a continuous practice from the beginning, it may be well to set down one or two illustrative examples from the second century itself. 'If Eusebius (H. E. v 27) tells us that Heraclitus (about A.D. 200) wrote els του Απόστολου, the form of the title may perhaps be the historian's and not the commentator's: but in two other places (H. E. v 17, 18) the phrase occurs in actual quotations from anti-Montanist writers of the same period: δεῖν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ προφητικου χάρισμα εν πάση τη εκκλησία μέχρι της τελείας παρουσίας ό 'Απόστολος άξιοι (Anonymus), and Θεμίσων . . . μιμούμενος τὸν 'Απόστολου καθολικήν τινα συνταξάμενος επιστολήν (Apollonius). So Clement of Alexandria, Strom. vii 14, τό τε Εὐαγγέλιον καὶ δ 'Απόστολος. So too the Latin Irenaeus, Haer. IV xxvii 4, "Domino quidem dicente [Luc. xviii 7] ... et Apostolo in ea quae est ad Thessalonicenses epistola ista praedicante", and often elsewhere, especially in Book V: in two cases the Greek also is extant—V ix 3, where it too has 'Απόστολος, and V ii 3, where the Sacra Parallela give ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος for "beatus Apostolus": but there can be no question that in such cases the Latin is our best guide. Doubtless the use of the phrase goes back further still into the second century.'1

The unique honour thus paid to St Paul, in the usage of Greek Christianity, as the one letter writer of the Canon, receives striking confirmation from the most primitive documents alike of the Latin-speaking and of the Syriac-speaking churches. In the far East the 'Doctrine of Addai' (or Thaddaeus) represents the third century tradition of the form in which the church of Edessa was believed to have been given its Bible: 'The Law and the Prophets, and the Gospel in which ye daily read before the people, and the letters of Paul which Simon Cephas sent us from Rome, and the Acts of the Twelve Apostles which John the son of Zebedee sent us from Ephesus.' In the far West the earliest extant monument of Latin Christianity, the Passion of the Scillitan Martyrs in A.D. 180, records the answer of the martyrs to the question, 'What effects have you in your satchel?' in these

¹ I repeat what I have already printed in an article 'Greek Patristic Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles' in Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible (v 484 b).

terms 'The Books' [that is, as I suppose, the Gospels] 'and the letters of one Paul, a righteous man'.

It is clear, then, that there was a period in the history of all the Churches, Greek, Latin, and Syriac alike, when the epistles of St Paul alone were reckoned as canonical. In contrast with the lesser Catholic epistles-2 and 3 John, James, Jude, 2 Peter —this would be universally admitted: for they belong to the class of books which Eusebius, in his well-known analysis of the New Testament Canon (H. E. iii 25), labels ἀντιλεγόμενα or 'disputed', and only attained their full recognition at a comparatively late date. But even the first epistle of St John and first epistle of St Peter, which Eusebius places among the δμολογούμενα or 'admitted' books, though they certainly anticipated the rest of the Catholic epistles and were probably everywhere recognized as canonical by the middle or end of the third century, must, on the evidence before us, be regarded as having accrued to the New Testament Canon at a definitely later moment than the collection of the epistles of St Paul.² And this original difference, in the order of admission to the Canon, of the Catholic and the Pauline epistles respectively is reflected in the arrangement of the earlier MSS: the Catholic epistles form a group not with the Pauline epistles at all, but with the Acts and sometimes the Apocalypse. I do not think any ancient MS is extant which contains the epistles, Catholic and Pauline, and nothing else: whereas on the other hand there are MSS, and those among our oldest, both of St Paul alone, and of the Catholic epistles with other parts of the New Testament than the Pauline epistles. To take four examples, all of them perhaps of the sixth century: of St Paul alone we have D2, the Claromontane Graeco-Latin

¹ Quoted already in the last article, p. 162 n. 2.

² I Peter is not mentioned in the Muratorian Canon: and St Cyprian's Latin bible, though it indubitably included both I Peter and I John, seems to me to betray a difference of hand between the translation of I Peter and that of the rest of the New Testament. In an article published in the Church Quarterly Review for April 1890 (p. 157), I took occasion to point out the following inconsistencies in the rendering of characteristic Greek words between I Peter and the rest of the New Testament: δόξα δοξάζειν, 'maiestas' 'magnifico' 'honoro' rather than 'claritas' 'clarifico': ἔθνη, 'gentiles' rather than 'nationes' or 'gentes': διασώζειν, 'salvum facere (fieri)' rather than 'salvare' 'liberare' 'eliberare' 'servare': εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, 'praedicare' rather than 'adnuntiare': ἀγαπητοί, 'carissimi' rather than 'dilectissimi': μακάριος, 'beatus' rather than 'felix'.

codex (Paris gr. 107), and H_2 , the fragments of a Mount Athos MS that reproduces the fourth century edition of Evagrius Ponticus: of the Catholic Epistles with Gospels and Acts we have the Graeco-Latin codex Bezae, and of the Catholic Epistles with Acts and Apocalypse the Fleury fragments of the Old Latin known as h (Paris lat. 6400 G).

It appears, then, that the original element of Epistles in the New Testament Canon was represented solely and exclusively by St Paul: but how far are we justified in taking back this original nucleus, the Pauline collection itself?

A collection that was canonical by the close of the second century in Edessa on the one hand and in a remote Numidian town on the other cannot have been of quite recent origin. That we have no definite reference to the collection in the extant literature of the generation preceding A.D. 180, is hardly matter for surprise when we consider that the literature in question is almost wholly apologetic: neither the controversy with pagans nor the controversy with Iews leaves us much opening to look for any appeal to the authority or even the evidence of St Paul. One thing, however, we do know; namely, that when Marcion, perhaps a little before the middle of the century, published a Gospel of his own, he published an 'Apostolicon' as well. And this 'Apostolicon' of Marcion's bears to our collection of Pauline epistles—exception being made of the Pastoral Epistles—just the same sort of relation which his Gospel bears to our Gospel of That the Church's Third Gospel is prior to Marcion's St Luke. recension, and that Marcion produced his own Gospel out of the ecclesiastical Gospel by a series of arbitrary excisions, is not a matter of doubt. Parity of reasoning suggests that the 'Apostolicon' of the Gnostic teacher is a similar réchauffé of an existing Pauline collection in the Church: certainly Tertullian is able to use, in the fifth book adversus Marcionem, an identical method of description and argument with regard to the Epistles with that which he had used in the fourth book with regard to the Gospel, and to confute his opponent by the same demonstration that the parts retained imply in a thousand indirect details that very belief in the God of the Old Testament which the parts excised had more directly inculcated. If we examine for ourselves the passages of our own Pauline text that we know to have been absent from Marcion's text, we shall find that their absence can be explained by the same dominant motive that prevailed in his treatment of St Luke. The Galatian and Roman epistles are, beyond the rest, those in which St Paul unfolds his great argument against the ultimate validity of the Jewish Law; and so far they would naturally stand high in Marcion's favour. In both, however, the Apostle repeatedly draws lessons from the character and history of the patriarchs, and especially of Abraham the father of the faithful 1: but to recognize in the personages of the Old Testament the servants of the good God, or types of His Son, or examples for Christian people, was just what Marcion on his principles could not do. Carefully therefore and systematically 'heretical industry erased all mention of Abraham'.²

Obvious and almost necessary as this conclusion on critical grounds appears to be, considerations of a more general and doctrinal character are, it has recently been urged, fatal to it. Not in the Church writers but in Marcion do we find the true inheritance of the mantle and spirit of St Paul: it must have been Marcion therefore, and not the Churchmen of his own or a previous day, who first collected, circulated, and canonized the Pauline epistles. We should never, we are told, have guessed, from the extant remains of the ante-Nicene fathers, that the letters of Paul occupied a quarter of the whole official Canon of the New Testament: and it can hardly have been among men who paid such scant attention to his theology that the movement for preserving his letters and emphasizing their position in the Canon took its rise.³

Now it may be quite true that Marcion laid more exclusive stress on the sole authority of the *Doctor gentium* than Catholic Christians, who found the security of the Apostolic tradition just in the substantial and independent coincidence of the teaching of a Paul, a Peter, and a John, could afford to do. And it may be quite true also that the Church writers of the second century were not always making occasions to repeat the Pauline language of 'antithesis between Law and Grace', of 'Justification by Faith', of 'the Church as the Body of Christ'. But no man gave by his example less encouragement to the sort of parrot-like $\beta a\tau ro\lambda o y (a)$ of Pauline watchwords that seems to be missed in the second century theologians than St Paul himself, who, as one controversy succeeded another, used different arguments and developed his theology in

¹ Gal. iii 6-9, 14-18, 29: iv 22, 28: Rom. iv 1-17, ix 7-13, xi 1.

² Tert. adv. Marc. v 3 'ostenditur quid supra haeretica industria eraserit, mentionem scilicet Abrahae'.

³ Burkitt Gospel History and its Transmission pp. 316-319.
⁴ ib. p. 323.

new directions: if the Christian society was still a living and organic body, was really what St Paul called it, the Body of Christ, it could not be expected to meet the attacks of Pagans or Gnostics with the same answers that had been effective against Tews and Judaizers—though surely Irenaeus, at any rate, has faithfully assimilated and effectively reproduced some of the most fruitful of St Paul's ideas. And nothing in the world would have been further from St Paul's own wishes than that his teaching should be set up as an authority against the teaching of Christ: for that, and nothing else, is the real gist of the complaint that the ante-Nicenes do not cite St Paul as often as the bulk of his contributions to the New Testament Canon would justify us in expecting. It is not the Acts or the Catholic Epistles or the Apocalypse which are oftener quoted than the Epistles of St Paul: it is the Gospels only, and those who regard it as not the least of the debts which the England of to-day owes to the Tractarian movement that it recalled attention from the Epistles to the Gospels, from the work of Christ to His life and example, will hardly think it strange that to the eyes of Christians in the second and third centuries the holy Gospels loomed larger than the proportion of pages they occupy in the official Canon would have strictly warranted.1

The case for Marcion, then, as the real author of the collection of Pauline epistles cannot be successfully maintained on the side of dogma: on the side of criticism there is perhaps even less to be said on its behalf. Between the time when Marcion, in opposition to the Church, first published the collection, and the time when we find its position securely established inside the Church—accepted unhesitatingly by Irenaeus and Clement and Tertullian—a period of less than fifty years has elapsed. That a Church so little interested, ex hypothesi, in Pauline theology should so soon have been converted to the regular employment of the collection of Pauline documents would be remarkable enough in itself: but that is not all. We have to make room

¹ Cf. R. W. Church The Oxford Movement 1833-1845 p. 167: ¹ Its ethical tendency was shown in two things, which were characteristic of it. One was the increased care for the Gospels, and study of them, compared with other parts of the Bible. Evangelical theology had dwelt upon the work of Christ, and laid comparatively little stress on His example, or the picture left us of His Personality and Life. It regarded the Epistles of St Paul as the last word of the Gospel message . . . while the Gospel narrative was imperfectly studied and was felt to be much less interesting. The movement made a great change. The great Name stood no longer for an abstract symbol of doctrine, but for a living Master, who could teach as well as save. And not forgetting whither He had gone and what He was, the readers of Scripture now sought Him eagerly in those sacred records, where we can almost see and hear His going in and out among men. It was a change in the look and use of Scripture, which some can still look back to as an epoch in their religious history.'

within the same half-century for the work of the fertile and ingenious opponent of Marcion, who not only supplemented the Marcionite collection with three new Epistles but re-wrote the Galatian and Roman letters in such wise as to shift the centre of gravity of the Apostle's teaching by introducing the conceptions of the righteousness of Abraham and of the function of the Law as a preparatory discipline for Christ: for this 'second revised and enlarged' edition (the words are Prof. Burkitt's) so completely ousted the genuine text of Marcion that barely a trace of the latter has survived in any known witness.¹ The merest suspicion of the superior originality of Marcion's text would have been for the Gnostics a controversial asset of the highest value: and yet the theologians of the Church use no argument against them more regularly and more confidently than that the 'Apostolic Scriptures' are the notorious and unquestioned inheritance of the Church, and of the Church alone.

It is as certain, then, that Marcion, not later than the middle of the second century, worked over an existing collection of St Paul's epistles as that he worked over an existing Gospel of St Luke. Have we any means of following the collection higher still up the stream of history?

There is one group of indications which, without amounting to demonstrative proof, suggest strongly that the collection was in existence at least five and twenty years before Marcion's time.

It was in Trajan's reign, therefore before A.D. 118, but perhaps towards the end of the reign, that Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, was carried a prisoner through Asia Minor and Macedonia under sentence to suffer martyrdom at Rome. On his journey he wrote four letters from Smyrna, three from Troas, and these seven form the collection of the genuine Ignatian documents, the only monument of the one great theologian of the sub-apostolic age. Like St Paul, Ignatius passed from Asia into Europe by way of Troas and Philippi. He charged the Christians of Philippi to write a letter of encouragement to the widowed church of Antioch: and when the letter written in compliance with this request was despatched to Polycarp of Smyrna for forwarding on to Syria, the writers begged from Polycarp in return copies of the letter which Ignatius had directed to him as well as of any others

¹ On the other hand, if we are to accept, as I think we must, the conclusions of Dom de Bruyne (*Revue Bénédictine*, Jan. 1907, pp. 1-16), Marcionite prologues to seven (nine) epistles have come down to us in many Latin MSS.

that were in his hands. The packet that Polycarp addressed them, with a covering letter of his own, was perhaps the origin of the collection of the Ignatian epistles as we possess it to-day.

Now of the three churches whose representatives thus meet for a moment on the stage of history, the bishop of Antioch certainly possessed some collection of Pauline letters, for he writes to the Ephesians that they were mentioned 'in all' of them.¹ The bishop of Smyrna too possessed such a collection, for in his brief letter to Philippi are crowded indubitable echoes of the language of at least eight of them.² And it is legitimate to suppose that, if the Philippians shewed such anxiety to gather the letters of Ignatius into a collection, they would have devoted equal or greater care to the formation of a corpus of the letters of St Paul. They were a community that had been founded by the Apostle, that had received a letter from him, and that had been attached to him by no ordinary bond of affection: every reason that could prompt them to an Ignatian collection would operate with still greater effect in favour of a Pauline collection. If the one did not immediately suggest to them the other, it can only have been because the Pauline collection was already in existence. Indeed it seems to me not unlikely that it was exactly their familiarity with the collected letters of St Paul which led them to desire a parallel collection of the letters of St Ignatius: but on the opposite alternative, I am sure that the handling of a roll containing the six or seven letters of Ignatius would have given an immediate impetus to a similar achievement in regard to all that they could lay their hands on of St Paul.

In or about the year 115, then, the churches of Antioch and Smyrna possessed—and the church of Philippi, as it seems, must have made, if it did not already possess—a corpus of epistles of St Paul: and though we cannot say how far back behind 115 the first beginnings of the collection may go, it is possible enough

¹ Ign. ad Eph. § 12. Lightfoot ad loc. refers (apart from the Epistle to the Ephesians) to 'Romans (xvi 5), I Corinthians (xv 32, xvi 8, 19), 2 Corinthians (i 8 sq.), and the two Epistles to Timothy'.

² Ephesians, ² Corinthians, Galatians, ¹ Timothy, ¹ Corinthians, Romans, Philippians, 2 Timothy: the chapters extant only in Latin suggest that I and 2 Thessalonians should be added to the list. Note particularly that Polycarp speaks of St Paul in the present tense § 11 'de vobis etenim gloriatur in omnibus ecclesiis': we are here approaching the use of $\phi\eta\sigma\dot{\iota}$ and $\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$, a use which implies the permanently present authority of Scripture.

that, whatever its date, we ought not to look for its origin far outside the district where the first evidence thus comes to light. If we are to look to a single locality as centre for the movement, none is more suggestive than the confines of Asia and Europe—on one side of the Aegean Philippi, Thessalonica, Corinth, on the other Ephesus, Colossae, and the Galatian churches: all the Apostle's extant letters to churches, apart from the circular letter known to us as the epistle to the Romans, would be here represented.

No doubt the very earliest collections, whenever and wherever made, need not have assumed at the start the definite form of the collection of the thirteen epistles as we know it from the last quarter of the second century onwards. Just as Marcion only accepted ten epistles, so also the Philippians or the Antiochenes may have had in their hands similar, possibly even smaller, collections. But what can truly be said is that on each occasion in the sub-apostolic age when reference to St Paul's correspondence with any particular church is natural, such reference is always made.

In concluding the last chapter we were fortunate enough to have at our disposal two sets of variae lectiones which rendered possible some insight into the early history and transmission of the Gospel texts: the one, where recent investigation into the Synoptic problem has focussed attention on instances of apparent agreement between Matthew and Luke against Mark: the other, where Marcion's text of the Third Gospel is supported against our ordinary texts by some few ancient witnesses. If the former branch of enquiry fails us for St Paul, the latter is still at command: and before passing from the Epistles, it may here too be worth while to illustrate some aspects of their text from the evidence of Marcion's 'Apostolicon' and its relation to our other authorities. But as these chapters will not deal much with the detailed criticism of other parts of the New Testament than the Gospels, our instances will be selected from the ground where problems of text march with problems of history.

1. The order of the Pauline Epistles in Marcion's 'Apostolicon' has been happily preserved to us by both Tertullian and Epiphanius: and, save that Epiphanius, perhaps rightly, inverts the last two, they agree in the following order—Galatians, 1 and 2

Corinthians, Romans, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Laodicenes. Colossians, Philippians, Philemon. This is not the order of our Bibles. whether Greek, Latin, or English; nor yet the order shared by the two early Latin commentators, Ambrosiaster and Pelagius 1: for in all of these Romans comes first. The evidence for the order of St. Cyprian's Bible is conflicting: but there is some reason to conjecture that Romans was placed quite low down among the Epistles, as is also the case in the Muratorian fragment² and probably in Tertullian.³ In individual cases these variations may no doubt represent only the arbitrary rearrangement of an editor, a translator, or a scribe: but taken in the mass they may reasonably be interpreted to mean that the movement for creating a corpus of Pauline Epistles had been going on independently in various places during the sub-apostolic age, and, if that be so, we shall have better, because less homogeneous testimony, for the text as a whole, but we shall also expect to find more divergences and difficulties in detail. If a collection made, say, at Ephesus about the year A.D. 100 were the original source of all the authorities in which the Epistles have come down to us, the text of this collection might indeed be relatively easy to establish, but when established it would only take us back to the time and place of the particular collector; while a text that represented a consensus of independent collections, if more difficult to establish, would at the same time bring us into much nearer contact with the Apostle himself.

2. It will have been noticed that the list just given of the Epistles according to Marcion's order has no Epistle to the Ephesians, but, instead, an Epistle to the Laodicenes: and a forged epistle under the latter name is found in many MSS. But the forged epistle, unlike Marcion's, is in addition to, and not in substitution for, the Ephesian epistle: and while the forged epistle is nothing but a clumsy attempt to fill up the lacuna suggested by Col. iv 16, 'See that you get from Laodicea my letter to them and have it read aloud', Marcion's epistle

¹ Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Colossians, Titus, 1 and 2 Timothy, Philemon.

² Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Galatians, Thessalonians, Romans.

³ Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Thessalonians, Ephesians, Romans. See Zahn Geschichte des ntl. Kanons II i, p. 344.

to the Laodicenes is nothing else than our Epistle to the Ephesians. 1 Even in the minutiae of titles, says Tertullian scornfully, Marcion was 'diligentissimus explorator', and changed the 'ad Ephesios' of the Church into an 'ad Laodicenos' of his ownas though it mattered a bit to whom it was written, seeing that the Apostle wrote to all what he wrote to any.2 But if Tertullian was not interested in these details, we are: the more so, when we find that, though Marcion remains the only witness for the form of the title Π_{ρ} do $\Lambda_{\alpha o}$ dikéas, he is supported, in the absence of any express mention of Ephesus in the first verse of the epistle, by Origen, by the 'ancient copies' known to Basil, by B, by the first hand of N, and by the second corrector of the cursive MS known as Paul 67.3 All these read, not τοῖς ἀχίοις τοῖς οὖσιν έν Ἐφέσφ καὶ πιστοίς έν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, but τοῖς άγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ—'to the saints that are also faithful in Christ Jesus', or else, as Origen explains it ad loc., 'to the living saints and believers in Christ Jesus'. With the disappearance of $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ 'E $\phi\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\omega$ in i I, all trace of the destination of the epistle is lost, other than the heading $\Pi \rho \delta s$ 'E $\phi \epsilon \sigma lovs$: but as this heading is retained by all our witnesses apart from Marcion, it is hardly likely that Marcion really found either èv Aaodikia in the text or Προς Λαοδικέας in the title. It is more probable that, with the authorities cited above, he found no place-name at all in i I, that he therefore rejected the Π_{ρ} describes as a heading not justified by the text of the letter which followed, and by a brilliant combination with Col. iv 16 identified the now anonymous letter which so closely resembled the letter to Colossae with the letter which the Colossian Church was exhorted to borrow from Laodicea in exchange for its own.

Modern criticism has done justice both to the sagacity of Marcion and to the tradition of the Church. The letter in question

¹ Doctored, of course, like the other Epistles of his 'Apostolicon', to suit his views: and this may be the reason that the Muratorian fragment can speak of it, together with 'alia ad Alexandrinos', as 'finctae ad heresim Marcionis'. But I rather suspect that the author of the Fragment was unaware of its relationship to the Ephesian Epistle.

 $^{^2}$ adv. Marcionem v 17 'nihil de titulis interest, cum ad omnes apostolus scripserit dum ad quosdam'.

³ It was in Westcott and Hort's edition that attention was first called to the importance of this late witness, 67**. The MS itself (Act. 66 = Paul 67 = Apoc. 34) is Vienna gr. theol. 302 saec. xi.

was sent to the Ephesians, and to them primarily, but not to them alone. It was a circular letter, free from all personal reference and detail, no names at all being mentioned in it save those of the writer, Paul, and of the bearer, Tychicus. Laodicea—as its position in the Apocalypse shews us—was one of the more prominent cities of pro-consular Asia: and Laodicea would receive its own copy of the circular letter, which would be lent from it afterwards to its less distinguished neighbours such as Colossae.

Note that Marcion is found on this occasion in other company than that which he kept in his Gospel text: for instead of agreeing with Western authorities he ranges himself with a small group of early and exclusively Eastern witnesses. In view of what was inculcated in the last chapter about the separate transmission of the various parts of the New Testament (pp. 162, 163), there would be nothing to cause surprise, if it turned out that Marcion's text of St. Luke and his text of St. Paul represented different lines of textual history: it would even be possible that he used for St. Paul a text that he had brought from Asia Minor, and for St. Luke a text that he acquired in Rome. But it must be remembered that the evidence of the ancient versions for the epistles is enormously less, in bulk and in value, than it is for the Gospels—we have no MS of the epistles either from the African Latin or from the Old Syriac-and we cannot therefore tell whether earlier and better Latin MSS, if we had them, would not shew the same marked affinities that we found in the Gospels to be true of the Epistles as well.

3. Certainly, in the third and last point with which I propose to deal—Marcion's text of the Roman Epistle and especially of its last two chapters—he appears undoubtedly to return to his original company: though it seems possible (and it is just this possibility which is so full of interest) that a common element may be established between this case and the preceding one by the appearance in both cases of Origen among the supporters of Marcion. The new problem is a complicated one, and only the fringe of it can here be touched: but the impressions and the experience that can be gained from it are so germane to our task that I need make no apology for sketching rapidly the ground that has been fought over, and the positions that were taken up, by

two such redoubtable, albeit friendly, antagonists as Lightfoot and Hort.¹

Tertullian, when he arrived at this epistle—it stood fourth, we remember, in Marcion's 'Apostolicon'-professes that he is tired of proving the same thing over and over again, and, in fact, devotes to the Romans less space than he had done to the much shorter epistle to the Galatians. We cannot, therefore, reconstruct the whole of Marcion's text, even in outline, by means of his description: but we do learn (a) in general, that Marcion's excisions were more serious in this epistle than in the rest2; (b) in particular, that the phrase 'tribunal of Christ' (Rom. xiv 10) occurred 'in clausula' 'towards the close'. Origen is more explicit than Tertullian about Marcion's omissions at this point. In his Commentary on Romans, as rendered into Latin by Rufinus, he tells us not only that Marcion cut out the final doxology of chapter xvi, but also that from xiv 23 onwards 'usque ad finem cuncta dissecuit' 3—which is naturally taken to mean, in connexion with Tertullian's phrase 'in clausula', that the whole of chapters xv and xvi were absent from the Marcionite recension. But there is no doubt that so serious an excision (it extends to sixty verses) would require some explanation: for even if individual phrases, like xv 4, 'all that was written aforetime was written for our instruction', or xv 8, Christ' a minister of the circumcision', might be abhorrent to Marcion, these could have been easily enough pruned away from the text on his ordinary method without any necessity for recourse to heroic measures.

Is it then possible that we have here once more to do with a case, not of the text as Marcion re-handled it, but of the text as he received it? This was the view which commended itself to Lightfoot, for it brought Marcion's evidence into relation with three other classes of facts all pointing in the same direction:—

(a) Extraordinary confusion in our authorities with regard to the position of various benedictions and doxologies towards the

¹ Lightfoot, Biblical Essays, 1893, where Dr Lightfoot's two papers from the Journal of Philology for 1869 and 1871 are reprinted, together with the paper in which Dr Hort criticized his view: to these authorities should be added Dom de Bruyne Revue Bénédictine, Oct. 1908, pp. 423-430.

² adv. Marcionem v 13 'quantas autem foveas in ista vel maxime epistula Marcion fecerit, auferendo quae voluit, de nostri instrumenti integritate parebit'.

³ Comm. in Rom. x 43 (Delarue iv 687).

end of the epistle: in particular, many authorities append the great doxology not to chapter xvi but to chapter xiv, while some have it in both places.

- (b) Apparently clear traces of an Old Latin system of 51 chapter divisions for the epistle, of which the 50th begins at xiv 15, and the 51st corresponds to the doxology of xvi 25-27: together with entire absence of citations from chapters xv and xvi in Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Cyprian.
- (c) Clear though slight traces of a reading in i 7 according to which the words $\ell\nu$ 'Póµŋ were omitted: the direct evidence is that of a single MS only, the Graeco-Latin G_2 , but it is reinforced by the indirect evidence of a marginal note in a Bodleian cursive of the eleventh century, $1 \tau \delta \ell\nu$ 'Póµŋ οὕτε $\ell\nu$ τῆ $\ell\xi\eta\gamma\eta$ οει οὕτε $\ell\nu$ τῷ ρητῷ μνημονεύει, 'the phrase "in Rome" he mentions neither in the exposition nor in the text '—where the suppressed nominative appeared to Lightfoot to refer to some commentator, $\tau\delta$ ρητόν being the lemma or passage of Scripture text prefixed to each section of a commentary, $\hat{\eta}$ $\ell\xi\eta\gamma\eta\sigma\iota$ s the commentary itself.

On these premisses Lightfoot built up the theory that, besides the ordinary and original form of the Roman epistle, a second edition was in circulation in quite early times, in which by the omission of all personal and local matter the epistle had been adapted, probably by the Apostle himself, for universal use.

Hort recognized the simplicity and broad probability of Light-foot's view: but the textual evidence seemed to him to offer difficulties as soon as it came to be examined at close quarters, for 'every authority which supports or may be thought to support some part of this combination contradicts some other part.' Moreover, he challenged Lightfoot's interpretation of the evidence of more than one of the witnesses. He did not believe that Origen really meant to say that Marcion cut out the last two chapters, but only that he did not retain the doxology either at the end of chapter xiv or of chapter xvi: nor did he admit that the marginal note of the Bodleian MS meant more than that the words $\partial v P \omega \mu \eta$ were absent from the text and marginal commentary of, say, some late uncial MS of the eighth century.

¹ Bodl. Roe 16, brought by Sir Thomas Roe from the East early in the seventeenth century—probably from the monastery on the island of Chalcis, In Gregory's notation the MS is Paul 47.

Of the points at issue between the two great Cambridge scholars, the small problem of this marginal note has received from subsequent research a decisive solution: and it turns out that Lightfoot only erred by understating his case. It was, after all, a commentator who omitted $\epsilon \nu$ 'Póµŋ 'both in his text and in his exposition', and that commentator was none other than Origen himself.¹

Of course this discovery does not close the whole question, or prove that Lightfoot's main thesis was correct. It does not even prove that in any single detail Origen and Marcion shared the same text; but it does so far make it possible that each preserved independently of the other some trace of the de-localized text of Romans, the existence of which Lightfoot sought to establish. But the problem has been selected for treatment here, partly because where Lightfoot and Hort have disputed in print both processes and results must needs be full of instruction for us, but also because it is a rare opportunity which is offered us when evidence which takes us back as far as Marcion's does can be brought into any sort of contact with the evidence of the great scholar and commentator whose work will form the subject of a subsequent chapter.

(C) THE ACTS.

[The textual criticism of the Acts is more difficult than that of any other important book of the New Testament. I am not wholly satisfied with what I had said about it, and prefer to postpone this section for the present.—C.H.T.]

(D) THE APOCALYPSE.

There is no part of the New Testament, no group of books, of which we can be sure that all its component members were received or circulated from the first on an equal footing with one another: for our knowledge is insufficient to warrant any general statement of the sort. But we can say with perfect truth that as soon as the idea of a Canon of the New Testament takes shape at all, that is, from the last quarter of the second century onwards—and in the case of the Gospels we might go somewhat higher still—the four Gospels with the Acts and the thirteen Epistles of St Paul were always and everywhere accounted as belonging to it. All these books, whether in the texts of Antioch, or Ephesus,

An account of the Athos MS of the text of the Pauline epistles according to Origen, to which we owe this discovery, is reserved for a later chapter on Origen.

or Rome, or Carthage, or Alexandria, start level: they were all accepted in one Church as much as in another, and their textual history from that date onwards is *mutatis mutandis* the same. But the reception of the remaining books was, on the extant evidence, earlier or more complete in one quarter of the Christian Church than another, and a quite new set of conditions has to be allowed for in their textual history: nor will these new conditions be the same for the Hebrews as for the Apocalypse, nor for the minor Catholic Epistles as for the Hebrews.

Let us illustrate this branch of our enquiry in more detail by the case of the most considerable of these books—which also introduces us to the fourth and last class of books represented in the New Testament Canon—the Apocalypse.

On behalf of the general principle of admitting books of this last class to the Canon of Scripture, there was much that might be said. In the first place, they in some way corresponded to and carried on the prophetic literature of the Old Testament: they could not indeed, like the older prophets, point to a fulfilment in the Christ, but if the Church, unlike the prophets, looked backward to the first coming of her Lord, she was still looking forward to a moment of His return-'il viendra, il est venu, il reviendra'. The inspiration which had revealed to Daniel and St Paul something of the conditions which should precede and accompany the great consummation of all things was not, it might be urged, to be conceived of as extinct: 'the Prophetic charisma must subsist in the whole Church till the perfect Parousia' says the second century writer quoted above (p. 355). But then further, if there still were to be prophets animated by the Divine Spirit, and if, as experience shewed, the stress of present persecution was sure, from time to time, to evoke 'Revelations' which aimed at drawing away the thoughts of Christians from the gloom of the present to the hopes of the future, then must not all these Revelations—such of them, at any rate, as were committed to writing—have the same permanent authority in the Church as the older inspirations of Jewish prophet and Christian apostle? According to the logical developement of this view, the Canon was susceptible of indefinite expansion as the Spirit might dictate new revelations, and would cease in any real sense to be a Canon of apostolic writings.

VOL. X. Bb

But the problem was in fact worked out, as we should expect, as much over concrete cases as over abstract principles. books came into practical consideration as candidates for admission under this head to the Christian Canon, the Apocalypse of John, the Apocalypse of Peter, and the Shepherd of Hermas. All three find a place in the list of canonical books appended to the Graeco-Latin codex Claromontanus of St Paul (D₀): and as this list is accompanied by a 'stichometry' or estimate of the number of 'verses' contained in each work, we learn that the Apocalypse of Peter was a short book of no more than 270 stichi. and thus the piece of it recovered with the piece of the Gospel of Peter must be no inconsiderable fraction, perhaps as much as half, of the whole work. If what is still lost was not more edifying than what has been found, we need not greatly regret its imperfection. The Shepherd of the Roman Christian Hermas is a sort of allegory in three parts, Visions, Commandments, and Parables, under cover of which the writer conveys to his fellow Christians at Rome the exhortation to repent and return to their first works, and the promise, for this once, of complete remission of all, even post-baptismal, sins. It is ignorant and prolix, its theology is slipshod, but for all that there is something in its childlike naïve sincerity and in its moral appeal which recalls the atmosphere of the Galilean Ministry, and which no doubt contributed, together with its claim to be a Divine revelation, to give it the popularity and importance which it enjoyed in early times. It is not only cited as Scripture by Irenaeus, and apparently by Clement of Alexandria and Origen, but it is part-incomplete only because of the incompleteness of the MS as we have it-of the Bible as contained in Codex N.

Meanwhile the pressure of two controversies, in the second half of the second century, was forcing Christian thinkers to try and clear their ideas upon these matters. Against the Gnostic the churchman appealed to the public Canon of apostolic writings: nothing therefore which was not in some sense or another connected with the apostles could belong to the New Testament.

¹ The στίχος is the hexameter line, which as reckoned at sixteen syllables could be applied as a standard of length even to prose books. One object at least of a stichometry was to enable purchasers to know how much they were paying for, and thus to check the charges of the booksellers.

Against the Montanist the churchman argued that the Christian Revelation was final, and that the Gift of the Spirit had not been reserved for Montanus or his prophetesses but had already been bestowed in its fullness on the Apostles: that the apostolic writings in which this revelation was enshrined were not merely inspired items, but formed together an inspired and organically coherent whole. So if Origen, no doubt in accordance with Alexandrine tradition, accounted the Shepherd part of Scripture, he also made the author if not 'apostolus' yet at least 'apostolicus', by identifying him with the Hermas mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans.¹ But already before Origen the judgement of the Christian churches had been maturing unfavourably to the book. Tertullian himself of course rejected the 'apocryphal Shepherd of adulterers', because his Montanist principles were shocked at the idea of any reconciliation after post-baptismal mortal sin: it is more to our purpose that he can appeal also to the rejection of the book by many assemblies of bishops within the Church.2 Definite reason for rejection is given in the so-called Muratorian Canon. The author of this earliest catalogue of New Testament books, writing about A.D. 200 and probably in Rome,3 had access to better information than Origen about the date and personality of Hermas. Hermas was a Roman Christian certainly, but of the second century, not of the first: and his book was written while his brother Pius was occupying the episcopal chair of the Roman Church—that is to say, about A.D. 140-150. So recent a work could have no claim to be ranked either among the Prophets or

¹ Comm. in Rom. x 31 (Delarue iv 683) 'Puto tamen quod Hermas iste [Rom. xvi 14] sit scriptor libelli eius qui Pastor appellatur, quae scriptura valde mihi utilis videtur et ut puto divinitus inspirata'.

² de pudicitia § 10 'sed cederem tibi si scriptura Pastoris.... divino instrumento meruisset incidi, si non ab omni concilio ecclesiarum etiam vestrarum inter apocrypha et falsa iudicaretur': and cf. § 20. This is almost the earliest mention of councils in Christian literature.

³ The use of Urbs for Rome is quite indecisive, as that would suit many parts of the West: St Cyprian habitually employs the phrase without further definition. On the other hand, I cannot believe that Clement was the author, for it is hardly likely that the Alexandrines, with their laxer Canon both of Old and New Testament Scriptures, would have been the first (as far as we know) to draw so rigid a line between the canonical and the uncanonical: but I should not be disinclined to interpret any points of contact between the Muratorian Canon and Clement as indicating that Hippolytus (or whoever was the author of the Canon) had made use of the Hypotyposes.

among the Apostles, to belong either to the Old Testament or to the New. 'The Apocalypse of John we receive—and also that of Peter, though some will not have this read in church—but the *Shepherd* is a writing of our own times, as modern as the episcopate of Pius, and therefore, though it may be read privately for edification, it cannot be regarded as possessing any public authority.' The Canon was complete and closed.

It is easy to see that the Apocalypse of John stands on a very different footing from either the Apocalypse of Peter, a forgery pretending to be apostolic, or the Shepherd of Hermas, which, though no forgery, makes no claim to be apostolic or even primitive. But the distinction which the (ultimately unanimous) wisdom of the later Church drew between it and them only came very gradually into view. The general considerations which were brought into account in testing the claim of the two other books reacted upon the third, and explain to some extent the unique history of its reception. For St John's Apocalypse stands alone among the books of our Canon in having, as it seems, attained in early times more nearly unanimous recognition than was accorded to it a little later: though it is true that we cannot speak quite positively about its position in the second and early third century, seeing that our extant evidence is mainly Western and Egyptian, and in the West and Egypt the history of its reception is unbroken. But in the course of the third century the reaction in the East against the book was in full The rise of Greek Christian scholarship during the 'long peace' after Severus (A.D. 211-249) made men more conscious of the critical difficulties of common authorship of Apocalypse and Gospel. The slackening of persecution set free the natural recoil of the Hellenic spirit against the apparent materialism with which the rewards of the blessed and the glories of the heavenly Jerusalem are portrayed. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria circa A.D. 247-265, to whom we owe the first expression of these feelings and difficulties, adopts for his own part the compromise which accepts the book on a sort of lower grade, as canonical but not apostolic. But what he with his Alexandrine traditions was prevented from doing—that is to say, rejecting the book outright—some, as he tells us, before him, and many, as we

know, after him, did do. The Greek churches of the fourth and fifth centuries, in the spheres of influence of Antioch and Constantinople, manifested a steady if silent hostility. There are scarcely any traces of its use in Basil or the Gregories: it is not cited by St Chrysostom: it found no place even in the Peshitta or Vulgate of the Syriac Church.

The textual meaning of this distribution of the evidence needs no commentary to make it clear. The Antiochene revision of Lucian, which is for the New Testament generally the foundation of the 'received text', can hardly have included the book. The Codex Vaticanus (B) is imperfect—it breaks off at Heb. ix 14 and we cannot tell whether or no the Apocalypse formed part of its unmutilated text. Our three other great MSS of the New Testament, & A C, all contain it (and this is so far an argument for attributing all three to an Egyptian or Caesarean provenance), but their relative importance is here reversed, and both A and C give a superior text in this book to N. The Latin authorities rise in value proportionately to the number of other witnesses who fail us: we are moreover fortunate in possessing a practically complete text of it in the commentary of Primasius of Hadrumetum,1 which, though not itself earlier than the sixth century, represents on the whole the original African text undiluted and unrevised—for processes of revision and retranslation concentrated themselves on the Gospels, and often spared the less important books.

¹ Edited by Haussleiter as part iv of Zahn's Forschungen zur Geschichte des ntl. Kanons (1891).

gives us the authority we want for the masculine in two of these four cases, 'angelo ecclesiae qui est Sardis', 'angelo ecclesiae qui est Filadelphiae'.

Only a word need be said in conclusion about the few remaining books of the New Testament which we have not yet had occasion to discuss. The Epistle to the Hebrews was used by Clement of Rome, but in view of the long continued reluctance of the Roman Church to incorporate it in the Canon we can hardly suppose (and there is no reason why we should) that he regarded it as Pauline or even as apostolic: its position in the Canon is wholly a matter of much later date, and the history of its transmission will have been for nearly a century after Clement independent of the transmission of the genuine letters of St Paul. Of the minor Catholic Epistles, Jude and 2 John alone have second century attestation (Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and the Muratorian Canon): the five ultimately accepted were not the only claimants for recognition, and it is clear that, while the Pauline collection was undisputed, there was a fringe of debateable ground, where some of the epistles ultimately received were mixed up with some others, like the epistles of Barnabas and the Roman Clement, that were ultimately excluded, and with others again that were neither the work of apostles nor of apostolic fathers but were inventions of heretics. These last it was comparatively a speedy matter to detect and expose: but the process of sifting the orthodox 'Antilegomena' was not finally complete for several centuries. The two great uncial MSS whose New Testament books can be fixed, & and A, both contain matter foreign to our present Canon-8 has the epistle of Barnabas and (as already mentioned) the Shepherd of Hermas, A has both the genuine and the spurious epistle of Clement of Rome: Epistles, Acts, Apocalypses, long admitted of some doubtful members: the group of Gospels was the only one of which the constituent parts were quite invariable.

C. H. TURNER.

LANFRANC'S MONASTIC CONSTITUTIONS.

WHEN I was asked to review The Bosworth Psalter by a too kindly editor, who knew that I was much interested in certain points which had been raised in this remarkable study, 1 I felt that though most of it lay beyond my range I might be able to call attention to some matters of detail, which I had had occasion to look into, as they happened to bear on the monastic history of Westminster. But I soon found that I could not do justice to the book, as I knew nothing of mediaeval psalters or hymnology. Abbot Gasquet must have suffered neglect at my hands; and to Mr Edmund Bishop, who has written by far the largest portion of the work, I should wish to remain in the position of a grateful disciple: indeed I could not review him without his own aid in the task. I had, however, pitched on a footnote of his, which I was inclined to dispute; and I had caught at a misprint in regard to Osbert of Clare, one of our priors, about whom I had found some new facts. In the issue the editor has commuted the half-promise of a review in favour of a somewhat elaborate note. If the form of it seems unduly personal, I can only plead in excuse the way in which it has grown up, and the difficulty of presenting the matter otherwise without seeming to speak with authority where I am only a keenly interested observer.

It has hitherto been generally held that Archbishop Lanfranc drew up a code of regulations for all the Benedictine monasteries of England. These regulations were printed by Reyner in his Apostolatus Benedictinorum (1626), with a prefatory letter from Lanfranc to Henry, the prior of his own cathedral monastery. In Reyner's edition they were entitled Decreta D. Lanfranci pro ordine S. Benedicti; and they were again printed in 1737, by Wilkins (Concilia i 328), with the heading Constitutiones Lanfranci archiepiscopi Cantuariensis. No one, so far as I am aware, has

¹ The Bosworth Psalter: an account of a manuscript formerly belonging to O. Turville-Petre, Esq., of Bosworth Hall, now Addit. MS 37517 at the British Museum: by Abbot Gasquet and Edmund Bishop. George Bell & Sons, 1908.

hitherto questioned the accuracy or the propriety of Reyner's title, even when attention has been called to the fact that the work was primarily addressed to the monks of Christ Church. Mr Edmund Bishop, however, in one of his *obiter dicta* throws this title almost angrily away, as though it had imposed on the learned world too long. The matter may seem a small one, but it is of graver importance than would at first sight appear. For it concerns the whole spirit and method of the Norman reform of the English Church after the Conquest. But whether the point be large or small, it ought if possible to be settled; and it cannot be settled without a somewhat elaborate discussion of details.

First, then, let us hear Mr Edmund Bishop. In speaking of these regulations of Lanfranc, on p. 63, he describes them as 'the Constitutions which he drew up expressly for observance by his own community of the Canterbury cathedral monastery': and he appends the following note:

By a mischance these were printed by the first editor under the title 'Decreta Lanfranci pro Ordine S. Benedicti' (see Reyner's Apostolatus Benedictinorum part iii p. 211); and our antiquaries, etc. thus started on a wrong track have generally persevered therein until now (see e.g. the Dictionary of National Biography under 'Lanfranc'), although in the Concilia Wilkins pointed to the real state of the case which is indeed made clear in Lanfranc's own preface.

As I had myself quite recently spoken of 'the Constitutions drawn up for all Benedictine monasteries in England by Lanfranc at the end of the eleventh century', and had not been brought to a better mind by the mere fact that Wilkins entitles them Constitutiones Lanfranci archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, or by his brief and inaccurate footnote, I ventured to write to Mr Bishop

¹ Sec, for example, Böhmer's elaborate work, Kirche u. Staat in England u. in der Normandie im XI. u. XII. Jahrhundert pp. 102, 110.

² The MSS of Westminster Abbey (Robinson and James, Camb. Univ. Press) p. 1: but see supplementary note on p. 104. As I am a tiro in these matters, I confess that I have since noticed with a certain feeling of satisfaction that Dr James himself in his magnum opus on the Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover speaks of them as 'promulgated for the use of English Benedictines in general' (p. xxix).

³ In which he refers the Constitutions conjecturally to the third year of Lanfranc's primacy, as the year in which, according to William of Malmesbury, he curbed the insolence of the Canterbury monks. Unfortunately for this conjecture Henry the prior did not begin his rule before 1077.

and plead the following points in defence of the commonly accepted view:

- 1. The express statement in Reyner Tractatus 2 p. 117, regarding the manuscript from which the copy printed in his Appendix was drawn: 'in illo libro hic est titulus: Decreta D. Lanfranci pro ordine S. Benedicti.'
- 2. The use of the designation 'abbot' throughout the Constitutions, although Christ Church was under a prior—a use for which Lanfranc apologizes in his prefatory letter, and which seemed to indicate that he meant his work to have a wider circulation.
- 3. The fact that Paul, the nephew of Lanfranc, is stated to have introduced these constitutions at St Albans on becoming Abbot there.¹
- 4. The great probability that they were in force at Rochester, where monks were introduced by Lanfranc himself.²
 - 5. The fact that these Constitutions underlie the Westminster
- ¹ For St Albans our authority is Matthew Paris († 1259) in his *Vitae Abbatum*, which was embodied in the later *Gesta Abbatum* (Rolls ed. i). Of the *Vitae* there seems to be a shorter and a longer form, and the first of the passages cited below alone belongs to what appears to be the earlier draft. The *Vitae* have an earlier document underlying them, but we cannot trace it with sufficient distinctness to say whether the first passage is thence derived.
- 1. (i 52). Iste quoque Paulus abbas, vir religiosus et eleganter litteratus, et in observantia ordinis regularis rigidus et prudens, totius monasticae religionis normam (quam iam olim tam praelatorum quam subditorum remissioris vitae illecebrosa voluptas eliminaverat) caute et paulatim, ne repentina mutatio tumultum generaret, reformavit; et facta est ecclesia sancti Albani quasi schola religionis et disciplinaris observantiae per totum regnum Angliae. attulerat namque secum consuetudines Lanfranci et statuta monastica a domino papa merito approbata conscripta: unde odor bonae famae huius ecclesiae Romanam curiam et remota regna illustrando pervolavit, etc.
- 2. (i 58). Ad cumulum autem laudis eius adiciendum est, quod consuetudines approbatas et approbandas, auctoritate Lanfranci quondam Beccensis ecclesiae monachi, in ecclesia sancti Albani, eliminatis antiquis reprobandis, constituit observari: unde bono odore famae haec ecclesia totam replevit regionem, et facta est schola aliarum magistralis.
- 3. (i 61). Nota pro Consuetudinibus. Hic quoque [sc. Anselmus archiepiscopus] consuetudines, quas transmisit scriptas Lanfrancus abbati Paulo, approbavit et conservari persuasit: quas qui videre desiderat in Consuetudinario (scilicet in fine, et in minori volumine quod additum est maiori) scriptas poterit invenire: et est libellus ille idem quem Lanfrancus scripsit et Anselmus legit et approbavit.

It is clear that the first and second of these passages were not intended to stand permanently in the same book: and it is evident from the third passage that Lanfranc's Consultudines were quite obsolete when Matthew Paris wrote.

² For Rochester and other monasteries see *Flores Historiarum* (Rolls ed.) ii 5, 9, 12, 21.

Customary of Abbot Ware (end of s. xiii); so that it may fairly be assumed that they were introduced either by Abbot Vitalis whom Lanfranc had helped to bring from Bernay, or by Abbot Gilbert Crispin who had been Lanfranc's pupil at Bec.

- 6. The intrinsic probability that such a code of rules was intended to go with the new Norman abbots, whom the king at the archbishop's advice was sending to all parts of the country.¹
- 7. The precedent for England of the *Concordia Regularis* of St Dunstan's days, which sought to introduce a uniform rule a hundred years before.

There is a kind of criticism by instinct—it is in reality the fruit of intimate and prolonged acquaintance with the details and surroundings of a subject—which defies obstacles and seems to the less experienced to fly in the face of facts. In the kindest possible way Mr Edmund Bishop recognized the force of the cumulative argument by which I had endeavoured to present a justification for the common view. But he persisted that to his mind there was an a priori improbability which condemned the title Decreta D. Lanfranci pro ordine S. Benedicti. He was good enough to explain at some length why, in his view, Lanfranc could not have taken such action in regard to the English monasteries generally as that title implied. He reasoned from the whole spirit of Benedictinism proper, from the character of the Norman developement of Church life and thought, from the state of the English Church as it appeared to the Norman churchman when he suddenly found himself responsible for its welfare. He offered various alternative explanations of the statements which I had marshalled in argument—with the exception of the first. That title, he maintained, was not derived from the manuscript which the careful antiquary Baker had transcribed: it was a seventeenth-century title, and arose somehow in the curious process by which the book which bears Reyner's name came into being 2: it savoured of the legal plea which dominated the composition of that work. In short, those who would maintain the title must produce the manuscript in which it stood.

¹ When Lanfranc died, 20 out of the 30 abbeys of his province (not reckoning the cathedral monasteries) had Norman abbots, 3 had English abbots still; of the other 7 we cannot speak certainly (Böhmer *Kirche u. Staat* p. 107).

² See the sketch of David Baker's life (Dom Augustine Baker) in Wood's Athenae Oxonienses (ed. Bliss) iii 7 ff, and Taunton English Black Monks ii 73.

He went on to indicate his own conception of Lanfranc's method of procedure. Lanfranc had been prior of Bec under Abbot Herlwin. Coming to Canterbury and finding his cathedral monastery in disorder, he introduced, when occasion offered, a pupil of his own as prior; and he redrafted for his guidance the customs of Bec, which he probably had himself helped to compile. The Bec customs naturally went with his nephew Paul to St Albans; and their intrinsic worth commended them to other monasteries. But many of the new abbots had been brought up in other Norman abbeys, and would have resented a demand to enforce the Bec customs. That these customs gradually made their way was the result of spontaneous acceptance, not of imposition by authority.

These general reflexions prepared the way for a further consideration of the literary history of the document in question; and it is only because some fresh facts have already emerged that I am writing on a subject from which my consciousness of ignorance and inexperience would otherwise have warned me off. The enquiry is even now only begun, and I write in the hope that others will contribute of their knowledge. In what follows I shall use freely the hints and indications which Mr Edmund Bishop has given me.

We must begin with the mediaeval catalogues of the libraries of Christ Church, Canterbury, and its daughter house of St Martin at Dover, which Dr James has made available for our purpose. The following volumes at Canterbury first attract our attention 1:—

291 Martilogium uetus.

In hoc nol. cont.:

Regula beati Benedicti

Consuetudines Ecclesie Beccensis.

292 Martilogium nouum.

In hoc uol. cont.:

Regula Sancti Benedicti

Consuetudines Ecclesie Beccensis.

294 Martilogium paruum.

In hoc nol. cont.:

Regula beati Benedicti

Constituciones domini R. de Wynchelese Cant. Archiep.

¹ Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover (1903) pp. 49 f.

Before we comment on the composition of these volumes, let us read a passage from the *Concordia Regularis*, which shews what the English monks had been instructed to do daily in their chapterhouse ¹:—

Facto signo a priore convenientes ad Capitulum, ipso praecedente, versa facie ad orientem salutent crucem, et caeteris undique fratribus se vultu inclinato humilient: cuius humiliationis ratio et in omni conventu custodienda est. tunc residentibus cunctis legatur Martyrologium: quo dicto surgentes omnes dicant versum, *Preciosa in conspectu domini*, &c., cum oratione ac versu, *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*... iterum autem residentibus legatur Regula, vel si dies festus fuerit Evangelium ipsius diei, de qua lectione a priore, prout dominus dederit, dicatur....

In these Canterbury books we see the combination of the Martyrology, from which the saints and benefactors commemorated each day were read out, with the Rule of St Benedict and certain supplementary Customs or Constitutions.² We may suppose that the 'old' Martyrology (no. 291) had done service for many a long year, and was at length set aside in favour of a 'new' copy (no. 292), which in turn had to give way to a copy (no. 294) in which a fresh set of Constitutions marked the change which had passed over Benedictine life by the close of the thirteenth century. We shall find Martyrologies which contained more than is indicated in this Canterbury list, but we need not assume that these manuscripts are exhaustively described therein. It is plain at any rate, that in the chapterhouse of Christ Church, Canterbury, certain 'Bec Customs' held a place of honour from very early days, until they had come to be obsolete and ultimately were supplanted by a later code of regulations.

The catalogue of St Martin's, Dover, was drawn up in 1389. It contains a volume thus described 3:—

276 Constituciones Lanfranci archiepiscopi, fol. 82ª Lanfrancus indignus

Martirologium vetus, fol. 4ª kalende mensis ianuar' Regula beati benedicti ad monachos, fol. 53ª ausculta o fili.

The displacement of the items in this description is due to the fact that, in the summary list which precedes the detailed descrip-

¹ Reyner Apostolatus append. p. 81.

² The Gospel lections will attract our attention later. ³ James, l. c. p. 472.

tions, this volume had been entered simply as Constituciones Lanfranci. When we look at the items in the proper order, we see that the book corresponds exactly to nos. 291 and 292 of the mother-house; save only that, whereas there we have the 'Bec Customs', here we have 'Lanfranc's Constitutions'. It is no hazardous conjecture to say that the difference is a difference only of name. For a century these Customs had been superseded, and were now no more than a literary curiosity. So they were even in the time of Matthew Paris, at St Albans: for he tells his readers where to find them, if they want to see them. The writer of the Dover list has lost the very tradition of their earlier designation, and describes them simply by their author's name.

We shall return to Canterbury later. Meanwhile let us go as far north as Durham. Here Bishop William of St Calais brought in the monks in 1083. We know that he acted in this matter in concert with Lanfranc,³ and there is reason to think that he may have been assisted by Abbot Vitalis of Westminster.⁴

The ancient book-lists of Durham are brought together in vol. vii of the Surtees Society's publications. There we find (p. 118) among Bishop William's books given to the monastery *Martyrologium et Regula*. But what is more important, we have an inventory of certain books handed over by one custodian to another on Feb. 2, 139½. These were books kept in 'Le Spendement', a treasure house in the undercroft beneath the dormitory: perhaps some were too precious to be in the open library, and others were stored as out of date. At any rate the following entries on p. 107 are of direct interest to us:

- (1) Martilogium, Consuetudines Dorbornensis (sic edit.) ecclesiae, Regula sancti Benedicti in Latino, et eadem Regula in Anglico. ii fo., Psalterium Petri.
- (2) Consuetudines Dorbornensis ecclesiae. ii fo. usque ad septuagesimam.
- ¹ This was pointed out to me by Mr Edmund Bishop; and it was this that set me on the further investigations which here follow.
 - ² See above, p. 377, note.
 - 3 Simeon of Durham (Rolls ed.) i 119-122.
- 4 In the Durham 'Liber Vitae' (Brit. Mus. Domit. A. vii f. 52) there is a convention between Vitalis and Bishop William of Durham: and Vitalis attests this bishop's Durham charter in 1082, and its confirmation by the Conqueror in 1084 (Raine Scriptores Tres pp. v, vi).

The words 'usque ad septuagesimam', which begin the second leaf of (2), are found twenty-six lines from the beginning of Lanfranc's prefatory letter in Reyner's edition: and the first words of that letter are 'Lanfrancus indignus sanctae Dorobornensis ecclesiae antistes'. The larger codex (1) is thus described in Bernard's Catalogue 1:

213. 148. Catalogus vetus Librorum in quodam Armarialo olim existentium, p. 1.

Officia quaedam pro Monachis huius et aliarum Ecclesiarum post eorum funera obeunda, p. 5.

Kalendarium, p. 6.

Martyrologium per Anni circulum, p. 12.

Evangelia in Capitulo pronuncianda Vigiliis Festisque diebus per Anni circulum, p. 39.

Constitutiones Lanfranci Archiepisc. Cantuar. p. 47.

Regulae S. Benedicti, Lat. p. 75. Eaedem Sermone Saxonico, p. 98.

Guilielmi Episc. Dunelm. Epistola Coenobitis Dunelmensibus, p. 74.

Anselmi Archiepisc. Cantuar. Epistola Antonio Sub-Priori, p. 95; & Guilielmo Beccensi Abbati caeterisque Cantuariensis Ecclesiae Ministris, p. 96.

S. Bernardi Epistola ad Priorem et Conventum Dunelm. p. 96. 4^{to}.

This MS still survives: its class-mark is B. iv. 24; and it is the source from which Wilkins printed his *Constitutiones Lanfranci Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*.² We note in passing two of its items with special interest: (1) the Gospels to be read in Chapter on holy days (see above, p. 380); and (2) the Letter of Bishop William, the refounder of the monastery, which Simeon of Durham quotes (i 126), and which contains the request: 'literas istas unaquaque septimana semel in capitulo recitate.'

But our chief concern is with Lanfranc's Constitutions. At Durham they were called *Consuetudines Dorobornenses*, 'the Canterbury Customs,' just as at Canterbury they were called

¹ Catalogi Librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae (1697) ii 8.

² This is their present heading in the MS. But the Dean of Durham has kindly looked into the matter for me, and tells me that the words are written by a late hand, perhaps of the seventeenth century, and that originally there was no title at all.

'the Bec Customs'. In fact we begin to suspect that they started out on their career with no proper title at all. Let us pursue this suggestion a little.

In the University Library at Cambridge there is a volume (Mm. i 19) which contains four items:

- 1. Sermons of Peter Comestor.
- 2. Extracts from Etymol. Isidori.
- 3. Regula monachorum: 5 fol. in a minute hand: inc. Congruum videtur... expl. feliciter perveniamus.
 - 4. Inc. Lanfrancus indignus, &c. Mittimus vobis . . . expl. fieri solent.

The first three items are said to be in a thirteenth-century hand: the fourth to be late twelfth-century. The first fly-leaf shews, as the librarian kindly tells me, that the different parts of the volume have been together since an early date: for on it the fourth item is entitled, 'Lanfrancus de Officio Monachorum,' in a thirteenth to fourteenth-century hand. Here, then, is a new name for the book: but it is to be noted that the twelfth-century scribe gives it no title of any kind. Before we leave this codex we may note that according to the Catalogue (iv 115) its fly-leaves contain 'notes of the Redditus of the Church of Worcester'.

Another title comes to us from Hereford, whatever its antiquity or worth may be. For in Bernard's *Catalogi* (ii 44) we read under Hereford Cathedral:

1725. 133. Divini Cultus Consuetudines Monachales, &c. Lanfranci Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis.¹

Once again, Boston of Bury in the fourteenth century recorded under Lanfranc's name these two entries ²:

Item Regulam secundum quosdam [8] Librum Consuetudinarium [81]

In this extract Battle Abbey is indicated by the number 8, and Ipswich St Peter by the number 81.

Let us sum up our results thus far. We have been enquiring into the value which is to be assigned to the title *Decreta* D. Lanfranci pro ordine S. Benedicti. We have not as yet

¹ The Dean of Hereford tells me that this is in a later hand, and that the twelfthcentury scribe gives no title. It is possible that this is a St Guthlac MS coming originally from Gloucester.

² See Tanner Notitia p. xxxiv.

discovered any authority for it earlier than the seventeenth century, apart from the express statement that it stood in the manuscript from which the text of the document was printed in Reyner's *Apostolatus*. The titles we have found are the following:

Consuetudines ecclesiae Beccensis (Ch. Ch. Cant. traditional titie at the time of Prior Eastry's Catalogue, 1285-1331).

Consuetudines Dorobornensis ecclesiae (Durham, traditional title in 1392: no title in codex of cent. xi-xii).

Consuetudines Lanfranci (St. Albans: Math. Par., +1259).

Constitutiones Lanfranci archiepiscopi (St. Martin's, Dover, 1389).

Lanfrancus de Officio Monachorum (Camb. Univ. Libr. Mm i 19: fly-leaf, xiii-xiv cent.: but the twelfth-century text bears no title: from Worcester).

Divini Cultus Consuetudines Monachales, &c. Lanfranci archiepiscopi Cantuariensis (Hereford: ? from Gloucester: cent. xii, early: no original title).

[Lanfranci] Regula secundum quosdam (? = 'as some say': Battle Abbey; from Boston of Bury, c. 1400).

[Lanfranci] Liber Consuetudinarius (Ipswich, St Peter: also from Boston of Bury).¹

We may now return to Canterbury; and we shall endeavour to prove: (1) that one of the Christ Church books described by Prior Eastry still exists, (2) that from this copy the transcript was made which is published by Reyner, (3) that this copy offers no warrant for the questionable title.

1. Dr M. R. James (l. c. p. 508) makes the following identifications: No. 291 = ? Brit. Mus. Royal 7 E. vi.

No. 292 = Brit. Mus. Cotton Nero C. ix.

Also on p. 525 he notes (in a list of MSS not entered in the ancient catalogues) as a Christ Church book:

Brit. Mus. Cotton Claud. C. vi. The first part Notitia Regionum, &c. in a foreign hand. Part II Consuetudines Lanfranci, &c. 2 fo. clementer or absoluat.

¹ I may add here from Bernard's Catalogi: Corpus Chr. Camb. 19 'statuta Lanfranci', and 178 'constitutiones Lanfranci'. I would also call attention to a note affixed to the name of Abbot Scotland of St Augustine's, Canterbury, on p. 10 of Reyner's Tractatus 1: 'Huius Scotlandi constitutiones manuscriptas habemus: omnino cum Lanfranci legibus convenientes.' Can this mean that Abbot Scotland, who was on terms of close friendship with Lanfranc, introduced the Constitutions in his own name?

Let us confine our attention at present to the two MSS, Royal 7 E. vi and Claud. C. vi. The second of these, as Dr James has indicated, is composite. It is the latter part of it which interests us, Claud. C. vi, ff. 170-203.

- f. 170 b. 'Obiit Willelmus rex Anglorum. Hic reddidit ecclesie Christi' etc.
 - 171 f. Monasteries in alliance for obits. More obits.
 - 173. An inserted leaf of larger size. 'Obiit pater noster Lanfrancus' etc.
 - 174. End of a book of lections: $\frac{3}{4}$ of first column only; the rest blank. The page begins, 'incalescat. In dedicatione ecclesie. In illo tempore Ingressus ihs' etc. The last lection is 'in oct. dedicationis ecclesie... dedicationis templi'.
 - 174 b. 'Lanfrancus indignus', etc.

Turning now to Royal 7 E. vi, we find that also to be composite. The latter part is a fragment of a New Testament (Luke-Hebr.) in a wholly different hand, ff. 104-133. It is the former part which here interests us.

- ff. 1-73. Martyrology (with the ancient press-mark D. vii. G. xiii). 74-93. St Benet's Rule.
 - 94-103. 'In vigilia nativitatis domini. In illo tempore Cum esset desponsata', etc.: ending on f. 103 b 'quatinus exemplo visibilium se ad invisibilia rapiat; et per ea que usu didicit, quasi confrictus'.

If we read Royal 7 E. vi, f. 103 b together with Claud. C. vi, f. 174, we complete this broken sentence: 'quasi confricatus¹ incalescat.' We see therefore that the original MS was torn asunder at this point; and each part, bound up with foreign matter, got into a different collection, to arrive at last happily at the British Museum, where it can be set side by side with its fellow.² We may therefore with some confidence delete Dr James's note of query from his identification of No. 291 with Royal 7 E. vi, and add Claud. C. vi as completing the ancient volume, which

¹ We make the correction from the longer lesson in the Roman Breviary, Comment. non Virg. III Noct., from a Homily of Pope Gregory. For these short Chapter lessons see the Durham MS, as above, p. 382.

² Something has been lost between f. 93 and f. 94. St Benet's Rule is in a similar hand to what follows, but the illumination is more elaborate.

Dr Warner tells me may be assigned to the second quarter of the twelfth century.¹

2. Was this the codex from which the text printed by Reyner ² was copied? Let us look at the end of the text as there printed. After the words 'defuncto fieri solet', with which the treatise as given elsewhere closes, we find:

PRO CELLERARIO.

Pater noster Iesum Christum.

These words occur in the same position on f. 202 of Claud. C. vi, in a contemporary hand. The verso of f. 202 is left blank: but f. 203 begins thus:

¹ Dr James's identification of No. 292 with Nero C. ix is disappointing as regards our present quest: but it introduces us to a very interesting fragment of three leaves from a Kalendar of Obits of the end of the eleventh century. The volume as at present composed begins with a later Kalendar of Obits, and Cotton's signature is on the first leaf of this (f. 3): four months (May-Aug.) are missing. It is followed on f. 19 by the last half of Aug. and the first half of Sept. from the more ancient Kalendar: then on f. 20 by the last half of Oct. and the first half of Nov., and on this leaf, which is much discoloured from exposure, stands in a fourteenth-century hand:

Martilogium nouum. D. vii. G. ii cum regula scī Benedicti.

Then f. 23 gives the last half of Nov. and the first half of Dec. But there is no Martyrology and no Rule. The volume contains a monastic register, &c., all of later dates. There are but few entries in this interesting Kalendar; and no Norman name seems to occur, except in this one entry on f. 19 b:

G v ID. Obiit Willemus (sic) rex anglorum et Scotlandus abbas et Eadricus sacerdos et monachus.

The middle leaf of the three may have been used as the cover of a 'New' Martyrology, which was already out of date in the fourteenth century: but it cannot have gone with the codex 'Royal 7 E. vi + Claud. C. vi', for that had its own pressmark, viz. D. vii. G. xiii. The name of Abbot Scotland may perhaps suggest that these leaves originally were written, not at Christ Church, but at St Augustine's: but it is to be noted that, while Sept. 9 is the right date for William the Conqueror, Abbot Scotland is said by Thorne and others to have died on the third of that month.

² Of this two inconsistent accounts are given. At the head of the text (App. p. 211) we have: 'Ex Antiquo manuscripto ecclesiae Christi Cantuariae, quod habetur in palatio Dunelmensi Londini': i.e. from a Ch. Ch. MS which was at Durham House in the Strand, where Laud lived for some time, while he was a prebendary of Westminster, under the patronage of Bp Neile who had been Dean of Westminster. At this house we might easily find Baker, or Dom Leander, Laud's old college friend. But in *Tract.* 2, at p. 117, the codex is misdescribed as 'manuscriptum registrum coenobii Dunelmensis, ex quo describi curavimus totam observantiam Lanfrancianam, nempe leges et ordinationes ipsius, quarum in illo libro hic est titulus: *Decreta D. Lanfranci pro ordine S. Benedicti*'.

[O]biit lodovicus Rex francorum piissi mus fr et bnfactor nr qui devocionis obtentu /////// visitans.

Here there is the usual erasure of the mention of St Thomas. In Reyner's print the words are supplied (with no indication that they are conjectural) thus: 'ad Sanctum Thomam.' But a reference to Brit. Mus. Arundel 68 ff. 39 b, where the same document has escaped mutilation, shews that they should be: 'bm Thomam.' A similar erasure after 'tumbam' in the next line should be supplied by 'ipsius mris', and part of this can still be traced; Reyner, however, gives us 'S. Thomæ'. In the second column there is a longer erasure between 'plenius esse concessimus' and 'insuper adjectmus'. Here marks of omission are placed in Reyner's text: the true supplement is: 'Obtentu eciam beati thome mris quem tanto in terris prevenistis honore.' This last erasure is needlessly long: in another MS it is quite possible that only the three words 'beati thome mris' would have been erased. The probability, therefore, that this is the codex from which the printed text comes is a very high one, if it does not amount to a certainty.

But there is more than this to be said. Other items of an obituary character are given in Reyner's edition as following the text of Lanfranc. Now all of these are in Claud. C. vi; only they precede, instead of following, Lanfranc. We have indicated them already as on ff. 170-173. In our reconstruction of the ancient volume these have in any case to be removed from their present position; and quite possibly they were at the end of the volume when the transcript used by Reyner was made; or we may venture to suppose that the statement that they 'followed' is a mere error, and that they 'followed' only in Baker's copy as it reached the editor's hand. As, however, it is important to prove identification with as much certainty as is possible, we may note that in one of these items on p. 253 a partial lacuna is left in Reyner's print. The name of a certain monastery is thus given: 'Sanctae Mariae sensis ecclesiae.' On looking at Claud. C. vi we find what appears to be 'Cras' at the end of one line, and 'sensis' quite plainly at the beginning of the next. But a good scholar might pause, and leave a blank in his copy, on account of the difficulty of reading the first part of the word;

especially if he did not happen to know that 'Crassensis' stood for Notre-Dame de la Grasse, a Benedictine monastery in the diocese of Carcassonne.

I think, therefore, that we may speak with security of Claud. C. vi as being the MS from which Baker copied the text printed in Reyner's *Apostolatus*.

3. What then is the title of the document in Claud. C. vi? There is no title at all: just as there is no contemporary title in the great Durham codex (c. xi-xii), and in the Cambridge codex (c. xii). It is, however, interesting to observe that by the side of the great capital L there is room for a title, and that the writing of the second column begins three lines higher up than the writing of the first.

We must therefore accuse the statement, which we have quoted from Reyner, Tractatus 2 p. 117 ('in illo libro hic est titulus: Decreta D. Lanfranci pro ordine S. Benedicti') of entire falsity: and we must recognize our obligation to Mr Edmund Bishop for having refused to allow us to acquiesce in it. The title was doubtless a convenient one affixed to the document by one of the persons concerned in the compilation of the treatise which bears Reyner's name. No one who is not thoroughly acquainted with the controversy which called forth this treatise can venture to indicate what the title carried with it in the mind of the person who framed it. By what Mr Edmund Bishop calls 'a mischance' it came to stand at the head of Lanfranc's regulations, and then it was expressly attributed to the ancient codex from which they had been copied. It has done a great deal of ill service since, and we may be thankful to be rid of it now. Much trouble would have been saved, if the name suggested in the colophon of Reyner's print (p. 253: FINIS STATVTORVM D. LANFRANCI) had been chosen to stand at the head of the tract: for though it rests on no manuscript authority, it carries no false implication.

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

DOCUMENTS

ADDENDA TO 'SOME COPTIC APOCRYPHAL LEGENDS'.

WITH extraordinary generosity Dr von Lemm has supplied me with copies of no less than twenty-eight more pages of the Coptic MS of which I previously edited a portion under the title of 'Some Coptic Apocryphal legends'. This brings the total up to 42 pages, \$\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}{2}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}{2}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}{2}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}{2}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}{2}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}{2}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}{2}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}{2}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}{2}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}{2}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}{2}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}{2}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}{2}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}{2}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}{2}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}{2}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}{2}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}{2}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}{2}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}{2}}{2}\overline{\overline{1}{2}}{2 TT-GB and six unnumbered pages dealing with Old Testament characters, and $\overline{poe-poh}$, $\overline{pna-pna}$ treating of the Apostles. The new fragments, being practically all concerned with Old Testament personages, are naturally not so rich in references to apocryphal stories as the fragments printed in my former article. There is, however, one important point which calls for particular mention—the reference to a Testament ($\delta \iota a\theta \eta \kappa \eta$) of Joshua. It is cited as an authority for the story of the destruction of his father's gods by Abraham; and is, so far as I can find, otherwise unknown.² That story is of Jewish origin and occurs in the Midrash b. Bechaii 3 and in the Book of Jubilees,4 whence it has found its way into Syncellus 5 and Cedrenus.6 This then shews that our author was affected by Jewish literature, a point worth noting, as the Greek book of biblical characters preserved in Cosmas Indicopleustes, the Chronicon Paschale, Pseudo-Dorotheus, &c. is referred by Schermann 7 to a Jewish original.

It is possible that the very direct prophecy of Melchisedek concerning Christ (p. \overline{NE}) is taken too from some apocryphal source; but it may equally well emanate from the writer's imagination.

For the rest, the interest of the new passages is rather sociological than hagiographical, as the writer takes the opportunity offered by the story of Potiphar's wife to lecture his contemporaries on their vices. His tirade against the extravagance in dress of 'the haughty dames of these days', and their particular vanity of clothing themselves in

¹ J. T. S. vol. ix (April 1908) p. 372.

² Mr Brightman has kindly suggested to me that the Testament may be nothing more than Joshua's last speech (Josh. xxiv). It is there stated that Abraham's forefathers 'served other gods', but no actual mention is made of the destruction of them. That, however, is no conclusive argument against the identification, especially as the speech is actually called a $\delta\iota a\theta\dot{\eta}\kappa\eta$ (v. 25). The scribe, knowing the story from other sources, may have supposed that it was tacitly implied.

³ Beer Leben Abrahams p. 110.

¹ R. H. Charles The Book of Jubilees, tr. from the Ethiopic text, p. 93.

i 185. 6 i 48.

⁷ 'Propheten- und Apostellegenden' (Texte und Untersuch. Bd. xxxi T. 1, 1907).

garments which did their best to annul their own existence, shews that Eve's daughters are fairly consistent in their inconsistencies and that Directoire skirts and ball-room bodices are no new thing.

The new fragments come partly from Brit. Mus. Or. 3581 A (85) [=Crum 259], a single leaf paged \overline{pOE} , \overline{pOS} , and partly from Paris Copte 1315, 3-14 (\overline{aa}). Par. Copte 1315, 72-74 which probably come from the same MS seem, according to information sent me by Mr Crum, to contain a different text. The number of pages \overline{qa} foll. was wrongly quoted in my last article; it should be Par. Copte 1315, 15, 16: and Dr von Lemm points out that his copy has on p. 380 l. 9 INCULVES in place of my ETPECICUES, and that the reference is to St Jude 9.

. ΣΑΥΪΥΠ ΘΠΚΥΑ. ΥΟΟΗΤ ΑΝΑΨΤΙΑΘΑΠΊΘΗΠ ΘΟΪΘ 220 pwwn ne nisonthee ne isus sieonst s roqut isnā ssaās kodā ponātsantāuu nu equere excupe our smeme estable nodnes ne kode otresta sitalia sitalia $\bar{\mathbf{x}}$ эх \cdot дах $\bar{\mathbf{n}}$ этгон $\bar{\mathbf{n}}$ їд $\bar{\mathbf{n}}$ гапрэдэт $\bar{\mathbf{H}}$ —: тіэгору nevēnepses āgai sixwa xeksc on ūnevndans THE TENDERS OF THE PROPERTY AND SERVED THE SERVED THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY nne nevchepara arom ēbox kata teneā etperaniapa ian alto-:- arwqā rin conata atanā Kodā rotopa-rowsē solvarakatakarak roomēko TIL TOURS WASIXY STREET NEW LEADING TO THE LEADING THE LEADING TO THE LEADING THE LEADING TO THE LEADING THE LEADING TO THE LEADING TO THE LEADING TO THE LEADING TO THE LE -pā χ wnā sītsin \mathbf{r} o $\overline{\mathbf{n}}$ $\overline{\mathbf{g}}$ $\overline{\mathbf{w}}\mathbf{r}\mathcal{K}$ —:ā \mathbf{r} H \mathbf{d} $\overline{\mathbf{g}}$ \mathbf{r} anā \mathbf{r} o \mathbf{r} o $\overline{\mathbf{o}}$ ogātāst ng anwwps wrs.atronās psnāg эд рыльфеопатэн -: этний потэ этгопий -ρω· οολοβώς π ωρά | τος ώτοτα ωλλω· эττοππω π gotor ēlod sē ūesoor ēūkatakdreseoc :÷

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ax šironatā əgwn doïaxizā īdā ranpəgatā шаэто по птова эдищрэн бтээрь модаол FRANCIS TALE TRANSPORT OF THE WAS CONTROL OF THE PROPERTY OF T эмголя кан шабашатра сотивита див ταιοϊ πτείωε προκειε:~ Ππιςως α πκατακλγς-MOC EÏ ĒXWOY ΔΪΚΑΪΟς · ĒLOλ | XE ΑΥΚΑ ΠΠΟΥΤΕ nowor . avorāsor puwg nos nosarota. Iοοκολδίζ που κατοτον οτωφοικι το ποον - $ar{\mathbf{x}}$ buton $ar{\mathbf{w}}\mathbf{r}\mathcal{K}$ —: rowx $ar{\mathbf{y}}$ isqs the obsti na potā sotwaist ng kodā agwnā ania az THOOMS THOOM TOOMS PARENTEN σεονεία πτασταλος ερραί αποντε ανώ Ητερε L. ALLOND AM SOND SHELL BARRET BARRET BARRET PARTIES OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PR -одпр \mathcal{K} —: \bar{p} тин \mathcal{A} тэ зомоомоо \bar{p} тин \mathcal{A} тэ этголий ₩væ: Δε vo sa et piac et sa vo γετηψ тийэн им эдний им тойэны йэлокомовъ etorial: ~ Htepeqapxei ntwoe increased ϊοπ κολό ξηώνορα πημνοη οπτίχη τις ώνα οκό э $\boldsymbol{\omega}$ шилр $\boldsymbol{\mathcal{K}}$ —.. Тнө $\boldsymbol{\omega}$ н эдн $\boldsymbol{\omega}$ й л $\boldsymbol{\omega}$. 20 $\boldsymbol{\phi}$ 00 \boldsymbol{n} οπ έχωση επκοειίος τηρή επ ογεϊκειός τηн. \bar{p}_{WOOD} para \bar{p}_{WOOD} para \bar{p}_{WOOD} para \bar{p}_{WOOD} para \bar{p}_{WOOD} иекуньос би олужтослин мүчте ттицттөнт ā əx kodā no wrk—: pwxā isqsə wwspaqnīn SATA-: TWISPSH SAWNH PRWON SHUM HALLS -οσηκάρρετ ώνε ρωως κοδό παφροπ τορνα ϊαπ помії хутакс ппщнов эпіну... Хіппщорії гар. 3Aonquan wrs Giastix ooisxich hse sm wrs xicwig-san Horoeim niss epinan negonoke xek rsstēr saurənī ip ətronī əq si kolā əlonrən $\overline{\it an}$ nazikaioc and Hoice thou atangonou exototinam taat strond sqam ntogs grows as also to many sand sond sond sond squares on the sand of the s

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πτρεμώταε ετβε πεγχίζεσεκ:--

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Fig. 70 Toxod \bar{n} \bar{n}

πς επωαχε ετβε ειελχισεσεκ:..~

эпшштй ізпаїда эх мададам эттопп эхэП патпове табий в этахії в нян в записьки в за kodā ūrs . ogpan ūxā isqga ptgsnps as sesg न्य रम,९एअगर्स अध्यत्ति तथ अरराशती अराउ तराइ πεσσωσοω έχοος επ τεσταπρο . Αλλα πτασκίω ioro əx \cdot sour wxtən \vec{n} ə \vec{o} \vec{n} thsən as \vec{n} ənāpət \vec{n} naxoeïc †naāānak ayw nekoyww thpū †|naāag: ~ Enwrop pan pagaro erronā atā gay exam -sqlsn strond sxell sx \cdot sour wxps is π kolds SAM XE EÏC SHĀTE THACMINE HĀMAK ĀTA-Σίαθτκη · Δτῶ πκαρ, τηρῷ ϯπατααμ ῶπεκζπερpanāgā magagla idn əgiətn ərətikonpa—: am жпочте ката сиот nїи :--Нщорй мен ачτακο πια οττο πια οτοϊομοιπ οττο παϊ να κείων- λ on. Kata θ e ētepe īhcor $\bar{\eta}$ mhpe $\bar{\eta}$ nath xw ELLO SU LEGAIZOAKH

Thingwo on agree \bar{n} was a supplementation of \bar{n} with $\bar{n$

-sqlan wlost son stwotsqpens was rechanged SUCCOST STRUT TO TWÁS SE SERCE: LLS $\overline{\mathbf{x}}$ эх эп эднийго $\overline{\mathbf{w}}$ г \mathbf{x} С=: сомоньдылий слугой ELS that then ex kole . Edon en ü's enschen $\bar{\mathbf{x}}$, \mathbf{x} , $\bar{\mathbf{y}}$ \mathbf{x} , $\bar{\mathbf{y}}$ \mathbf{x} , $\bar{\mathbf{y}}$ $\bar{\mathbf{x}}$, $\bar{\mathbf{y}}$ $\bar{\mathbf{x}}$, $\bar{\mathbf{y}}$ $\bar{\mathbf{y}}$ $\bar{\mathbf{y}}$ $\bar{\mathbf{y}}$ $\bar{\mathbf{y}}$ \bar{n} are etere nacelho \bar{n} , ht \bar{q} :— Π $\Delta \bar{n}$ are \bar{e} \hat{n} $\Delta \bar{e}$ अर ब्राविश्वर के विश्वर के अर्थ के अर् HI OSSEWILSET NE KODE NESSEE WODE SKALL गेंद्र ४४००३गम् ४००७गे जिथ्य राज्यां प्रशास १००गेम TENTERS : QUEEN . ANGHE : CONTRACT COOR ucecool su systeme se s'udmie ue:-THERE STRUCT $\bar{n}_{\mathcal{S}}$ Kold twk hype strond \bar{w} and τωνοη κχνψνο эστэ εχιηδρηφική πτωχωωλη ημε - 20047 με το τουμά του 2 του -Agan gay arcozoxqu-:alongpegn nas Josepa-WAYS FOUNT TWK new season can concern il groups suigostā sispģstā dugās rowsā -гэтй эхэдйм їхть йть тичэтэлэ пто сэ эмтэп \vec{n} at $\vec{\tau}$, \vec{s} war \vec{n} at \vec{s} and \vec{s} and \vec{s} and \vec{s} and \vec{n} and \vec{n} noron toxiquests rean etroni a $\bar{\omega} \kappa \mathcal{K}$ · nhosn nim · etnatolma ēneimātomayte ·:- Grod xe томоэны ттоодого ны йтохильнтэ мін ного πογελεπεπκοτκ πζεριέρε ενπεφωπε επ ογκολες ϊς игомего йо томый эхіпалавта томито йм \overline{x} so \overline{x} $\bar{\tau}_{\mathcal{S}}$ where $\bar{\tau}_{\mathcal{S}}$ is the volume $\bar{\tau}_{\mathcal{S}}$ noze su cozome me espe enoca psoca egol эนพฤรด ทริง เกม ระนะ วันดอน คราม อะ norwt \bar{n} zikaïoc kata nodic. Adda \bar{n} tooy throy ' Read ልንЩη ይይከልፕፕሮአοር.

εί ογεοπ αγρίκε εδολ τηρογ επτακο:-- Ππε ογгохэдниго элэ эсго минэдиштоп шаэт охду οοιλαϊκπο ορτκοπα ωνα ολλανοη φτης οπίμ λ wt eyxw \overline{x} xoc. xe tennxxok \overline{y} , \overline{k} \overline{e} yoyn \overline{e} nh: rooqə ərəəm darrotə ookəttanın ək iətil isq.e3 i3 hygot strsm · sillorsqlits row.e ехwor ēтогый аший эрипе томый эрий том сепащиле SINTETE SEIN NOTO TO TWYON SILENON SINTETE μοσάτει σον πητορίτη το τρομού το το κοτάκοτκ NWALENSO NOOTO IS NO TOWS TOOTH WELL TAMER usesqual—: sqqouo7 ni suoxoon ontri is E ve valmmu sou voisinų soų summe vykkke эмі дэрэт -: эндээлл этимт пд піэогофрэ PTOOTĀ ĪTÏPKA 300P9T ĀĞ ÏAQŞĀ ĪTNƏPĀ 3A эдншэхрэп по э \angle їзті \mathcal{L} —: эпімопр \mathbb{R} рь $\overline{\mathbb{Q}}$ рь υπτο ϊρό ρολωότρω οθόροτ πις ϊωίς τπορω -νονο π΄ς эτνοηπω δίονθη ϊκάς ο ρολατρά ωνα is easist prose exconing and excose to энре этмод дау эщ брь эдээц в эдээц эднре этмля этмля олиметт пубата этмлэт пубата этмлэт пубата этмлэт этмлэт пубата этмлэт на этмлэт этмлэг этголй ь рьи эпширэдэт шть рьи эпши піраде жалод єдхш жалос і хе хі жикщире пеківден іви рокьтяй нььої ршькойтэп тідэм ποτελο έχπ στε παι τοοτίθη και παί διοκ έξπατολ-Βοκ έρος ενώ Πεπτασάμαρον επειονόειμα κε ax kodā iouu ibuonoqukkanten kagugan **мп**† щире **шил е**дпакхиропомей **ши**ої:— Сїс $\overline{\mathtt{JT}}$ nanpə əx \cdot ə \mathtt{Tq} 0 $\overline{\mathtt{JT}}$ n ə \mathtt{Tq} assapā assiən $\overline{\mathtt{SS}}$ 9 $\overline{\mathtt{TH}}$ 4 \mathtt{Q} -хирэ эх тштоп эдншрэп тідэмм эдншрэп мхэ | хд -A sup ax kolā ātronās šioton isqla pokst -: $\overline{5}$ дн τ н χ г ψ рэ τ \overline{n} м. \overline{p} дн τ тн χ рэл \overline{u} $\overline{\chi}$ этгол \overline{n} -PORT TO STRONG IL SOURCE TO SHARE THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPER

щире жиопотепис да пкосмос тира:--Каї тар -η επικά εκ ροημοί το κατοτεί το καλοί πο καθοιώ που επικά εκ ροημεί το κατοτεί το κατοτ χοεϊς το πεχές. Ε τεκτίζις τηρό τογχο εδολ -: СТУ ТЕХІ СТЭП ПО НИНОЇЭЎ ЭТНПО ПОТЭП ТТП -Anyotā pondan an ian ax dollā qay wxē- \mathbf{x} sagle \mathbf{x} which \mathbf{x} in \mathbf{x} was a following \mathbf{y} and \mathbf{y} эдншрэп адап этгоппа эмр эх кодэ бишго Ω Σχοπ δε δεθτηφος πρω πο ϊτϊκ. Τίσουσ -CTLE σεις τοθούρε poq εγοθούρε πωμα:--CTLE ex poqë etroureqte tougëenë smërëpë isn пешвир жпотте:--Віс элнте оп аспрофитете AF MASAGLA BATB O OBATPON ON TOOM O BX 3X3N AS -оЅ-:эттоппа дидшэп эх родэ эттошть эх πτηστο οπ πκεςδρε τεςξορείς δο οοϊλικ ELLOC EPOQ EN TENTE IGELO. EN TENTpoq etromoe il coente interestations etromose ας πεχοείς:-- υρογχίωτε τοπο ποι ποι πορίδας TXACIBAT THEIREPOC . NAI ETO NATOWTH TICA πετραί - ανώ εκαροτπτωπος εςαρα πος-Toosi is seen at the contraction of the contraction āsn kssāsən ūrs ətsasī | ntwqā ārosā ймий томос пое ппесьтуху ссуппернтей. ÷: їнпя дид я я тоор этод дид фоэт шть Gue mechin garding used in some successions of the manufacture of the -And algorian adaptive version and significant and nai ava ūrooojā ūra ila οοκό τες τος πες τες πες θεσοπή ATHTOSTO AUGENT AND STAND ON IN OUT OF THE SHEET HALE. INCO TRANSPORT TECANE . ATT SIKANIKION FT

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эдтэ $\bar{\mathbf{w}}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{\mathcal{L}}$ —:этичэгоээлэ $\bar{\mathbf{w}}$ чотоэ пессь ий тесёпістнин і профор ппо вопос ran ātikā rotootilara ūra dukā iagļaā juun nce mante tenponoña añonotte kwar a--eoñ wes et asseoe euigero ex kode roou эдатьи отэнй выдэнээн їдй нь ромы выйм ε οϊθοκοθη ετονοπία ρτης ετος στοΠ ών κ pwon atwonagos ox nrocoos Karar pan cos тесфухн паочхаї етвинтф:--Спач кар фроф -ron trank wra etronik pthe etoego ex CTERONH HHPH ENER, OTRE THEYCOURE ENER, IN cour ovot 300 · Osus ovot supposable те оопний й д снхкэ бъемерй дл йой топэт Leans bokmu sames un exmer undoaler sarge manife $3460 \cdot \sqrt{60}$ fo $3460 \cdot \sqrt{60}$ thup FA THOUX . | OXXE OXXOCTE . OTRE HAI ACCOUNT AT the \bar{w} is eqthereft note even a sound πας ποτωμρε ε, π τες πτε, λλω . α πχοείς οτες, oreoor exe necpan:-Heajione as a wor vineinwttes was isgren as atwotan oes wiegor \mathbf{r} ылээ \mathbf{n} \cdot \mathbf{s} \mathbf{d} \mathbf{g} \mathbf{n} \mathbf{g} \mathbf{g} \mathbf{g} \mathbf{g} \mathbf{g} \mathbf{g} ATWOTAN 030 WTA-: 9TOI3Y3NN AQOPARTOTA παλ παποστολος εγχω πιος κε Ηερίσεε STAT TYOOGH SX . ISGYSHR SOCATORY | YOUALL TE TTE SALE OF THE SE NO THE SALE SALE AND THE พัช£—:¹แลงเอกษ์ อเของส์ขี อ๔ช๐ พนิว†ขี องเเงูว์ TENOT [epe] SAS O NATCWIE. ATE THAT THE. Wra. is crond she that so us uroutson ьминахіхэ модкэт вара техбор эхмурных 1 Read ENECS, &I.

nar ēgota avā ā gag bwk atriotē atā wra-: əmöi,qrənn nro,qə ixərə əx Atw,qra nete nnorg an ne egtwph delog xekac egeäpicke novēp,ime ec . nee . nhoto has $\overline{\eta}$ aar ēpoq vodedum poduc ēānata The words T and T and T and T are T and T and T are T are T and T are T and T are T are T are T are T are T and T are T are T are T are T and T are T are T are T and T are T are T are T and T are T are T and T are T are T are T are T are T and T are T and T are T are T are T and T are T are T are T and T are T are T are T and T are T are T and T are T are T are T and T are T are T are T are T are T and T are T \bar{n} cwc enthọ \bar{q} . Kata Θ e \bar{q} wayotê Θ e ata \bar{q} cht \bar{q} नी उर्दार १०००३ ३४००। उर्वे अर्थे अर्थे वर्ष woder on swie as themsomethous troog namanse. Smale elbedus eueckok ebha eboy ne, htc:-Here Telkapioc e, wwy iwcho wn I-**ΣΕ ΕΪΠΕ ΠΑΥ ΕΡΑΓΙΡΙ ΙΌΤΙ ΠΟΟΦΟΣ ΕΤΙΙΙΙΑΝ ΚΑΤΑ** idn rothen poga dawdoata wansen aron . aron Techine especial was also especially the techinest sections and the techniques of th Horge men ënect muoor ëpoc ënegun muoor Kodā anwwpatā paht aprontoan ax thispan as Awsron əniəqə əsā wan wrk-: ətronā atis - usum waxrsma no as nokall-: usaspa пих птеочей жпиочте:—Ката ое етено, же жарє паўдну соотти і по потуровни залаж Sisteton 30ñ ilagsā kidlanā ipā ūtl kolā otl ππαν προγε:-- Gqwannar Σε έρος εςκως εκ -apsi sau snan na tagā na Aronā ig 3 \mathbf{x} \mathbf{y} \mathbf{x} \mathbf{y} $\mathbf{y$. see anwn hee tagh hee . Aronh an iwn ax -par vonvət \bar{n} $\bar{w}v\mathcal{K}-:$ exin ax \bar{n} ən diəox \bar{n} an $\bar{w}v$ a Solvani sou sa corre made und solvani mram extenca epoor. extcalo acourá kute. Taï 30ñ wra-: 3uï soïstñ tousena | 30 et pwws

ēpe nergorn de les, nothèm un taï gous te θε έτερε τειζεικε τεπα. έρος :- Ηειρωπηρε δε anok an enecthe etsh neckal alla neibшинре пичка в реце в толи песвах:-Почващ оп etale ucceso un uccyolas utamberate -: μωσμεστρ εκ ροτή ή ττοοσέρ εκ τοπετ π.Δ ocale received rooted by as are proofing Theor hatako respus $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ where $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ of the root $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ where $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ is the root $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ where $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ is the root $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ where $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ is the root $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ in $\overline{\mathbb{A}}$ TENOY . ANW ETLLES, ROWGE NATHTOG I EXPILE in ordie ethe netceipe imoor tenor. Trooth tap ar mectabio an noi or an exnecnav. [ce]nabwh ēboh arw ācetako. Pwae οπάνοπατοπ ων εθαρτικάτη δίαχο και nat napātht gotan erwanei exā neckoc āex rooqë engen xidren eqë • exiqro ng roxeñ enorkal nat : swc eto nezotcia :--Gymanswx Le | Süx roog oth oth doctorn will of CA NÏBA WAYE TOTOOT ĀÏBYAŅA KAROONĀ AKOOMAcic thec wheikocaroc . Reseive eteranteanranna wrotpas · ohtatan sawaron son skidd Tenor ecocie ronat nro atoms—: agroqu - хидпашээ торнт їлий этээллійдай элеїдэ अर्थे अर्थ па тоот эдэ їдпл хопа па этээшпдал†п эд то pat Bhd ebod:—Toooth as on what is egue neccuara anh ēgon ēnecaredoc thron ātage haddisel is kolê khuten dra irk-tambe Ta Jumai as real sorgrounding ethe петочищ ефїλοсофеї:—Каї тар петодс етді πτοον πεγκορπος πτοον ωροπ εντητονης:--

1 Read N&KTOC.

TOOR IS THIREDO PLANDS POTE 34 SEWALL Bown xekac anogywne enthpq sa necthown wasiseer wer coold expert urban urbango - 3 your грэ эмий ий эбіэді эмгі ізфорокіф филмі əniəpn an ian iz poeen əziyokpamənə voqən AXWDA AX ZGASTA SHASSYSTAUTA PAGSAN nec thwwn. enei neansaideas an ne sin -sing $3n\bar{3}$ no $\bar{w}r\mathcal{L}$ -: which in the sate τευχίζος με αποκανούς αποκανούς εποραμαγών εποιχεία εποιχ \overline{SR} —: power nines an ileapeath sighed \overline{R} how Dam ou eus mu kdyle 1 s'y khre us ze edekns έρος πάχρο επείπος πολγωος ετρορώ έρος ε πολγειος ημε:--Κει τερ προο Σενεις ονπρο-- सं स्थाप क्षेत्र क्षेत्र के अस्ति के миродиртимерэти намат а по штв. зізохи patrico saugiell comos raux saigor Jacigāra vanpagatā roght šighodianā vallī ēnecwc ασ̄καπαλίζε ēpoc πτενηον:--Καιπερ OSUME THE STAR OF THE SECOND THE TOURS OF TH $\bar{\omega}_{rs}$ \cdot 3T 3MH \hat{g}_{n} 10T see on \hat{g}_{s} \hat{g}_{s} \hat{g}_{s} -configuration of the state of the configuration o иптщеёрещни а ппопнрос бибои ёйпата - συνουμά οχ κολό τοδιότι το πτηφορία δονίδητα εχ ε εφοροκιφρέστε κοινετή ειφορτή ενεειμή έρε οτ ωοοπ εοδικ πτος ποομ το Θίσ $\overline{\mathsf{H}}\overline{\mathsf{n}}$ -рэп | $\overline{\mathsf{n}}\overline{\mathsf{n}}$ $\overline{\mathsf{o}}$ $\overline{\mathsf{o}}$ $\overline{\mathsf{n}}$ $\overline{\mathsf{o}}$ $\overline{\mathsf{n}}$ $\overline{\mathsf{n}}$ $\overline{\mathsf{n}}$ $\overline{\mathsf{n}}$ $\overline{\mathsf{n}}$ $\overline{\mathsf{n}}$ $\overline{\mathsf{n}}$ $\overline{\mathsf{n}}$ • εδοπρεπε κολέ κωλρε • ετκοππε πτο εξ μωτο здугати могоп эдбоэпамы эпшрь шть: 3,ςδουΔη οϊθοχή θα 3,ςϊθτή ϊθγοκοιλομοίζη ωτα-

1 For **LET** NKP&THC $(= \dot{\epsilon} \gamma \kappa \rho \alpha \tau \dot{\gamma} s)$.

vol. x. Dd

rotagā o,qatanē wra÷:a,qratā asin noron иотоп потоп - гот \mathcal{L} сатт \mathcal{L} потоп потоп LA OUZPAGALU IRU SULA HUOROULO U'S MADA TEOOT TTENTS & ROUND BYOLD NAME TO TOO TO THE TOO TO THE TOO TO THE TOO THE TO asy wdegearph -: erizorn son evoze odlitu WANTOYXI ZOJIRE NAU KATA TINORROL TETOTTE. -Trauro a, stoika poulskypato oog orolau λοτος:--Govā 8&8 ενών πωσενο ενών πωσεντά που 3οσος το που 10 οσος το που 10 οσος 10 ēbod ze vnozepes, ennozec etpe neveïote Tronī & wa ish each :- Sisoera rsh ericejix gay pwasqrəq \bar{r} p \bar{x} —: pod \bar{x} tpa \bar{w} ra \cdot somay \bar{n} † roog | ron 30h swars wrs . Taskawars roogh 6h norwt + Greizh argapez, Enercwaa Egorāas ων μεδοολ μτγλεκεγελέ μση κνί ζεό μεγκ κτυ ran əmilgöixrotanm ənmoqn əmlqqra Awahi ero unapoenoc: -- Hpwie ze swor nneïkaïpoc TENOT CERLOT TOTAL TORRE TORRE TORRE TORRE Taiot. Adoors tooles eksuxed excode ...-Oth -ARI TOUTS . SQHIDSHITS SUISSIXTAS QAY NOTO тотртаїот промпе ачки ппечщире ето порrosera wes each seedigten wes looned -гэпп эөп одатпэ дэцадгопы эх эдацып огэ nakārotnam mijoron donro gratā isn jatoija oka therman is kold knesse baharan rows ёпапотс. ёре петщире **м**п пещире ппетщире κωτε έροον:-Τεϊ εκπτελκερίος δε εφεπιμε ямос пої пиакарїос їшснф ща єграї єпиют. etronā ūtis ogētaūron pan eniepa ūra nonce to $\bar{\mathbf{w}} \mathbf{r} \mathcal{K}$ —: Fossepath toght $351 \underline{\mathbf{g}} \bar{\mathbf{n}} \mathbf{T} \ddot{\mathbf{i}} \mathbf{g}$ \overline{g} as again on the confidence of the confidence $\overline{\mathcal{A}}$ -p $ar{\mathcal{R}}$ -: 232 to 202 oq $ar{z}$ o oq $ar{z}$ oq $ar{z}$

wes enhapen rotonshere day edwart -: vaārak ətronī iəthk iə vaā raak ənā ian - Πηλ κά οιθοχή ατή γογοημαίο θα κολθ -одпрэп9--: гоооэппэдп рып годоотть івкто φητε τε δε μερικών των της φηρωϊ ίδη θα θα θα θα τη παιροτροή -isatrappe na coosystrappes possa roogan U .: pronantan | quaqtampat am . ammq POTR . PAR THOWIR THROWN ATR TOUTH QAT RANKS . FOROMENTENNIEN TEN BROWTPS PUWG -ōotigra · kodā paatra rhnāpən idn poqā qaT ροτΗ-: παοιμπ ροιιία ΑΤως ενθατθ πο τοτ SOCHKATPS WYK -: 32 STREEPST STR QUURSER TOTOOTS ON NURSES SAN A TOWN A SANTO NO TOTOOTS ETERNOTO E THE THE THE TOTAL TOTALE TO STRONGE TO STRON рэпя Кадпп по

Then follows Par. 1313, foll. 15, 16, already printed in my former article. There remains a page which immediately precedes the passage on Andrew in that article.

49. committed all these sins. They begat giants: iniquity increased, and adultery and abomination and bloodshed. Over and above all these things they persuaded men to worship them as gods, and worked illusions (φαντασία) in their presence with vain powers. When God looked upon the earth (Gen. vi 12) (and saw) that their seed was increasing upon it, that they might not deceive all men to follow after their abominations and that their seed might not abide from generation to generation (κατὰ γενεά) to deceive every race of men, for this reason He brought the water of the flood upon (2 Pet. ii 5) them, and wiped them out with their seed and those that received instruction from them in their works. And in faith Enoch pleased God (Gen. v 24, Heb. xi 5) and was in the kingdom of God in the heavens. And them that pleased not God, but followed after the devil, He wiped out by the water of the flood.

50 We have spoken about Enoch. Let us speak about Nohe the righteous.

Now Nohe was a righteous man in his generation (Gen. vi o): and this one righteous man steered himself safely in the water of the flood because of his righteousness. And not only were his sons and his house saved because of the righteousness of a single man, but the animals too and the birds and the wild beasts were saved. And I say that, if they had not found this one righteous man and pleasing to God, the whole world would have perished. For this reason a single righteous man in a city should not be despised, so that the whole city may be saved on his account. And Chanaan his son violated and despised him (Gen. ix 22). For this reason his name too was wiped out, and his inheritance given to the sons of Israel. For from the beginning and to the end the righteous 51. receive honour and the sinners shame. And at every time, if the sinners fulfil their sins, God takes their things and gives them to the righteous. And all the pains (?) they have taken collecting, God gives them to the faithful, who give them to the poor and needy. For it is written: 'Though they gather together gold like earth, and prepare silver like clay, all these things shall the just take and lord it over his wealth (χρημα)' (Job xxvii 16, 17). Again it is often said: 'He that increaseth his wealth by usury, gathereth for them that have mercy on the poor' (Prov. xxviii 8). For the wealth which they hasten to acquire unrighteously will waste away: but what they gather in righteously will increase. For Lot was in the city with the unrighteous; (and) the angels said to him: We can do naught to this city if thou go not forth from it' (Gen. xix 22). For God leveth 52. the holy, and will destroy the sinners in the presence of the righteous, to frighten them that they abide in righteousness. And thus when the righteous Nohe saw that unrighteousness prevailed, he gathered together his sons with good teaching; and in the hundred years which he spent working at the ark he instructed them (and) they did not repent in those hundred years. Afterwards the flood came upon them justly because they deserted God and followed after the devil. Today, too, my beloved. destruction cometh upon them that follow after the devil, and those that love God, God will keep. And when God brought Nohe out of the ark, him and all those that were with him, the first thing he did was the sacrifice he raised to God. And when the sweet savour of piety reached God, God blessed the world for his sake. And he prophesied again of the Holy Trinity. And he confessed the Father and the Son and 53. the Holy Ghost. When he began to plant a vineyard, [and] at the tasting of wine the wise son and the foolish son were revealed. And he justly divided the whole world among them (Gen. x 32), I mean his three sons: and again he did not requite him that mocked him by rejecting him, but he gave him his just share in the lots until the folly of mockers

¹ Square brackets indicate words unnecessarily inserted in the text; round brackets necessary words omitted.

THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES 406

- (..) upon him. And again because Chanaan mocked Nohe his father, for that reason his name was wiped out too and his inheritance given to the children of Israel. For from the beginning and to the end the righteous receive honour and sinners shame, and at every time, if the sinners fulfil their sins, God takes their things from them and gives them to the just.
- 54. And all the pains (?) they have taken collecting God gives them to the faithful to scatter them among the needy. For it is written: 'Though they gather together gold like earth, and prepare silver like clay, all these things shall the righteous take, and the men who take them shall lord it over their wealth (χρημα)' (Job xxvii 16, 17). And it is often said that he that increaseth wealth in plenty, gathereth for them that have mercy on the poor (Prov. xxviii 8), for the wealth they hasten to acquire unrighteously will waste away, and that which they gather in justice and piety will increase.

We have spoken of Nohe. Let us speak too of Melchizedek.

Melchisedek was a priest of God the exalted, and he was king of Salem (Gen. xiv 18), the city of Sikimos.² Likewise he was one of the race of 55. Abraham; but he was holier than Abraham. Abraham received his blessing because he was a server of God more than himself. And he spake with God many times; and when he met one more exalted than himself he humbled himself, and followed after the following (ἀκολουθία) of God-serving. The lesser received blessing from the greater (Heb. vii 7); and he first offered the body and blood to Abraham, saying: 'Salvation shall come to the world through the flesh of the Son of God, which He received from Maria the holy virgin; that through His death He might save all mankind from sin.' For Melchisedek, the king of Salem, was the priest of God the exalted; he who met Abraham when he was returning from the slaughter of the kings; and he blessed (Heb. vii 1) God, saying: 'Blessed is Abraham of God the exalted, who has given his enemies under his hand (Gen. xiv 20) at all times.'

56. God said to Abraham: 'Do My will and be sinless, and I will make My covenant with thee.' And Abraham cast himself upon his face (Gen. xvii 1, 2); and through fear of God and the joy of his heart he was not able to speak with his mouth, but he moved his head downward like those that say (cp. Gen. xvii 17): 'Yea,3 my Lord,

We have spoken of Melchisedek. Let us speak too of Abraham.

I will do Thy will and all Thy wish will I do.' For the word which God repeated to him reveals this saying: 'God said unto Abraham: Behold, I will make My covenant with thee, and the whole earth will I give

¹ A verb seems to be omitted here. El 'came' may have dropped out before €2,P&1; but the sense is not clear to me.

² = Shechem.

³ I know of no parallel to OYOI in this sense.

to thy seed' (Gen. xvii 4, 8). Abraham had his conversation (πολιτεύεσθαι) in such wise as to do the will of God in every way. First he destroyed the gods of his fathers, which were idols, even as Iesou the son of Naue saith in his Testament (διαθήκη). Afterwards again he left the 57. land of his fathers and his city, and went and sojourned in the place which God told him. And he took care too of Lot his brother's son in his orphanhood. And he was a server of God in the abode where he was nourished, and he was a righteous man, resembling his father's brother. And he obeyed him like a son. And again, when he separated himself from him finally, that the word of God might go forth from them both, [and] he was not disobedient to the teaching of Abraham. And they found Lot in the midst of Sodoma, the city of the unrighteous. And it was a marvel that they could not attract him with their sins, because he stood firm in God. For it is written: 'The righteous is persecuted in the place where the ungodly are.' And the righteous man, since he was not overcome in the place where ungodliness was, [but] 58. continued to persevere in the hospitality of his uncle, and both of them in their hospitality received angels unawares (Heb. xiii 2), but thinking they were men. And God brought Lot out of the midst of the (Gen. xix 29) brimstone and pitch; He did not suffer a single righteous soul to perish with the sinners. And Abraham again elected to please God and to do good: he pleaded for the sinners; for the men of Sodoma transgressed. Abraham and Lot pleaded for them. They deserted the natural use of woman, and burned with love toward one another. And they received the fitting reward for their transgression (Rom. i 27) in fire and brimstone. And God made them an example (Jude 7) to all them that dare this abomination; for every one that lieth with a man as with a woman shall receive such punishment, brimstone and pitch and 59. fire torturing them continually, since they used according to nature the things that God did not create.1 For justly does fire blaze in Sodoma even unto today; since in those cities they could not find one righteous man in each city (κατὰ πόλις sic), but all of them together were on the way to damnation. No old man taught the young; no child felt shame before the old. And they did not spare the righteous Lot, saying: 'We will afflict thee more than 2 these' (Gen. xix 9). Moreover, even the holy angels too thought on sin, until the wrath which they deserved came upon them. Today too will every one be in this punishment who humbleth his servants, and the effeminate (μαλακός) and those that sleep with them. And they too again shall all enter upon the damnation of Sodoma and Gomorra. And Abraham was like the stars in the midst of the darkness, 60.

¹ This extraordinary statement doubtless means precisely the opposite to what it says: 'they misused what God had created' must be the sense intended.

² Reading E9,000 for E9,001.

giving light in the midst of the unrighteous. His wife he brought in to his . . . 1: they took her from him and he endured. Moreover, his son he brought into his . . . 1 and taught him to bear a burden, and offered him as a sacrifice to God cheerfully, since he loved God more than wife, son, or daughter. For he was a hundred years expecting riches of this kind before he had a son; and, when he had one, God tried him, saying: 'Take thy beloved son, in whom thou delightest, Isaac, and offer him up to Me for an offering on one of these mountains which I will shew thee' (Gen. xxii 2). And the complaint he made at the time (was): 'My servant will succeed to my inheritance, for I have no son to succeed 61. me' (Gen. xv 2). Behold at this place he seized the knife to strike his beloved son, his only son, to offer him up as a sacrifice to God, since he loved God with his whole heart and his whole soul. However, we cannot act like God, who gave His only-begotten Son (Jo. iii 16) for the whole world; for the blood of Isaac would not save it.2 And the whole creation was saved by the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; for through the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ (the things) in heaven and (the things) on earth have peace (Col. i 20). For He says: 'This is My blood, which will be shed for you' (Matt. xxvi 28; Luke xxii 20). However, Abraham revealed that he loved God more than his beloved son. Yet again he prophesied of Christ in the ram which he saw crucified in the tree. For this reason he was worthy of this grace that he should be called the friend of God 62. (Jas. ii 23). Behold again he prophesied of Christ that great was His glory. And concerning Abraham they called him the friend of God. Likewise too Sara his wife was like unto him in hospitality and love of God: she served her husband, calling him my lord (1 Pet. iii 6). Let the haughty dames of this time then feel shame, who are disobedient to their husbands; and let them resemble Sara the wise, and give honour to their husbands like her: for she was much richer than you, and her servants would fill a city. And she did not spare her hands like her servants; she ministered and laboured more than they at the house-She would rise up at night, and give meat to her household, and work to her servants. She would set her hand to the distaff,3 and stretch (it) out to the poor (Prov. xxxi 15, 19, 20). She had gold and silver, and yet no adornment was found upon her from an ear-ring to a ring on her 63. fingers. She put no ribbons on her head, nor red shoes on her feet. And for her beauty and her wisdom the kings of the nations were smitten with her and sought to take her as wife until the care of God hindered them, since she was a holy woman, and the seed of the uncircumcised and he who is afraid before God was not worthy of her.

¹ This word O⊕€ is to me unknown, except in the sense of 'locus riguus' (Triadon 355, 2), which hardly fits this passage.

² Or 'him'. 3 PINAÏ is a variant form of Peyron's PRESI.

To her lord she was a wise servant, for she used to obey him (1 Pet. iii 6), and for his sake her soul will be saved. For she saw that he feared God, and never gave a wine-party (?) 1, nor sported with a maiden, rich as he was, as many rich men now dissipate in gardens with harlots; but he abode in desire (ἔφεσις) for his wife alone. Again she never heard 64. an obscene word come from his mouth, nor a lie, nor a vain oath, nor For this reason she obeyed him as a master. For this reason too God opened her womb and gave her a son in her old age; the Lord added an honour to her name. But the women of this day are disobedient to their husbands, and wrangle with them. For this reason their children are in doubt and do not see the misfortune (? συμφορά) of their fathers. And they are disobedient to the apostle, who says: 'Let the wives obey their husbands, for the men are the head of the women' (1 Pet. iii 1, 1 Cor. xi 3). And again: 'We suffer not the wife to instruct or to have dominion over her husband' (1 Tim. ii 12). And now many are disobedient and stiffnecked and will not support the poverty of their husbands, and compel their husbands to gather wealth for them beyond their ability. And many go and steal and murder to gather wealth for their wives. And he that has not gold, steals it to please a wife

(Joseph.)

... the soft voice and the wheedling words she used with him could 83. not deceive his ears in the least, and to her soft clothes he looked not at all: in which things bad women confide to deceive foolish men. For she used to clothe herself in a thin garment that he might see her nakedness through it. The blessed Joseph counted her as one of these idols 2 of stone: and the reasonings (λογισμός pl.) presented to that wise man one by one the snares by which that wicked and abandoned woman sought to ensnare him. The scents she put upon herself he reckoned in his heart: 'All scent comes from God, and how can she carry 3 a thing defiled? Nay rather men are wont to use this at the time of the sacrifice to God, even as it is written: 'Let my prayer 84. be set forth in thy presence like incense, and the lifting up of my hands like a sacrifice at eventide (Ps. cxli 2).' And, if he saw her adorned with gold and silver and precious stones, straightway he would ponder, saying: God said 'Silver and gold and precious stone is mine, and everything is the Lord's'. And straightway he would mock at her, saying: 'Even

¹ συμβολή of wine.

² Pl. of TOTWT = 'idol' (cf. Triadon TO& 1. 2, where it is translated by منم or 'small shrine' (cf. Acts xix 24).
Or 'imitate'.

as these heifers on which they put ornaments and teach them to turn about, such is the manner of this woman. And even as the wall of a tomb is adorned with paintings while the inside is full of noisome odours, even so does this woman wear ornaments. And I wonder not at the kohl in her eyes, but I wonder at the lasciviousness in them. 85. And the whiteness and rosiness which is in her face, I remember not now whether it is bright or red; for I know that if a day of fever come upon her all these things will perish and waste away. This face that is now in its bloom and full of smiles will change to tears and sorrow for the deeds that she now does. For I know that her form and mine both together will pass away and perish. Every man has need of wisdom, and those that do not develope it will regret it when they come to their death-bed with tears, and they will beat their hands because they did not acquire it when they were able. And when they are cold upon their beds and death besets them on every side, they wash their hands straightway of all the adornment of this world. They recognize that they do but sojourn like a workman (ἐργάτης) (cp. Job vii 1, 2, xiv 6) when he ceases from work at the hour of even. Wherefore now I know that this woman will remember all these things when she is cold and the finger of death strikes her. And why should I not remember all these 86, things when hand and foot waste away. And I know this too, that if she is fair in her nakedness, yet the foul stenches of her body enwrap all her limbs even as mine own. For the things which come forth from man's body 1 the Creator put in man for the sake of them that wish to philosophize. For to the goats that are upon the hills their own bodies 2 are sweet-smelling; but man was made humble by his ill savour that he might not be under the ill savour of sin.'

If the blessed and learning-loving Joseph really philosophized in this way on men, if he saw the adornment of the wife of the chief cook (ἀρχιμάγειρος, Gen. xxxix 1), he would consider these things and represent to himself the piety (?) 3 of the flesh and its vileness and ill savours, since they could not conquer him in the flower of his youth. And again he had not yet taken a wife, that thou mayest 87. not say he consoled himself with the assistance of his own wife. And again there was no continent (ἐγκρατής) man in Egypt to rival him and conquer in this great war which is worse than all wars. For king David was a prophet and he had the Spirit of the Lord, and the flower of his youth was past, and he had begotten children too, and he had many wives; yet this man, though he had all these aids, when he saw a beautiful woman, caused her to fall

¹ lit. the place of making water.

² KOPNOC = corpus.

³ State of εὐσεβής.

(σκανδαλίζειν) straightway, though she was not decked in rich robes like this other one, for she was the wife of a poor soldier and a foreigner. Yet by the mere beauty of her youth the evil one was able to deceive this great prophet, since he did not remember his wisdom straightway, so as to philosophize as to what was within the beauty he lusted after. But through his humility and his love of God 88. he wiped out his sin and has become a raiser up of all them that fall. And he confessed on this wise: 'The Lord will raise up all them that fall, and He will set up all them that are fallen down' (Ps. cxly 14).

And Joseph abode in endurance. For this reason when he conquered he gave honour to sobriety rather than to incontinence, and preferred purity to the beauty of a woman. For he preferred to wait until they took a wife for him according to the law of God, rather than to defile himself secretly and unreasonably. Many there be who have made themselves strangers to the glory and honour of Joseph, since they have not kept the law that their fathers should take a wife for them publicly. For this reason God gave marriage and sanctified it. He caused seven days to be spent at the marriage-feast as though they 80. were one day, since they have kept their bodies pure till the day He commanded them. For Isaac and Jacob were forty years old before they married, and they were virgins. But the men of this age now die before they are forty or fifty years old, because they defile themselves while they are young. For there are some who have taken a wife and begotten children, and died before they were fifty years old, and left their children orphans and their wives widows. And they died when they were young because they did not keep themselves pure like their fathers, who were a great while before they begat children, and died at a good old age with their children and their children's children around them. And of this blessedness was the blessed Joseph worthy even to his death: and he brought to himself a kingdom through God by means of all the sufferings which he received. And not only did he go. conquer in the battle with wickedness, but the other enmity he conquered and slew. For he requited his brethren well, and this none other but God alone did (Gen. xlv 8, 1 20), since for the good things which the Lord did to the Jews, they requited Him with evil things. And Joseph prophesied of the Saviour, and resembled Him in his goodness and love of man and his good actions. For for all the evil which Joseph's brethren did him, he requited them with good. For his brethren envied him and sold him (Acts vii 9): they attempted first to slav him. He nourished them and their sons from the treasures of his wisdom, and gave them a lot in a land which was not theirs. He bade them too not to fall out by the way (Gen. xlv 24). And he healed too the eyes of his [father and he saw].

175. ... the gate of the heavens; nor yet has it bolt or bar. For the gates with bolts are upon the earth, that men steal not from one another. But in the kingdom of God there are no thieves, nor is the devil in the midst of them. For there is no need for putting keys in that place; but they are in peace and common harmony (συμφωνία). And the keys which the Saviour gave to Petros were the good things which He taught him. If Peter sees a man sinning a great sin, and the man has no hope that he will be forgiven if he repent, straightway Peter will open the kingdom of the heavens to him and say to him: 'Repent, and thou shalt be forgiven. I myself denied the Lord thrice, 176. and He forgave me when I repented. Cleave to the Lord and repent. He will forgive thee thy sins upon the earth, and God will forgive thee them in heaven; and He will set thee firm and receive thee in heaven.'

We have spoken of Petros the great apostle. Let us speak too of Andreas. Andreas, the brother of Petros, was a flame of fire more than all the apostles; and if he went into the city to preach, and they did not listen and receive his message, he would be wroth, so as to cause a fire to come forth from the heaven and burn them. For this reason they set one of the apostles to walk with him, so that, if his anger blazed against them, he might say to him straightway: 'Remember the commandment of our Saviour which He gave us, saying: Go and preach to all the nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, and the [Son, and the Holy Ghost]' (Matt. xxviii 19).

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1 επω seems otherwise unknown. Mr. Crum compares it with the Egyptian

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE CULT OF THE ANGELS AT COLOSSAE.1

What was the nature of the teachings against which St Paul directed the polemical parts of his Epistle to the Colossians? Was it of purely heathen, or of purely Jewish, or of heathen-Jewish origin, i.e. the product of thinkers who, consciously or unconsciously, had mingled the two great springs of thought in one common cup?

i. It has been urged with no little force that the false teaching is essentially Heathen; that it represents belief common at that time in all parts of the known heathen world, but recorded for us chiefly in writings that had their origin in Egypt. This belief was that heavenly Beings, of which the visible sun, moon, and stars were but, so to speak, the materialization, ruled the earth, and that with a rod of iron. Hence the important thing for man was to worship them fittingly, and thus escape as far as possible from all the evil that they might bring upon him.

This, it is said, explains why the false teachers among the Colossians made so much of the observance of times and seasons—for, naturally, times and seasons fell under the special cognizance of the heavenly bodies.²

But a serious, and indeed fatal, objection to this is the direct mention of sabbaths, with the following implication that they had been useful before Christ came (ii 16, 17, see notes), and, above all, of Circumcision (ii 11-13). For it does not appear that any evidence is adduced that the heathen practised circumcision as a means of freeing themselves from the control of the heavenly bodies.

- ii. But was it purely Jewish? Much in the Epistle tends to give an affirmative answer. Its dependence on tradition and its estimate of wisdom, its insistence on dietary laws and on the value of circumcision, its refusal to grant the uniqueness of Christ's position and work, point to this. Above all, those who have read the *Book of Enoch* and other Jewish pseudepigraphic writings, and have taken note of the stress laid therein on visions, and especially of the elaborate Angelology to be found there, are inclined to accept this solution.
- iii. Yet in one vital particular it is unsatisfactory, that of the worship of angels as contrasted with theories and speculations about them.
- ¹ Since this article was received, a summary of it has appeared in the author's edition of the *Epistle to the Colossians* (Camb. Univ. Press).
- ² See in particular Reitzenstein *Poimandres*, 1904, esp. pp. 71-81. On the supposed meaning of $\sigma \tau \omega \chi \epsilon \hat{\alpha}$ in Col. ii 8 see the note in my edition of the Epistle.

This requires more detailed examination than it appears to have received, but it will be seen, I believe, that the facts point to a third solution as preferable; that, in other words, the false teachers derived their teaching from sources mainly Jewish but not entirely so, for on this very important matter, the Cult of the Angels, they had absorbed practices and teaching which did not belong to orthodox Judaism, but only to such a form, or forms, of it as had been influenced by non-Jewish thought.

The distinction between the doctrine and the worship of angels has not been sufficiently regarded by many who have written upon this Epistle, yet it is important that they should be considered separately. For they may stand in all possible grades of relation to each other; both may be equally developed; or the second be frequent in observance, and the first but slight and primitive; or the first be highly developed and the second held in check by other considerations.

THE DOCTRINE OF ANGELS AMONG THE JEWS.1

Perhaps the most convenient summary of the Doctrine of Angels mentioned in the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, the Jewish pseudepigraphical writings, and as held by the Essenes (apparently) and by Philo, is to be found in Mr Fairweather's article on 'Developement of Doctrine' in Hastings, v pp. 285-290. It will be sufficient here to illustrate by quotations, but without any attempt at completeness, the salient features of the Angelology of the pseudepigraphical writings only, which, written, as they seem to have been, between the second century B.C. and the end of the first century A.D., probably represent the popular beliefs on the subject held by Pharisaic Jews 2 at the time when St Paul was composing his Epistles.3 By these writings are intended:--

- (a) The Ethiopic Book of Enoch (its earliest parts before 170 B.C. and its latest before the beginning of the Christian era, and its authors all Palestinian).
- ¹ On this subject see Everling Die paulinische Angelologie und Dämonologie, 1888, and especially Lueken Michael, 1898.
- ² Perhaps some portions of the Apoc. of Baruch (§ xi) represent the beliefs of Sadducees. None of the books mentioned appears to be strictly Essene. M. Friedländer, however, argues very strongly that they were composed by none of the three sects, but by leaders of the Am-ha'aretz, the ordinary people (who might or might not be educated), deeply engrained with Hellenism (see e.g. his Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judentums im Zeitalter Jesu, 1905, pp. 22 sq.).
- ³ There is, of course, much uncertainty respecting the places of origin and the dates of these books and their various parts. Those preferred by Dr Charles will be accepted here.

- (b) The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis (written by a Pharisee between 135 and 105 B.C.).
- (c) The Slavonic Book of the Secrets of Enoch (by an orthodox Hellenistic Jew between 1 and 50 A.D.).
- (d) The Assumption of Moses (by 'a Pharisaic Quietist' between 7 and 30 A.D.).
- (e) The Ascension of Isaiah, of which the first part, 'The Martyrdom of Isaiah,' is Jewish, and probably of the first century A.D.; the second, 'The Testament of Hezekiah,' is Christian, between 88 and 100 A.D.; the third, 'The Vision of Isaiah,' Christian, and, in its primitive form, of the end of the first century A.D.
- (f) The Apocalypse of Baruch, which is said to contain five or six independent writings, mostly by Pharisaic Jews, and in part polemical against Christianity, dating from 50-90 A.D.¹

It is not possible to give a consistent account of the various orders of the angels, for these are stated differently in the different books, and in any case it is not necessary for our purpose, which is rather to shew the general character of the speculations about angels than to arrange and determine them.

i. According to the Book of Jubilees (ii 2) there are three well-marked orders, two supreme, viz. the angels of the presence (cf. also Jub. ii 18, xv 27, xxxi 14), and the angels of sanctification, and a third inferior order, viz. the angels who preside over natural phenomena. 'On the first day He created the heavens which are above and the earth and the waters and all the spirits which serve before Him—the angels of the presence, and the angels of sanctification, and the angels [of the spirit of fire and the angels] of the spirit of the winds and the angels of the spirit of the clouds, and of darkness, and of snow and of hail and of hoar-frost, and the angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightning, and the angels of the spirits of cold and of heat, and of winter and of spring and of autumn and of summer, and of all the spirits of His creatures which are in the heavens and on the earth' (Jub. ii 2).

ii. So we read of 'the spirit' in the thunder, 'the spirit of the sea' who 'is masculine and strong', and how 'the spirit of the hoar-frost is his own angel, and the spirit of the hail is a good angel'; also of 'the spirit of the snow' and 'the spirit of the mist' and 'the spirit of the dew', and 'the spirit of the rain', and how 'there is a measure for the rain and the angels take it in charge' (Eth. *Enoch* lx 15-22, cf. lxi 10).

So also 'the voice of the Beloved will in wrath rebuke . . . the angel

¹ The quotations from these books are in every case from Dr Charles's editions.

of the sun and that of the moon' (Asc. Isa. iv 18, cf. Apoc. Bar. xxi 6, lix 11).

iii. The Ascension of Isaiah also contains a short description of each of the seven heavens with the angels that belong to each, the principal angels in each sitting on a throne and sometimes, apparently, themselves called thrones. 'I saw a throne in the midst, and on his right and on his left were angels' (vii 14); 'Worship neither throne nor angel which belongs to the six heavens' (vii 21). 'When I have raised thee to the seventh heaven whence I was sent, to that which is above these, then thou shalt know that there is nothing hidden from the thrones and from those who dwell in the heavens and from the angels' (vii 27).

Similarly in the Slavonic Book of the Secrets of Enoch we read that in the sixth heaven Enoch saw 'seven bands of angels very bright and glorious, and their faces shining more than the rays of the sun. They are resplendent, and there is no difference in their countenances, or their manner, or the style of their clothing. And these orders arrange and study the revolutions of the stars, and the changes of the moon, and revolutions of the sun, and superintend the good or evil condition of the world. And they arrange teachings and instructions, and sweet speaking, and singing, and all kinds of glorious praise. These are the archangels who are appointed over the angels. They hold in subjection all living things both in heaven and earth. And there are angels who are over seasons and years, and the angels who are over rivers and the sea, and those who are over the fruits of the earth, and the angels over every herb, giving all kinds of nourishment to every living thing. And the angels over all souls of men, who write down all their works and their lives before the face of the Lord. In the midst of them are seven phoenixes and seven cherubim, and seven six-winged creatures, being as one voice and singing with one voice; and it is not possible to describe their singing, and they rejoice before the Lord at His footstool. And these men took me thence and brought me to the seventh heaven, and I saw there a very great light and all the fiery hosts of great archangels, and of incorporeal virtues and dominations, and principalities, and powers; cherubim and seraphim, thrones, and the watchfulness of many eyes ' (§§ xix, xx 1).

- iv. Again, there are four angels higher than all others :-
- 'I looked and on the four sides of the Lord of Spirits I saw four

¹ A very full account of the seven heavens is presented in the Slavonic *Enocli* §§ iii-xxi. For a critical examination of the various descriptions in Judaism and early Christianity see Dr Charles in his Introduction to that book, pp. xxx-xlvii. Compare also Salmon in Hastings, ii pp. 321 sq.

² Compare Col. i 16.

presences, different from those that sleep not, and I learnt their names: for the angel that came with me made known to me their names, and shewed me all the hidden things. And I heard the voice of those four presences as they gave glory before the Lord of Glory. The first voice blesses the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever. And the second voice I heard blessing the Elect One and the elect ones who cleave to the Lord of Spirits. And the third voice I heard pray and intercede for those who dwell on the earth and supplicate in the name of the Lord of Spirits. And I heard the fourth voice fending off the Satans and forbidding them to appear before the Lord of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth. After that I asked the angel of peace who went with me, who shewed me everything that is hidden, "Who are these four presences which I have seen and whose words I have heard and written down?" And he said to me: "This first is Michael, the merciful and long-suffering: and the second, who is set over all the diseases and the wounds of the children of men, is Rufael: and the third, who is set over all the powers, is Gabriel: and the fourth, who is set over the repentance and hope of those who inherit eternal life, is named Fanuel." And these are the four angels of the Lord of Spirits and the four voices I heard in those days' (Eth. Enoch xl).

v. Again, there are seven principal angels 1:-

'And the Lord called those seven first white ones and commanded that they should bring before Him...all the [sinful] stars... and He spake to that man who wrote before Him who was one of the seven white ones, and said unto him: "Take those seventy shepherds to whom I delivered the sheep"' (Eth. *Enoch* xc 21, 22; cf. for the mention of seven lxxxi 5).

vi. These seventy shepherds appear in this passage and §lxxxix 59 to be angels appointed over Israel, but the *Book of Jubilees* speaks rather of angels over the nations and not over Israel: 'For there are many nations and many peoples, and all are His, and over all hath He placed spirits in authority to lead them astray from Him. But over Israel He did not appoint any angel or spirit, for He alone is their ruler, and He will preserve them and require them at the hand of His angels and His spirits, and at the hand of all His powers in order that He may preserve them and bless them, and that they may be His and He may be theirs from henceforth for ever' (Jub. xv 31, 32). Doubtless, as Charles says in his note on Jub., 'according to Eth. Enoch lxxxix Israel was placed for purposes of discipline for a time under the charge of seventy angels, who are no doubt the angelic patrons of the seventy nations of the world.'

vii. Further, some angels are the guardians of individuals. So Jacob says to Rebecca, 'Fear thou not on account of Jacob; for the guardian

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¹ And apparently three in Eth. Enoch lxxxvii 2, 3, xc 31.

of Jacob is great and powerful and honoured, and praised more than the guardian of Esau' (*Jub.* xxxv 17). Somewhat similarly over the righteous departed souls, 'He will appoint as guardians holy angels to guard them as the apple of an eye until He has made an end of all wickedness and all sin, and though the righteous sleep a long sleep, they have nought to fear' (Eth. *Enoch* c 5).

viii. The two higher classes of angels mentioned in the Book of Jubilees (vide supra) were created circumcised (xv 27), and, as well as God, keep the sabbath, on which the writer enlarges that he may strengthen the observance of the sabbath by Israel. The passage, which is a Midrashic account of the institution of the Sabbath, is too long to quote, but in it occurs these sentences: 'He gave us (the angel of the presence is speaking) a great sign, the Sabbath day, that we should work six days, but keep Sabbath on the seventh day from all work. And all the angels of the presence, and all the angels of sanctification—these two great classes—He hath bidden us to keep the Sabbath with Him in heaven and on earth . . . on this we kept Sabbath in the heavens before it was known to any flesh to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth' (ii 17, 18, 30).

ix. Parallel to the angelic kingdom is the Demoniac or Satanic kingdom, but, strictly speaking, this is hardly included in our subject. In the Book of Jubilees its head is named Mastêmâ, which, Dr Charles says, is 'the equivalent of $\delta \sum a\tau av as$ in point of meaning and derivation' (x 8). The evil spirits under him tempt men, accuse them of sin, and destroy those who have sinned (cf. also Eth. Enoch lxix 4-6, xl 7, liii 3, lvi 1; Asc. Isa. iv 2-4). 'The sons of Noah came to Noah their father, and they told him concerning the demons which were leading astray and blinding and slaying his sons' sons' (x 2). In Noah's consequent prayer to God he says 'Thou knowest how Thy Watchers,' the fathers of these spirits, which are living, imprison them and hold them fast in the place of condemnation' (x 5). As a result only one-tenth are allowed to act upon the earth (x 9).

Through the fallen angels has come to men the knowledge of arts. Thus after giving the names of the twenty-one chief (cf. vi 7) fallen angels the author of Eth. *Enoch* mentions the names of, as it seems, other chiefs who seem rather to be Satans. Of these 'the third is called Gâdreêl: he it is who has taught the children of men all the blows of death, and he led astray Eve, and shewed to the sons of men the weapons of death and the coat of mail, and the shield, and the sword for battle, and all the weapons, and all the weapons of death to the children of men . . . And the fourth is called Pênêmuê: he

¹ Identified in Eth. Enoch (e.g. xii 4) with the sons of God mentioned in Gen. vi 2.

taught the children of men the bitter and the sweet, and taught them all the secrets of their wisdom. And he instructed mankind in writing with ink and paper, and thereby many sinned from eternity to eternity and until this day' (lxix 6, 8, 9).

x. In particular the Watchers taught their wives 'charms and enchantments, and made them acquainted with the cutting of roots and of woods' (vii 1). But of the good angels, on the contrary, we read: 'One of us He (God) commanded that we should teach Noah all their medicines . . . and we explained to Noah all the medicines of their diseases, together with their seductions, how he might heal them with herbs of the earth. And Noah wrote down all things in a book as we instructed him concerning every kind of medicine. Thus the evil spirits were precluded from (hurting) the sons of Noah' (Jub. x 10, 12, 13).

xi. The good angels fight [against the evil angels] on behalf of Israel against its foes. 'Then the hands of the angel (i. e. Michael) will be filled (cf. Ex. xxviii 41) and he will be appointed chief, and he will forthwith avenge them of their enemies' (Assumpt. Moses x 2).

'We ascended to the firmament, I and he, and there I saw Sammael [i.e. the chief of the Satans] and his hosts, and there was great fighting therein and the angels of Satan were envying one another' (Asc. Isa. vii 9). They take special interest in Jerusalem, and even when the Chaldeans are capturing it hide many of the sacred vessels, &c. 'Lo! suddenly a strong spirit raised me, and bore me aloft over the wall of Jerusalem. And I beheld, and lo! four angels standing at the four angles of the city, each of them holding a lamp of fire in his hands, &c.' (Apoc. Bar. vi 3, 4). 'Dost thou think that there is no anguish to the angels in the presence of the Mighty One, that Zion was so delivered up?' (lxvii 2).

xii. They intercede for men. 'The third voice I heard pray and intercede for those who dwell on the earth and supplicate in the name of the Lord of Spirits' (Eth. Enoch xl 6). 'In those days will the holy ones who dwell above in the heavens unite with one voice and supplicate and intercede and laud and give thanks and bless the name of the Lord of Spirits on account of the blood of the righteous which has been shed, and the prayer of the righteous that it may not be in vain before the Lord of Spirits, that judgement may be done unto them, and that they may not have to suffer for ever' (xlvii 2). 'I swear unto you, that in heaven the angels are mindful of you for good before the glory of the Great One' (civ 1). Therefore the fallen Watchers are blamed because by their sin they had lost their prerogative: God says to Enoch, 'Go, say to the Watchers of heaven, who have sent thee to intercede for them: you should intercede for men, and not men for you' (xy 2).

2. THE WORSHIP OF ANGELS AMONG THE JEWS.1

It may be assumed that by this phrase is meant worship paid to angels, and not, as a few commentators have imagined, worship paid by them to God. But, while this is clear, certain questions of interest arise as to the fact of worship being paid to them. For although it is not uncommonly assumed that where there is speculation about the angels, and especially where this speculation busies itself with their various grades, and the nature of the various offices that they perform towards God on the one hand, and man on the other, there must also have been prayer offered to them, this is the very thing that requires proof. We must therefore consider what evidence we possess of the fact of worship being paid to angels at the time when the Epistle to the Colossians was written.

It is proposed now first to examine the evidence for the worship of angels by Jews generally, and secondly to consider the special cases of those Jews who were then living in Colossae or its neighbourhood, when we shall see that they were much exposed to heathen influence in this direction. We shall then be in a position to decide whether the worship of angels spoken of is strictly Jewish, or is due to some admixture of heathenism.

i. The evidence for the worship of Angels by the Jews generally. It is hardly to be disputed that such worship is not consistent with either the spirit of the Old Testament or the spirit of orthodox Judaism. As for the former it would take us too far afield to discuss the developement of the doctrine of angels in the Old Testament, and there is no need to do so when a satisfactory treatment of the subject may be found in any recent Bible dictionary. It is enough to say that whatever may have been the way in which Old Testament worthies believed in the existence and powers of angels, there is no evidence, even in the latest times, of their offering them worship. Even the sacrifice of Manoah (Jud. xiii 19-21) was not a sacrifice to the angel as such, although it was made into a sacrifice by the angel's action.

Neither probably will it be disputed that orthodox Jews, orthodox after the pattern of Talmudic rules and practices, have not worshipped angels. Some of the references of the Talmudic teachers to the practice will be mentioned presently. But it is undeniable that they as a whole object to it, and that their followers, if strictly imitating them, cannot practise it.

¹ On the precise connotation of θρησκεία in Col. ii 8 (cf. 23) viz. the external, sensuous side of worship, see note there.

It is true, of course, that there have been abnormal developements on the part of Jews who in most respects have been guided by the Talmud. The history of the Kabbala proves that it has been quite possible for Jews to assimilate not a few doctrines current round them, in the endeavour, probably, to obtain additional spiritual help without ceasing to belong to Judaism. Syncretism up to a certain point has never been a difficulty with Jews. But it may be questioned how far even the Kabbalists put their semi-Christian theories into practice, and worshipped those beings whom they placed in close contact with the one true God.

It would be even harder to deny the fact of such strange worship among large numbers of Jews to-day living in Russia. But in the case of these, the Chassidim, it is not so much angels that are the object of their worship as men. But the Chassidim are not orthodox Jews, and, though they illustrate a natural tendency of the human, even the Jewish, mind, they are no proof that Jews in the stricter sense, Pharisaic Jews, give way to the worship of any other beings than the true God.

It seems therefore to be a priori improbable that the Pharisaic Jews of New Testament times should have worshipped angels. Neither their Bible history, nor their later history as a whole, suggests it. Yet, notwithstanding, the particular evidence may be such as to override all a priori improbability.

Is this the case? Three sources of information are open to us for investigation (besides the New Testament which is itself now under discussion): Jewish apocryphal and pseudepigraphic writings dating from the second century B.C. to the end of the first century A.D.; heathen and Christian statements of the first three or four centuries A.D.; and, lastly, writings that are strictly and solely Jewish and have been preserved in Hebrew or Aramaic.

- (a) The Jewish Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic writings. In examining these there is a fundamental difficulty which at times obtrudes itself, viz. that they have come down to us, with hardly an exception, in a form that has been worked over by Christian thinkers. Indeed if it had not been for the Christian efforts that have been expended upon them it is more than doubtful if they would have been preserved. The result, however, is that there is always some little doubt whether any particular passage is of purely Jewish origin, or whether it represents something at least of Christian thought. The prevalence of this Christian thought in the present forms of these writings renders it the more remarkable that while containing so much speculation about the angels, their nature and their functions, they contain so very few traces of the worship of them.
 - (a) 4 Mac. iv 10-13, whose date is placed somewhere between

Pompey, 63 B.C., and Vespasian, 70 A.D., relates that when Apollonius (? 187 B.C.) was entering into the temple with his army to plunder the treasures angels appeared on horseback from heaven. Apollonius, half dead with terror, fell down and stretched forth his hands towards heaven entreating the Hebrews with tears to pray for him, and propitiate the heavenly host. Onias the High Priest does in fact pray for him, and he is saved.¹

But this is hardly evidence that the writer of the book knew of worship of angels,² much less that he sympathized with it. It expresses the natural impulse of a frightened tyrant to beg the prayers even of those whom he has oppressed when he sees supernatural powers coming to their aid.

(β) The Ascension of Isaiah, which in its present form belongs to the end of the second century A.D., contains the following (c. ix 35 and 36): 'I saw the Lord and the second angel, and they were standing. And the second whom I saw was on the left of my Lord. And I asked: "Who is this?" and he said unto me: "Worship Him, for He is the angel of the Holy Spirit, who speaketh in thee and the rest of the righteous."' But the whole chapter is evidently Christian, and the term 'angel' here refers to the Third Person in the Blessed Trinity. In c. vii 19 we read: 'He who sat on the throne in the second heaven was more glorious than all (the rest). And there was great glory in the second heaven, and the praise also was not like the praise of those who were in the first heaven. And I fell on my face to worship him, but the angel who conducted me did not permit me, but said unto me: "Worship neither throne nor angel which belongs to the six heavens—for for this cause I was sent to conduct thee—until I tell thee in the seventh heaven. For above all the heavens and their angels has thy throne been placed, and thy garments and thy crown which thou shalt see."' Compare also the Greek legend printed at the end of Charles's edition, c. ii 22 καὶ εἶπέν μοι ὁ θεῖος ἄγγελος ὁ μετ' ἐμοῦ ων "Ακουσον, 'Ησαΐα προφήτα, υίε 'Αμώς μη προσκυνήσης μήτε αγγέλους μήτε άρχαγγέλους μήτε κυριότητας μήτε θρόνους, έως αν έγώ σοι είπω.

It will be observed that while in the former of these passages worship is to be paid to the Third Person of the Trinity, in the second, worship of other angels is forbidden.

This doubtless points to Christians being exposed to some danger on

¹ καταπεσών γέ τοι ήμιθανής δ 'Απολλώνιος ἐπὶ τὸν πάμφυλον τοῦ ἰεροῦ περίβολον, τὰς χεῖρας ἐξέτεινεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, μετὰ δακρύων τοὺς 'Εβραίους παρεκάλει, ὅπως περὶ αὐτοῦ εὐξόμενοι, τὸν ἐπουράνιον ἐξευμενίσωνται στρατὸν . . . τούτοις ἐπαχθεὶς τοῖς λόγοις 'Ονίας ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς . . . ηὕξατο περὶ αὐτοῦ.

² Lueken *Michael* p. 11 'Vielleicht lässt sich 4 Mac. iv 10 ff. als Zeugnis für ein jüdisches Gebet zu Engeln herbeiziehen'.

this score. But this is all. The book tells us nothing, that is to say, of the worship of angels by Jews.

(γ) The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

This interesting book is now generally acknowledged to have a very large substratum of original Jewish work, even though in its present form it is undoubtedly Christian (see Charles, Hastings, iv pp. 721-725, *Encycl. Bibl.* pp. 237-241). Perhaps the original was used by an overzealous Jewish convert to Christianity as a means whereby to attract more of his brethren to the faith. It contains three passages that bear upon our subject.

(1) Test. Levi § 3, according to MS R

ἐν τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν ἀρχάγγελοι οἱ λειτουργοῦντες καὶ ἐξιλασκόμενοι πρὸς Κύριον ἐπὶ πάσαις ταῖς ἀγνοίαις τῶν δικαίων, προσφέροντες δὲ Κυρίῳ ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας, τὴν λογικὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν.

But here while angels are said to minister and make propitiation with the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous, there is no direct mention of worship.

(2) Test. Levi § 5

Κύριε, εἰπέ μοι τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἵνα ἐπικαλέσωμαί σε ἐν ἡμέρα θλίψεως.

This, no doubt, is direct. The name of the angel, apparently Michael (see Lueken *Michael* pp. 64, 92), is desired in order that Levi may call upon him in the day of trouble. Observe here the emphasis on the name. For, as we shall see, the name plays an important part in later angelolatry. Here the only doubt is whether the passage is entirely Jewish (it must be confessed that in itself there is nothing to suggest the contrary) or whether it has been worked over to some extent by the Christian editor.

(3) Test. Dan § 6

έγγίζετε δὲ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ παραιτουμένῳ (R παρεπομένῳ) ὑμᾶς· ὅτι οὖτός ἐστι μεσίτης θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων (καὶ) ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης Ἰσραήλ.

Observe here that the reading of what is usually the better MS (R) attributes less power to the angel than does the ordinary text, although both alike say that he is the mediator between God and men, and set over the peace of Israel. But it may be doubted whether the very phrase does not prove too much, occurring as it does word for word in I Tim. ii 5, from which it was perhaps taken. It may very possibly refer not to any angel in our sense of the word at all, but to the Second Person of the Trinity. If it be answered that it doubtless referred originally to Michael, that is just the point under discussion, not to be assumed as proven. Lastly, observe that in any case there is even here

¹ Conybeare considers it proved that the Greek text is 'a paraphrase of an old Aramaic midrash, interpolated by generations of Christians', *Jew. Encycl.* xii p. 113.

no direct mention of prayer. Dan bids them draw near to God, and such drawing near includes nearness to the angel whoever he may be. He as such is not necessarily spoken of as the object of worship.

(δ) The Testament of Solomon.1

This curious book virtually escaped the notice of writers upon angelology until Mr Conybeare published a translation in 1898. He places the approximate date of its present form as early as about the end of the first century of our era. It can, indeed, hardly be earlier, for the allusions to Christian doctrine are very marked,² and it may well be at least fifty years later. C. H. Toy thinks that its date is probably about 300 A.D. (Jew. Encycl. s.v. xi p. 448).

But it is important for our purpose in that it is in all probability founded upon an earlier distinctively Jewish work, such indeed as Josephus implies in his Antt. VIII ii 5, where he says that 'God enabled Solomon to learn also the art of overcoming demons for the help and healing of man. And he composed incantations by which diseases are assuaged, and modes of exorcisms, by which persons bound may expel demons so that they shall not return. And this therapy, even up to now, has the greatest power among us'.3 This he proceeds to shew by example. Josephus does not indeed say that a book of such incantations existed in his day, but this is quite consistent with his words, and the method of such incantations forms the greater part of the present Testament of Solomon. Its contents are briefly that by means of a ring Solomon has various demons brought before him (cf. some of the tales contained in the Arabian Nights), and he compels each to tell him the name of the individual angel that meets and subdues him. For each demon is frustrated by one angel, and if the name of the latter is only known by a person he is able completely to defend himself from the attacks of the demons. Numerous examples are given, of which it must suffice to quote a very few:-

§ 63. 'And having glorified God, I asked the dragon-shaped demon,

¹ The English is given by Mr F. C. Conybeare in the Jewish Quarterly Review for October 1898, pp. 15 sqq. The Greek may be found most conveniently in Migne Cedrenus vol. ii, as an appendix to Psellus's writings (see M. R. James in Encycl. Bibl. p. 254).

² e. g. §§ 29, 52, 65 Emmanuel; § 54 Golgotha, 'the angel of the great counsel' (see Isa. ix 6, LXX), the Cross; § 65 'The Son of God is stretched upon the Cross'; § 71 Saviour; § 122 'He that is to be born of a virgin and crucified by the Jews on a cross'.

³ Conybeare's translation, loc. cit. p. 12 πάρεσχε δ' αὐτῷ μαθεῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνον τέχνην εἰς ὡφέλειαν καὶ θεραπείαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπφδάς τε συνταξάμενος αἶς παρηγορεῖται τὰ νοσήματα καὶ τρόπους ἐξορκώσεων κατέλιπεν, οἷς οἱ ἐνδούμενοι τὰ δαιμόνια ὡς μηκέτ' ἐπανελθεῖν ἐκδιώξουσι. καὶ αὕτη μέχρι νῦν παρ' ἡμῦν ἡ θεραπεία πλεῖστον ἰσχύει.

and said, "Tell me, by what angel art thou frustrated?" And he answered, "By the great angel which has its seat in the second heaven, which is called in Hebrew *Bazazath*." And I, Solomon, having heard this, and having invoked his angel, condemned him to saw up marbles for the building of the Temple of God; and I praised God, and commanded another demon to come before me.'

- § 69. 'And I said to him: "Tell me by what angel thou art frustrated." And he answered: "By Iameth." And I glorified God. I commanded the spirit to be thrown into a phial along with ten jugs of sea-water of two measures each. And I sealed them round above with marbles and asphalt and pitch in the mouth of the vessel. And having sealed it with my ring, I ordered it to be deposited in the Temple of God. And I ordered another spirit to come before me.'
- § 73. "I, O Lord, am called Ruax... but let me only hear the words, 'Michael, imprison Ruax,' and I at once retreat."
- § 74. "I am called Barsafael.... If only I hear the words, 'Gabriel, imprison Barsafael,' at once I retreat."
- § 83. "I am called Saphathorael.... If any one will write on paper these names of angels, Iaeô, Iealô, Iôelet, Sabaôth, Ithoth, Bae, and having folded it up, wear it round his neck or against his ear, I at once retreat and dissipate the drunken fit."
- § 101. "I am called *Hêphêsikireth*, and cause lingering disease. If you throw salt, rubbed in the hand, into oil and smear it on the patient, saying, 'Seraphim, Cherubim, help me!' I at once retire."

It will be observed that in these passages there is no question of any worship of angels in the ordinary meaning of the term, but only of invoking their names as a means of obtaining power against the attacks, chiefly bodily, of evil spirits; in other words, of using their names as exorcisms either to cast out demons that have already obtained entrance, or to ward off their attacks. Such passages illustrate our Lord's words in Matt. xii 27, Luke xi 19 'If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your sons cast them out?' and also Acts xix 13, 15 'Certain also of the strolling Jews, exorcists, took upon them to name over them that had the evil spirits the name of the Lord Jesus, saying, I adjure you by Jesus whom Paul preacheth... And the evil spirit answered and said unto them, Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye?'

It is not denied that certain Jews, even some belonging to the Pharisaic party, used magical incantations, employing the names of angels in exorcising evil spirits; but whether there is any real evidence of the worship of angels, in the usual sense of the word 'worship', appears, thus far, to be exceedingly doubtful.

(b) Heathen and Christian statements during the first three or four centuries, other than those contained in the New Testament.\(^1\)

We are, of course, bound to take these into our consideration, although, equally of course, we must continually bear in mind the grave difficulty under which persons always lie in recounting the doctrines and practices of a body to which they do not belong. They may not have the slightest intention of misstating facts, but their ignorance of the minutiae and esoteric meaning of words and practices may very easily lead them to convey a wholly false impression and present a statement to which the body referred to would strenuously object.

(a) The Preaching of Peter.

Quoted by Origen on John iv 22 (tom. xiii 17) from Heracleon (to be seen most conveniently in A. E. Brooke *The Fragments of Heracleon* § 21, Texts and Studies, 1891).

Μὴ δεῖν καθ' Έλληνας προσκυνεῖν, τὰ τῆς ὕλης πράγματα ἀποδεχομένους, καὶ λατρεύοντας ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις, μηδὲ κατὰ Ἰουδαίους σέβειν τὸ θεῖον, ἐπείπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ μόνοι οἰόμενοι ἐπίστασθαι θεόν, ἀγνοοῦσιν αὐτόν, λατρεύοντες ἀγγέλοις καὶ μηνὶ καὶ σελήνη.

 $M\eta\nu\dot{\iota}$ here is usually translated 'month', in which case it would presumably be nearly synonymous with the following $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\dot{\eta}\nu\eta$. It is possible, therefore, that Huet (*Orig. Comm.*, 1668, notes, p. 108) is right in connecting it with the great god *Men* whose worship, properly Phrygian, spread over all Asia Minor. He also connects it with Meni of Isaiah lxv 11, but this is very uncertain.

Clem. Alex. (Strom. vi 5 p. 635) has the same quotation from the preaching of Peter, but, besides other small changes, adds κ . $d\rho \chi \alpha \gamma \gamma \epsilon \lambda o \iota s$ after $d\gamma \gamma \epsilon \lambda o \iota s$.

(β) The Apology of Aristides.2

§ 14 (Syriac recension only), 'In the methods of their actions (i.e. those of the Jews) their service is to angels and not to God, in that they observe sabbaths and new moons and the passover and the great fast, and the fast, and circumcision, and cleanness of meats.'

But it will be noticed that this is not a direct statement that they worship angels, but only a deduction from the unsatisfactory nature of their worship of God.³

- (γ) Celsus, as quoted by Origen (c. Cels. i 26), says that 'they worship angels, and are addicted to sorcery, in which Moses was their
- ¹ The New Testament references to the subject other than those in the Epistle to the Colossians, will be considered in another paper.
 - ² Ed. J. Armitage Robinson Texts and Studies, 1891.
 - 3 So even Lueken Michael p. 5.

instructor'. Similarly further on (c. Cels. v 6) Origen quotes Celsus as saying, 'The first point relating to the Jews which is fitted to excite wonder, is that they should worship the heaven and the angels who dwell therein, and yet pass by and neglect its most venerable and powerful parts, as the sun and moon, and the other heavenly bodies, both fixed stars and planets, as if it were possible that "the whole" could be God, and yet its parts not divine; or [as if it were reasonable] to treat with the greatest respect those who are said to appear to such as are in darkness somewhere, blinded by some crooked sorcery, or dreaming dreams through the influence of shadowy spectres, while those who prophesy so clearly and strikingly to all men, by means of whom rain, and heat, and clouds, and thunder (to which they offer worship), and lightnings, and fruits, and all kinds of productiveness. are brought about—by means of whom God is revealed to them—the most prominent heralds among those beings that are above—those that are truly heavenly angels—are to be regarded as of no account.'2

Upon this Origen remarks truly enough that in making these statements, Celsus appears to have 'fallen into confusion, and to have penned them from false ideas of things which he did not understand', but in any case one or two of his statements should be noticed. Celsus expressly says that the Jews do not worship the heavenly bodies, in this contradicting the *Preaching of Peter* as quoted above; and he also connects their worship of angels in some fashion with the practice of sorcery, a fact which is to be taken in connexion with other remarks that must be made later on. Besides these points Origen himself in v 8 calls attention to the fact to which reference has already been made that 'although Celsus considers it to be a Jewish custom to bow down to the heaven and the angels in it, such a practice is not at all Jewish, but is in violation of Judaism, as it is also to do obeisance to sun, moon, and stars, as well as images'. He also in § 9 points out the

¹ λέγων αὐτοὺς σέβειν ἀγγέλους καὶ γοητεία προσκεῖσθαι, ἡς ὁ Μωῦσῆς αὐτοῖς γέγονεν ἐξηγητής. The translation of this and the following passages from the c. Cels. is from Crombie (Ante-Nicene Fathers).

² πρώτον οὖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων θαυμάζειν ἄξιον, εἰ τὸν μὲν οὐρανὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷδε ἀγγέλους σέβουσι τὰ σεμνότατα δὲ αὐτοῦ μέρη καὶ δυνατώτατα, ἥλιον, καὶ σελήνην, καὶ τοὺς άλλους ἀστέρας, ἀπλανεῖς τε καὶ πλανήτας, ταῦτα παραπέμπουσιν, ὡς ἐνδεχύμενον, τὸ μὲν ὅλον εἶναι Θεόν, τὰ δὲ μέρη αὐτοῦ μὴ θεῖα ἡ τοὺς μὲν ἐν σκότω που ἐκ γοητείας οὐκ ὀρθῆς τυφλώττουσιν, ἡ δι ἀμυδρῶν φασμάτων ὀνειρώττουσιν, ἐγχρίμπτειν λεγομένους, εὖ μάλα θρησκεύειν τοὺς δ' ἐναργῶς οὕτω καὶ λαμπρῶς ἄπασι προφητεύοντας, δι ὧν ὑετούς τε καὶ θάλπη, καὶ νέφη, καὶ βροντὰς (ጲς προσκυνοῦσι), καὶ ἀστραπάς, καὶ καρπούς, καὶ γονὰς ἀπάσας ταμεύεσθαι, δι ὧν αὐτοῖς ἀνακαλύπτεσθαι τὸν Θεόν, τοὺς φανερωτάτους τῶν ἀνω κήρυκας, τοὺς ὡς ἀληθῶς οὐρανίους ἀγγέλους, τούτους ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ μηδέν.

³ ἐν τούτοις δὲ δοκεῖ μοι συγκεχύσθαι ὁ Κέλσος καὶ ἀπὸ παρακουσμάτων, â μὴ ήδει, γεγραφέναι (loc. cit.).

⁴ Κέλσου νομίζοντος Ἰουδαϊκὸν είναι τὸ προσκυνεῖν οὐρανῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ ἀγγέλοις,

inconsistency of Celsus saying all this when he has for other purposes stated that they keep their law: he ought, therefore, either not to have asserted this of them, or to have added that they did this in violation of their code.

It is clear that although Origen knew of this accusation against the Jews the whole tone of his remarks suggests that he did not believe it, save perhaps in connexion with sorcery (cf. v 9 supra).

(8) Jerome referring to Col. ii 18, 19 (Ep. ad Algasiam § 10, Migne xxii 1032) writes, "But God turned, and gave them up to serve the host of heaven" (Acts vii 42). But the host of heaven means not only sun and moon and glowing stars, but also the whole multitude of the angels and their troop... God gave them up to serve the host of heaven, which is here called by the Apostle the worship of angels."

So again (in Matt. v 34 sqq.) he says, 'The Jews in swearing by Angels and the city of Jerusalem and the Temple and the Elements, were worshipping creatures and carnal objects with the honour and obeisance due to God.' But it is evident that in this last passage he does not refer strictly to the worship of angels but only deduces this by way of argument from the fact of their swearing by them.

And this is all! All, that is to say, that we know of the accusations brought by heathen and Christians against the Jews in the first four centuries to the effect that they worshipped angels! One passage, quoted indeed twice, from an obscure book, of which we know neither the date, nor with any certainty the place, much less its trustworthiness as a whole; one or two envenomed utterances of an unscrupulous opponent of all revealed religion, who did his best to play off Jew and Christian one against another, yet whose testimony as to the subject under discussion is disputed by the writer who quotes him; and one late witness at the very end of the period, who in the second of the two passages quoted is little more than rhetorical, and in the first shews no sign of possessing that first-hand acquaintance with facts which alone would make his testimony of value.

(c) Perhaps stronger evidence of the worship of angels is to be found in the admissions of Jews themselves in *purely Jewish books*. Let us now therefore turn to examine these.

οὺκ Ἰουδαϊκὸν μὲν τὸ τοιοῦτον, παραβατικὸν δὲ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ ἐστιν ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ προσκυνείν ἡλίῳ, καὶ σελήνη, καὶ ἄστροις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν.

1 'Conversus autem deus tradidit eos, ut colerent militiam coeli. Militia autem coeli non tantum sol appellatur, et luna, et astra rutilantia; sed et omnis angelica multitudo, eorumque exercitus... tradidit eos deus, ut servirent militiae coeli, quae nunc ab apostolo dicitur religio angelorum.'

² 'Iudaei per angelos et urbem Ierusalem et templum et elementa iurantes, creaturas resque carnales venerabantur honore et obsequio Dei.'

But a difficulty at once presents itself. We possess no purely Jewish evidence that is indubitably early. The literature, that is to say, written in Hebrew or Aramaic (of some kind) is in its present form not of so indubitably early a date that it can be used with absolute certainty. Also it must be noticed that in those parts of this literature that are considered to be the earlier there is less mention of the worship of angels than in those that are later.

In reply to this it has been urged that these later authorities may be, and in some cases professedly are, compilations from earlier works.¹ This is true, but when we are endeavouring to fasten certain religious practices upon Jews of a certain date, it is extremely inconvenient to be obliged to assume that the late evidence is in reality to be considered as early.

It is also asserted, with some degree of probability, that in any case the worship of angels belonged rather to the popular and lower side of Judaism than to its more educated and literary side, and that we do not find, as a historical fact, that the more popular and lower parts in any religion are often mentioned until they are seen to be distinctly at variance with the higher form, or until they are in a state of decay. And it is also asserted that it is just these popular forms of religion that are less liable to change than those followed by the higher and more educated classes. By these arguments the endeavour has been made to meet the difficulties arising from the fact that most of the Jewish witnesses for the worship of angels by the Jews are of later date than could be desired by the advocates of the opinion that such worship existed.

Let us then examine the strictly Jewish witnesses.

(a) Talm. Jerus. Berachoth ix 1 (p. 131):—

ר' יודן אמר משמיה דידיה בשר ודם יש לו פטרון. אם באת לו עת צרה אינו נכנ' אצלו פתאום. אלא בא ועמד לו על פתחו של פטרונו וקורא לעבדו או לבן ביתו והוא אומר איש פלוני עומד על פתח חצירך. שמא מכניסו ושמ' מניחו. אבל הב'ה אינו כן אם באת על אדם צרה לא יצווח לא למיכאל ולא לגבריאל אלא לי יצווח ואני עונה לו מיד הה'ד כל אשר יקרא בשם י' ימלט.

'R. Judan said in his own name, In human relations a man has a patron. If a time of trouble comes to him he does not come in suddenly to him, but he goes and stands at his patron's door, and calls to his slave or to one of his household, and the latter says, Such and such a man is standing at the door of thy courtyard. Perhaps he lets him in, and perhaps he lets him go! But the Holy One, blessed be

¹ Lueken Michael p. 3.

He! is not so. If trouble comes on a man he must not cry either to Michael or to Gabriel but he must cry to Me, and I answer him at once. That is what is written: Every one that calleth on the name of the LORD shall be delivered.'

Observe that here the worship of angels is not only forbidden, but is contemplated as a thing per se impossibile. The passage does not even contain a hint that such prayers were ever made. The suggestion indeed occurs, but only to bring out the utter absence of need of any such use of intermediates between man and the living God. It is very hard to see how this passage can be interpreted to mean that any Jews were accustomed to worship angels.

(β) Mechilta § 10 (beginning) on Ex. xx 23 (20), (p. 80b, ed. Weiss, 1865):-

לא תעשון אתי אלהי כסף ואלהי זהב רבי ישמעאל אומר דמות שמשיי המשמשיו לפני במרום. לא דמות מלאכים ולא דמות אפנים ולא דמות כרובים.

'Ye shall not make other gods with me, gods of silver and gods of gold.' R. Ishmael used to say, viz. 'a likeness of My servants who serve before Me, i.e. not the likeness of angels, and not the likeness ophanim, and not the likeness of cherubim.' Cf. Talm. Bab. Rosh haShanah 24b.

It will be observed that here also there is no express mention of The very making of such images was forbidden because of the worship to which they might lead.

(γ) The Targum of Jerusalem on the same passage:—

טמי בני ישראל לא תעבדון למסגוד דמות שמשא וסיחרא וכוכביא ומזליא ומלאכיא דמשמשין קדמוי דחלן דכסף ודחלן דדהב לא תעבדון לכוז.

'My people, the children of Israel! Ye shall not make, to worship. the likeness of the sun and of the moon and of the stars and of the planets and of the angels who serve before Me; idols of silver and gold ve shall not make you.'

Here, indeed, worship of angels is mentioned, but only to be excluded.

(δ) Talm. Bab. Abodah Zarah 42b. Mishna.

המוצא כלים ועליהם צורת חמה צורת לבנה צורת דרכון יוליכם לים חמלח רשב'ג אומר שעל המכובדיו אסוריו שעל המבוזין מותרין. Gemara.

למימר' דלהני הוא דפלחי להו למידי אחרינא לא, ורמינהו השוחט לשום ימים לשום נהרות לשום מדבר לשום חמה לשום לבנה לשום כוכבים ומזלות לשום מיכאל שר הגרול לשום שילשום קטן הרי אלו זבחי מתים.

Mishna. 'He who findeth vessels upon which is the image of the sun, or of the moon, or of the Dragon, let him cast them into the Salt Sea. R. Simeon, son of R. Gamaliel, saith, When they are on honourable vessels ("whose use is for honour," Rashi) they are forbidden; when on contemptible they are allowed.'

Gemara. It is possible to deduce from this that they (of the heathen) worship only these specified figures, and others they do not worship. But against this I would quote the following: 'He who sacrifices in the name of the seas, or of the rivers, or of the wilderness, or of the sun or of the moon or of the stars and planets, or of Michael the great prince, or of the small worm, lo, these are sacrifices of the dead.'

This passage shews that to the Jews of that time the worship of Michael (and presumably other angels) was as possible (neither less nor more) as that of parts of earth or the heavens. In other words it was a purely heathen practice, to which, of course, Jews were exposed. Hence they could not be too careful to avoid any occasion towards it by retaining in their possession beautiful objects upon which such figures were engraved. How it indicates that angel-worship existed among the Jews it is passing hard to see.

(e) Talm. Jer. Kiddushin 1 end (p. 61^d) on Job xxxiii 23, 24, speaks of angels pleading against or for a man according to his works, and urges that even if 999 are against him and only one for him he will be forgiven; nay, that even if in the pleadings by this one angel 999 of the points enumerated by him are against the man and only one is for him, he will still be forgiven. But there is no hint apparently of men praying to angels for intercession.¹

The same discussion is found also in Talm. Bab. Sabb. 32a, where, however, the advocates (פרקליטין) for the man are repentance and good works, and angels are hardly mentioned.

It is found also in *Pesikta Rabbathi* § 10 (ed. Buber p. 38b) more elaborately. But here the 'angel' of Job xxxiii 23 is considered to be in a special sense Moses.

Lueken² mentions a prayer for the Day of Atonement found in

¹ But in T. B. Sanhedrin 44 b, after speaking of Gabriel this is perhaps implied.

² loc. cit. p. 11. The prayer is not included in the modern Prayer-books, whether Ashkenazic (Warsaw, 1876), or Sephardic (Vienna, 1867). In the latter (Shaḥarith, p. 18^a) Ps. cxxxvi occurs with the name of an angel prefixed to each

Bartolocci Bibliotheca Rabb. i 192 ff., attributed to Eleazar Kalir (probably a Palestinian of the second half of the seventh century A. D.¹), and addressed to twenty-one angels in succession. He also quotes Zunz's translation of the prayer Maknise rachămim ² (Die Synagog. Poesie des Mittelalters pp. 148, 154), asking angels to take prayers to God. But this is of too late a date to weigh with us.

Lueken also says 3 that Michael is mentioned in a prayer by R. Juda ha-Chasid (i. e. presumably of Regensburg, who died in 12174).

It is more important that, according to Lueken's own shewing (p. 12, in part from Zunz), Nachmanides (1195–1270), Maimonides (1135–1204), Joseph Albo (1380–1444), and Abarbanel (1437–1508), are all opposed to such prayers. The last appears to state the case with perfect accuracy when he says (de Capite Fidei § 12), 'Non est dubium quin hic sit surculus idololatrarum, qui Deo superbiam tribuunt, ideoque ad mediatores preces suas direxerunt. Haec vero sententia permansit inter homines, et hodieque fovetur in fide Christianorum. Nos (sc. Iudaei) vero non sic iudicamus, sed preces ad Deum Dominum nostrum dirigimus, semper eum invocamus.' ⁵

The result therefore of our enquiry into the evidence for the Worship of Angels by the Jews generally would appear to be that although there has been among the Jews confessedly much speculation as to the nature and functions of angels, together with some belief in the intercession by angels for them, yet there is almost no evidence of the worship of them being recognized in early times by thoughtful Jews, save indeed in connexion with exorcism and magic.

In these cases observe that the *names* of angels are seen to be of primary importance.

ii. Yet it is evident that those Jews who lived at Colossae when St Paul was writing his Epistle were accustomed in some degree to worship angels. To what cause or causes then may we attribute this practice at that time and in that locality? They are probably both general and local.

verse (the rubric warning against all thought of worshipping the angels), but this is not a prayer but an invocation to praise. Cf. the Benedicite.

- 1 Jewish Encyclopaedia vii p. 418.
- ² To be found in Ashkenazic *Selichoth* (Vienna, 1870, p. 8^b); compare also the prayer *Malāke rachāmim ib.* p. 10^a.
 - ³ loc. cit. p. 11.
- ⁴ According to the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* vii p. 356 sq., the authenticity of the liturgical songs attributed to him is uncertain. Also 'it was really he who introduced theosophy among the Jews of Germany'.
 - ⁵ Quoted by Lueken loc. cit. p. 12.

- (a) General causes. Asia Minor was by geographical position, and still more by commercial intercourse, so closely connected with Persia, that it is probable that the beliefs and practices of Persia would spread to it. And Persia was confessedly the heir of the beliefs and practices of Babylonia.
- (a) We shall therefore hardly go wrong in seeing the influence of ancient Babylonian thought in this later worship of angels. And this in at least two directions. For the Babylonians of old worshipped sun and moon and planets, and also 'at an early period in the history of their religion', imagined 'a divine messenger or angel who carried the orders of the higher god from heaven to earth, and interpreted his will to men'.¹ Nebo was thus regarded as 'the angel or interpreter of the will of Merodach',² and of course was worshipped.
- (β) Whatever the relation of Parsism may be to the Babylonian religion, its doctrine of angels is much more elaborate and developed. Every power of nature, as well as every individual, and every nation, has its own angel.³ Not only the Jews (Dan. iv 17, x 13; Tob. xii 15) will have known, and to some degree accepted the doctrine, but also, it may be presumed, the inhabitants of many parts of Asia Minor.

But the Persians not only had an elaborate angelology; they also directly worshipped angels.

The Jews (and in particular those who lived in their native land) may have been protected from such worship to a great extent by the peculiar nature of their own religion, but other nations living under less favourable conditions would hardly escape its influence. It certainly would fall in extremely well with the animistic religion that prevailed in the greater part of Asia Minor.

(γ) But besides the influence of Persian thought, the Hellenism that was now spreading over Asia Minor would tend to promote such worship. Not indeed directly, but indirectly. For the philosophical thought of the time was inclined to lay increasing stress on the existence of one supreme God who was in reality far too exalted to have any contact with earth. On Greeks indeed the old polytheistic gods had lost their hold. They were regarded as taking, at the most, but little interest in the affairs of this world. But men needed to believe in something which could form a connecting link between themselves and the most high God, and they therefore readily came to believe in intermediate beings to which they gave the name of 'demons', i. e. semi-supernatural beings affecting everything. Thus while the thinkers laid

¹ Sayce Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia p. 361, cf. p. 496.

² Ibid. p. 456, cf. p. 496.

³ A succinct account may be seen in Dr J. H. Moulton's article on Zoroastrianism in Hastings D. B. iv p. 991.

VOL. X.

more stress upon the supreme God, the populace thought chiefly of the demons.

Thus Bp Davenant on Col. ii 18 says, 'Plato, in 4 De Legibus, prescribes that, after the tutelary gods, daemons are to be worshipped. And, in Epinomide, he says, that daemons ought to be worshipped because they hold the middle place between the gods and men; and discharge the office of interpreters: they are therefore to be worshipped yanv this εὐθύμου διαπορείας, for their propitious and happy intercession between God and men.' So Plutarch speaks of a threefold Providence, first the spirit and will of the original Godhead, secondly the gods of second rank, and thirdly the daemons. These last bring down gifts from above and carry up men's prayers.2 Again Maximus of Tyre (c. 150 A.D.), after speaking of the one supreme God, Creator and Ruler, source of all good, says that He cannot come into direct relation with the material and therefore evil world. Hence He needs the daemons, immortal beings dwelling between heaven and earth, mediators between human weakness and Divine omnipotence, each possessing his own sphere of activity and form of usefulness.³ statements of Apuleius Africanus (second century A.D.) are very similar.

Philo appears already to have taught something of the same kind, though his phrases are very difficult to reconcile with each other. Edersheim describes his teaching thus: 'When God would create the world, He recognized that there must be an ideal archetype of every work, and He formed the supersensuous world of ideas. But these ideas were not only models; they were also the productive causes, the potencies, which brought order into the material that existed, and to each thing its properties. The archetypal world then is also those invisible Potencies ($\delta vv \acute{a}\mu \epsilon vs$), which surround the Deity as His train, and by which He works in the world that which, owing to His separation from it, He could not otherwise have wrought. The Potencies are the viceregents of God, His legates, and intermediaries to things finite. . . . On the one hand, these "Potencies" were ministering spirits—what the Greeks called "demons", and Moses "angels" —and as such to be invoked. On the other hand they were "ideas", Potencies of which

¹ Allport's translation of Davenant, 1831, i p. 498.

² See Lucius Die Anfange des Heiligen Kults, 1904, p. 7, who refers to Plutarch's De fato 9; de defect. orac. 13; Isis and Osins 26.

³ Lucius op. cit. p. 8, who refers to Max. Tyr. Dissertt. xiv 8.

⁴ Lucius loc. cit., quoting from his De Deo Socrat. vi.

⁵ ταύτας δαίμονας μὲν οἱ ἄλλοι φιλύσοφοι, ὁ δὲ lepds λόγος ἀγγέλους εἴωθε καλείν προσφυεστέρφ χρώμενος ὀνόματι (De Somniis i 22 § 141, Wendland).

ους άλλοι, φιλόσοφοι δαίμονας, άγγέλους Μωυσης εἴωθεν ὀνομάζειν ψυχαὶ δ' εἰσὶ κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα πετόμεναι (De Gigant. 2 § 6, Wendland).

⁶ De Gigant. 4 § 16.

the higher always included the lower, and they existed only in the Divine thinking (*De Mundi Opif.* § 4). Besides, it was God Himself who in His Potencies was present in things.'1

(b) Local causes.

It is remarkable, and surely not accidental, that at a Council held so close to Colossae as Laodicea about 360 A.D. the worship of angels should be expressly forbidden. Canon 35, 'It is not right for Christians to abandon the Church of God and go away and invoke angels and hold conventicles; for these things are forbidden. If, therefore, any one is found devoting himself to this secret idolatry, let him be anathema, because he abandoned our Lord Jesus Christ and went after idolatry.' Similarly Theodoret complains (c. 425 A.D.), commenting on Col. ii 18 that 'this disease long remained in Phrygia and Pisidia. For this reason also a synod in Laodicea of Phrygia forbade by a decree the offering prayer to angels; and even to the present time oratories of the holy Michael may be seen among them and their neighbours'.3

The developement and persistence of angel-worship in this locality indicates a special cause, especially when we bear in mind the permanence of local superstitions under varying forms of religion. Nor is there in this case much room for doubt. The remarkable natural phenomena at and near Colossae must from remote ages have appealed to the human mind, and provided material to which both primitive and later religions could cling.

These phenomena are of two kinds:—

(a) Springs. 'The great road from the west (from Ephesus and from Miletus) ascends the Maeander Valley due eastwards, until it enters

¹ In Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Biogr.* iv p. 379. See also Schürer, E. T. II iii 371 sqq.

² Lightfoot's translation (Colossians p. 68). οὐ δεῖ χριστιανοὺς ἐγκαταλείπειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἀπιέναι καὶ ἀγγέλους ὀνομάζειν καὶ συνάζεις ποιεῖν, ἄπερ ἀπηγόρευται εἴ τις οὖν εὐρεθῆ ταύτη τῆ κεκρυμμένη εἰδωλολατρεία σχολάζων, ἔστω ἀνάθεμα, ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπε τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστύν, τὸν υἰὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ εἰδωλολατρεία προσῆλθεν.

³ Lightfoot's Coloss. p. 68 n. ἔμεινε δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος ἐν τῷ Φρυγία καὶ Πισιδία μέχρι πολλοῦ οὖ δὴ χάριν καὶ συνελθοῦσα σύνοδος ἐν Λαοδικία τῆς Φρυγίας νόμων κεκώλυκε τὸ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις προσεύχεσθαι καὶ μέχρι δὲ τοῦ νῦν εὐκτήρια τοῦ ἀγίου Μιχαὴλ παρ' ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς ὑμόροις ἐκείναν ἔστιν ίδεῖν. The original in these notes 3 and 4 is quoted from Lueken Michael p. 73. Ramsay Cities and Bishoprics p. 541, quotes an inscription (date not given but apparently not later than the fourth century) at Thiounta, which was subject to Hierapolis (though judging from Anderson's map some twenty miles north-east of it), κυριε βοηθι ΑλΑλΑ Μιχαηλ Ε Γαβριηλ ιστραηλ ραφαηλ. He adds 'five names of angels seem to be required to correspond to the five " $\mathbf{A}(\gamma \iota o s)$ '.

"the Gate of Phrygia". In the Gate 1 are a remarkable series of hot springs, and warm mud-baths, some in the bed of the Maeander, others on its banks.'2

- (β) There is at Colossae a narrow gorge through which the Lycus flows, and the Lycus itself appears to have most of its course underground, coming ultimately from lake Anava, some twenty miles east of Colossae, appearing near Dere Kelli, some five miles away from Colossae, then losing itself in the lake Kodja Bash, out of which it flows for about two miles before passing through the gorge.³
- (γ) These phenomena of hot springs, and a river issuing not very far away, from a cavern, together with the earthquakes to which the whole district is liable, might readily suggest to primitive minds directly Divine operation. Hence it is not remarkable that between Laodicea and the 'Gate of Phrygia', some thirteen miles west of Laodicea and in the territory of the city Attouda, lay a famous temple, the home of the Phrygian god Men Karou, the Carian Men, the original god of the valley. He seems to have later been identified with Poseidon, who is said to have made the hot springs at Laodicea, or with Zeus, and perhaps Asklepios, whose cult was bound up with that of the serpent, and even, as it seems, with Osiris-Serapis.

We have unhappily no direct evidence whereby to bridge over the interval between the heathen worship at or near Colossae and that of later times when we find Colossae-Chonae a centre of the worship of St Michael. The tradition, however, of St Michael's activity there is that the heathen had determined to overwhelm the Ayasma, or sacred fountain there, by the united waters of the rivers Lykokapros and Kouphos. 'But when they opened the dams and let the waters run into the new channel which they had cut to divert the rivers into the Ayasma, Michael himself came down to defend the holy fountain. He stood upon a rock beside the sanctuary, and, after bidding the waters stand still until they were as deep as the height of ten men, he caused the rock to open, and leave a path for the united streams to flow

¹ [Some thirty miles west indeed of Colossae itself. A. L. w.]

² Ramsay Letters to the Seven Churches p. 413; cf. Cities and Bishoprics pp. 2, 3.

³ See Ramsay Cities and Bishoprics pp. 209-211.

^{&#}x27;On this, the belief in Asia Minor generally, see Ramsay in Hastings D. B. vp. 119 ('The religion of Greece and Asia Minor').

⁶ Ramsay Letters to the Seven Churches p. 417; Cities and Bishoprics pp. 160, 414.

⁶ Lucius Die Anfänge des Heiligen Kults p. 268.

⁷ See Ramsay Letters to the Seven Churches p. 417

⁸ See Ramsay, Hastings v p. 118.

⁹ Lueken Michael p. 79.

through. And the rock split open with a noise like thunder and a shock as of an earthquake; and the waters flow through the cleft to the present day.'1

It seems probable that in this case, as in so many others, the Christian saint took over the traditional worship of a heathen deity, and that what was attributed to the saint had formerly been attributed to the god. If so we must suppose that in addition to general reasons for the worship of Men at or near Colossae there was this special reason, that he was supposed to have delivered the city in some great and sudden inundation.

- (8) Be this as it may there is ample evidence on the one hand that the local heathen deities enjoyed great respect at and near Colossae, and on the other that the worship of an Angel held a very high place there some centuries afterwards. It is only reasonable to suppose that in the intervening time, say about the time of St Paul, the inhabitants of Colossae and its neighbourhood were inclined to pay special honour to their local deities, and, while not able absolutely to close their ears to higher teaching brought either by Jews or by Christians, would be likely to admit any compromise by which they might still retain their old worship in a different form.
- (e) How far this would react upon the Jews in their midst is little more than a matter of speculation. It might be said a priori that the presence of heathen worship would make Jews only the more decided in the worship of the one true God, as apparently was the case during the Exile in Babylon. But on the other hand Jews have often shewn a certain amount of syncretism and may not have been disinclined, the more educated from philosophical and the poorer from superstitious motives, to attribute power to the deities whom their neighbours worshipped, but regarding these not in any sense as independent powers, but rather as beings wholly under the direction of the one God and acting in some sort as His intermediaries. The doctrine of the existence of such beings and of their use to men was already well known among Jews. It only needed certain local influences to draw them on to some sort of worship.

The result therefore of our investigation of the subject would appear to be, not that the Jews, or even the poorer classes of Jews, generally

¹ Ramsay The Church in the Roman Empire p. 470. According to a ninth-century legend published in 1890 by M. Bonnet used by Lucius, op. cit. p. 267, there was a famous spring at Chaeretopa, a place between Hierapolis and Colossae, but Ramsay has shewn (The Church in the Roman Empire pp. 468, 479) that this is due to a confusion of place with Chonae the city that succeeded to the traditions of Colossae. 'The real Keretapa is not far from the watershed of the Indos Valley.' In Anderson's map of Asia Minor it is called Ceretapa Diocaesareia and placed some thirty miles south-east of Colossae.

paid worship to angels, but that under certain conditions they might be tempted to do so, especially in attempts to ward off disease by the use of magic formulae.

Hence of the two theories; the first, that the worship of angels was at that time common among Jews, including such Jews as were not exposed to any specially foreign conditions and forms of thought, e.g. the Pharisaic party; the second, that it was only to be found among Tews in a few circles and these removed from more orthodox influences, the latter appears to be the more probable. In other words, not Dr Hort, but Bp Lightfoot, the more truly represents the matter. It is however to be observed that Bp Lightfoot's opinion is very frequently misunderstood, as though he derived the angel worship of Jews who lived at Colossae from Essene influence, the objection being evident that the Essenes lived chiefly only in the south-east of Palestine very far from Colossae in Asia Minor.² But his own words ought to have guarded his readers against such a misinterpretation. He says, 'When I speak of the Judaism in the Colossian Church as Essene, I do not assume a precise identity of origin, but only an essential affinity of type, with the Essenes of the mother country. As a matter of history, it may or may not have sprung from the colonies on the shores of the Dead Sea; but as this can neither be proved nor disproved, so also it is immaterial to my main purpose. All along its frontier, wherever Judaism became enamoured of and was wedded to Oriental mysticism, the same union would produce substantially the same results. In a country where Phrygia, Persia, Syria, all in turn had moulded religious thought, it would be strange indeed if Judaism entirely escaped these influences.'3

A. LUKYN WILLIAMS.

¹ Judaistic Christianity p. 122 'The worship of angels was assuredly a widely-spread Jewish habit of mind at this time'; p. 125 'In enquiring about the origin of the special form of Judaistic Christianity which was gaining ground among the Colossians, we are dispensed from the need of trying to discover for it any peculiar or extraneous sources. We are apparently on common Jewish ground,'

² Some, however, lived in many towns and villages in Judaea, and as it seems in 'Palestine and Syria', Philo *Quod omn. prob. lib.* 12 (cf. Josephus B. J. II viii 4).

³ Colossians pp. 94 sq.

THE LUCIANIC TEXT OF 1 KINGS VIII 53b.

ONE of the stock instances of the value of the Septuagint for restoring the original text of the Hebrew Bible is the addition which we find in the Greek attached to the end of I Kings viii 53, i.e. to the end of Solomon's dedicatory prayer. It consists of a fuller, though somewhat corrupt, form of the same speech that occurs in the Hebrew at 1 Kings viii 12, 13, i.e. prefixed to the beginning of Solomon's prayer. According to the Greek the passage is a quotation from the famous 'Book of Jashar', though the reference is a little obscured by a corruption in the Hebrew text that underlies the Greek. Naturally a piece of critical information so interesting as this has received plenty of attention from scholars: Cheyne (art. 'JASHER', Encycl. Bibl. 2334 b) quotes, besides Klostermann's note on the passage, Robertson Smith OTJC.² 434 sq. and Wellhausen CH.3 269, in addition to his own Bampton Lectures 193, 212, and Driver's Introduction 182. The passage appears to me to merit a rather more detailed discussion than it has hitherto received, especially as the generally accepted reconstruction of the Hebrew text involves a serious error, which leads to a misconception of the genesis of the 'Lucianic' text of the Septuagint, and of the value of that text for critical purposes. The following Note therefore will deal at some length with the passage, and also attempt to point out in what way our estimate of the Lucianic text is modified by the readings adopted.

I

The chief authorities for reconstructing I Kings (3 Regn.) viii 53^b are the Greek texts of B A and 'Lucian', together with the Masoretic text of I Kings viii 12, 13.

τότε ἐλάλησεν Σαλωμων ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἴκου ὡσ συνετέλεσεν τοῦ οἰκοδομῆσαι αὐτόν Ηλιον ἐγνώρισεν ἐν οὐρανῷ Κύριοσ εἶπεν τοῦ κατοικεῖν ἐν γνόφῳ οἰκοδόμησον οἶκόν μου οἶκον εὐπρεπῆ σεαυτῷ τοῦ κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ καινότητοσ οὐκ ἰδοὺ αὖτη γέγραπται ἐν βιβλίῳ τῆσ ψδῆσ;

Variants of B A Luc(ian): Σολομῶν Luc. ἐγνώρισεν] Β Α, ἔστησεν Luc. εἶπεν] pr. καὶ Luc. ἐν γνόφο Α Luc., εκνοφου Β ἐκπρεπῆ σαυτῷ Β κενότητοσ Α οὐκ ἰδοὺ] οὐχὶ Α

βίβλφ Α, ἐπὶ βιβλίου Luc.

The Hebrew of 1 Kings viii 12, 13 is אז אמר שלמה יהוה אמר לשכן בערפל: בָּנֹה בניתי בית וְבַל לְדָ מכון לשבחך עוֹלמים:

Only one of the Greek variations is important, viz. ἔστησεν for ἐγνώρισεν. All the others are mere slips, or stylistic changes character-

istic of the various texts. The insertion of καὶ before εἶπεν shews that 'Lucian' connects Κύριοσ with the preceding words. εκνοφογ for ενγνοφω must ultimately be a mere mistake, though probably the scribe of B was not the culprit, as the Ethiopic is said to support ἐκ νότου. For the Books of Kings οὖκ ἰδού, not οὖχί, is the regular formula, and ἐν βιβλίω is confirmed by the Vienna Latin Palimpsest in 3 Regn. xi 41, xvi 5, 14, though it represents על ספר

The process of retranslating the Greek into the Hebrew that it represents, and of thereby restoring the original Hebrew of the passage, is beset with one or two serious difficulties. If we are to arrive at a fairly sure result, it can only be attained by the slow process of consulting the Concordance.

 τ יסר בּלאמֹא σ פּי : see Josh. x 12, 1 Kings xi 7. The MT ot ver. 12 (או אטר) betrays the hand of the later adapter by the use of the perfect after או.

ώσ συνετέλεσεν = ισίσος; see 3 Regn. viii 54, 4 Regn. x 25.

εγνώρισεν—ἔστησεν. Wellhausen, followed by Robertson Smith, Cheyne and Driver, all regard the original Hebrew corresponding to this to have been τρι ' he set', so that the first line of the extract from the Book of Jashar runs 'Jahwe set the sun in the heavens'. γιση, so the theory goes, is preserved in the Lucianic text (ἔστησεν). But it was corrupted into γιση ' he understood', and translated ἐγνώρισεν in the Greek text represented by B and A. 'These two readings ἐγνώρισεν and ἔστησεν have no resemblance in Greek. But the corresponding Hebrew words are γιση από γιση του ποτη του

The bearings of this theory upon the assumed genesis of the Lucianic text will be discussed later. At this point it is sufficient to point out that it is wholly at variance with the usage of the Greek Bible. ἐστησεν might indeed stand for μολ, as in Isaiah xl 20, though it is dangerous to predicate anything for certain with regard to so colourless a word. But ἐγνώρισεν can have nothing to do with μολ; a glance at the Concordance is enough to shew that it must correspond to μοτη, as in 3 Regn. i 27 and about forty or fifty other passages. Between the two readings on internal grounds I venture to think it is not difficult to choose. ἐγνώρισεν makes no obvious sense, it is quite a peculiar word to use in this context, such a word as would naturally come to a translator mechanically translating a corrupt text he did not understand; ἔστησεν, on the other hand, is quite colourless, and might just as well

be an attempt to make some sort of meaning out of ἐγνώρισεν, as a real rendering of some Hebrew word. ἔστησεν might be an explanation of ἐγνώρισεν, while ἐγνώρισεν can hardly have arisen out of ἔστησεν. In any case μαί is not a really appropriate word for an ancient Hebrew poet to use of the sun, which visibly 'runs its course' from east to west.

Klostermann accepts $i\gamma\nu\omega\rho\iota\sigma\epsilon\nu$ and supposes it to correspond to vir, which he points vir, i.e. 'The sun is (or rather, will be) made known in heaven'. But the imperfect tense, which is essential to this pointing, is not suggested by the Greek, and would be exceedingly harsh. The general sense also is prosaic.

I venture to suggest that the הוריע attested by LXX is a corruption of הופיע 'to shine', a word especially used in connexion with a Theophany, e. g. Deut. xxxiii 2, Job xxxvii 15. I should like further to suppose that what underlies ἐγνώρισεν is not צֹיוֹן (perf.) but הוֹרַע (imperat.), and that Solomon says, 'Sun, shine forth in the heaven! Jahwe hath said He will dwell in the darkness—I have built Thee, O Jahwe, a House.' At least, we know that it would not be the only address to the Sun in the Book of Jashar (see Josh. x 12).

οικοδόμησον οικόν μου = בנה ביתי, a mistake for the MT בנה בנה ביתי was written defectively בניתי), and this led to the error found in the Greek, it makes it easier to believe that הורע—הופע was also written defectively.

בית בל B, εὐπρεπη A Lucian, may perhaps imply גוה, as in Job xviii 15: comp. 2 Regn. xv 25. But more probably οἶκον ἐκπρεπη (or εὐπρ.) is a guess at the meaning of בית ובל Modern scholars guess from this context and from Isaiah lxiii 15 that לבו means some kind of heavenly castle or abode. It occurs in Hab. iii 11 in connexion with the sun, so that its use seems appropriate here. Even if the Greek represented נוה, כוח כטום סוון be regarded as a gloss for the more poetical term בל בור מובל אורים.

דָּנִישְׁר ... דּיִּשְׁר בּיּבּר בּיִּשְׁר בּיִּשְׁר בּיִּשְׁר בּיִּשְׁר בּיִּשְׁר בּיִּשְׁר בּיִּשְׁר בּיִּשְׁר בּיִּשְׁר בּיִשְּׁר בּיִּשְׁר בּיִּשְׁר בּיִּשְׁר בּיִשְּׁר בּיִים בּיִישְׁר בּיִשְּׁר בּיִים בּיִישְׁר בּיִים בּיִישְׁר בּיִים בּיִים בּיִישְׁר בּיִים בּיִּים בּיִים בּיִים בּיִים בּיִים בּיִים בּיִים בּיים בּייִים בּייִים בּייִים בּייִים בּייִים בּייִים בּייִים בּיים בּייִים בּייִיים בּייִים בּייִים בּייִים בּייִים בּייִיים בּייִיים בּייִים בּייים בּי

¹ It is of course possible that the MT is wrong in Josh. x 13 and 2 Sam. i 18, and that the true name of the 'Book of Jashar' was the 'Book of Song': see Hastings DB. sub voc.



reference to the 'Book of Jashar' has been cut out, a fact that betrays the work of a conscious editor. Moreover, מכון לשכתך suggests a patch from Exod. xv 21: the editor's methods are Paitanic.¹

When we come to try and reconstruct the Hebrew underlying the LXX we are met with insuperable difficulties. No doubt the phrase at the end corresponds to הלא היא כחובה על ספר הישר 'Is it not written in the Book of Jashar?' exactly as in Josh. x 13. But τοῦ κατοικεῦν is without a suffix, and certainly without prefixed. And ἐπὶ καινότητοσ is a real crux: I do not see how it can be equated with y. Wellhausen and his followers regard ἐπὶ καινότητοσ as a rendering of עלמים 'youth', but ἐπί must stand for y, and then we have only -left. And even if we emend καινότητοσ into νεότητοσ, and suppose this corresponds to υξίαια Job xx 11 Theod.), we have yet to account for ἐπί.

The general sense is, that Solomon claims for the new Temple not that it will be the continuous home of Jahwe, but that it will be His abode when He comes to meet His worshippers at the stated Feasts. In early times the New Moon was the regular occasion for sacrifice, for the meeting between Jahwe and His people as represented by king and court. This is clear from 1 Sam. xx. Jahwe and His people met month by month, and they might hope to find Him in His Temple. Hosea indeed draws a picture of Israel coming with flocks and herds and not finding Jahwe after all. The New Moon would see their cattle slaughtered, but they would get no benefit (Hosea v 6, 7). In the passage before us, if the general sense be what I suppose, Solomon expresses his confidence that Jahwe will deign to visit the House he has

¹ See Taylor-Schechter The Wisdom of Ben Sira p. 21 f.

built for Him whenever the monthly Feast was held—perhaps also, if לשבח does after all refer to the Sabbath, at the weekly sacrifice, which may very well have been from the first a feature of the more elaborate ritual of the royal Temple at Jerusalem (see 2 Kings xi 5, 7).

In any case the extract from the 'Book of Jashar' refers to the coming down of Jahwe Himself in cloud to take possession of the new Sanctuary, as related in I Kings viii 10, 11. The thunder-cloud descends, darkening the sun and driving away the ministering priests. But the King perceives it is Jahwe entering His Temple: Sinai is in the Sanctuary (Ps. lxviii 18). And so he cries out, as the Cloud gathers itself into the Holy of Holies

'Sun, shine forth in heaven!

Jahwe hath said He will dwell in darkness';
then addressing Jahwe he continues

'I have indeed built Thee a celestial Palace,
For Thy dwelling at the New Moon Feasts'—

or, according to a possible reconstruction,

'For Sabbaths and for New Moon Feasts'.

II

With whatever hesitation we may conjecturally restore the original Hebrew text of Solomon's invocation, I venture to think I have shewn that there is no real evidence for the theory that the 'Lucianic' text of it attests a different Hebrew from that implied by Cod. B. On general grounds this conclusion has an important bearing on the character of the Lucianic recension, and indeed of the whole series of variants in the MSS of the Old Testament in Greek. At first sight the mass of variation, both of single MSS and of larger groups, presents a bewildering maze. But when we come to consider what these Greek variations represent in Hebrew, it is surely evident that there can only be two rival readings at the most, and one of these rival readings must be identical with the Masoretic text. There is no room for what Westcott and Hort called 'ternary variations'.

This conclusion does not seem to be always admitted, but I do not see how we can evade it. How, in fact, could more than one genuine alternative to the Masoretic Hebrew have been transmitted? Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion and the other fragmentary translations used by Origen, all attest the consonantal text approved by Akiba and the Rabbis; the genuine 'LXX', on the other hand, is a translation of such Hebrew texts as were available in Ptolemaic Egypt. It is, of course,

conceivable that these texts differed among themselves, were separately translated or used for revision, and that fragments both of revised and of unrevised Greek texts uncontaminated by Hexaplar assimilation to the Masoretic standard have survived to the present day in our MSS. But this chain of possibilities is highly improbable, and nothing but a number of clear instances could justify us in believing in its realization.

Now of all the instances cited, Wellhausen's theory of ἐγνώρισεν—ἔστησεν in 3 Regn. viii 53^b seemed the most convincing. Here we had, according to the theory, a real ternary variation. There was (1) the true text βολ, attested by Lucian; (2) the palaeographical corruption, attested by B; and (3) simple omission of the whole phrase, attested by MT. On this theory the value of 'Lucian' was, genealogically, very great; it had preserved ἔστησεν from Ptolemaic times. B also had preserved ἐγνώρισεν unchanged from Ptolemaic times: both readings were (on this hypothesis) literal translations of pre-Masoretic Hebrew variants.

But, as we have seen, the theory breaks down and ἔστησεν turns out to be nothing more than an attempt to make sense of ἐγνώρισεν, without reference to the Hebrew. We are left simply with two readings, viz. the Masoretic omission of a corrupt phrase and the Greek retention of it. In this particular instance it appears that B is stolidly faithful to the original LXX, while Lucian gives a plausible correction of it, 'sensible and feeble'.'

Not that the Lucianic text is not often exceedingly useful in helping us to restore the original text of the LXX, especially in places where the genuine Old Latin version is no longer extant. But wherever 'Lucian' has a better text than B or A, it does not mean that both B and 'Lucian' preserve Ptolemaic variants, it means that B has a stupid blunder or that it has been corrupted from the Hexapla. Not unfrequently, of course, all our Greek MSS, including B and A and 'Lucian', have been corrupted from the Hexapla, and the true LXX is either lost altogether or survives only in Latin. But I do not think we ought ever, without the strongest internal evidence, to assume the existence of two rival Hebrew variants to the Masoretic Hebrew. If such variants can really be produced, it is time to revise prevailing theories about the history of the text of the Canonical Books in post-Maccabaean times. Naturally I am speaking of real variations, not the kind of 'various readings' which are attested in the collations of Kennicott and de Rossi.

A couple of instances will make what I mean clearer.

2 Regn. xxiv 5-7.

¹ See Hort's Introduction § 187.

These verses describe Joab's journey round the frontiers of David's realm. As so often in the case of geographical passages, the text has been variously corrupted. But the Lucianic text in ver. 6 has $\epsilon i\sigma \gamma \hat{\eta} \nu$ Xεττιειμ Καδησ, i. e. אל ארץ החתים קרשה 'to the land of the Hittites, to Kadesh', where the MT has אל ארץ החתים הדשי 'to the land of Tahtimhodshi'. The excellence of the Lucianic text is all the more striking, as both B and A give no help. B has $\epsilon i\sigma \tau \hat{\eta} \nu$ (sic) $\theta a \beta a \sigma \omega \nu \tilde{\eta} \epsilon \sigma \tau \nu \nu$ αδασαι, and A has $\epsilon i\sigma \gamma \hat{\eta} \nu \epsilon \theta a \omega \nu$ αδασαι. Thus the reading of B is not only nonsense; at first sight it looks like nonsense which is different from the nonsense of the Masoretic Hebrew.

And yet I believe that the texts of A and B in this passage are nothing more than a bungling attempt to revise the ancient Greek rendering (preserved here fairly well in 'Lucian') by means of the Hexapla. The hand of the reviser in B is clear in the preceding verse. where he translates by φάραγξ instead of χειμάρρουσ. γειμάρρουσ is in 'Lucian' here, and this is the rendering found elsewhere in the LXX of these books; φάραγξ for belongs to Symmachus and Theodotion, as may be seen from 1 Regn. xvii 40. Similarly, in ver. 4 καὶ παρενέβαλον (BA) is suspicious, because it represents the MT reading ייחנו; the genuine LXX is no doubt preserved by 'Lucian', which has καὶ ἤρξαντο, i. e. יחלו. Thus in the passage where 'Lucian' preserves the interesting and doubtless genuine reference to the land of the Hittites and to Kadesh on the Orontes, the text of the other LXX authorities, i.e. B and A, exhibits clear marks of corruption from the later Jewish trans-In the process scribes and editors ignorant of Hebrew corrupted the foreign names so much that they now produce the appearance of independence, but this independence of the MT is confined to the foreign names.1 There is no real ternary variant here; the fact is simply that in 2 Regn. xxiv 5-7 the text of A and B is not the text of the old Greek translation, commonly called the Septuagint, and the text of 'Lucian' does represent the text of the old Greek translation.

4 Regn. xv 10.

καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἐν Ιεβλααμ 'Lucian', i.e. Shallum smote King Zachariah, son of Jeroboam II, in Ibleam. Here MT has ναὶ το 'and he smote him before [the] people'; B has καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν $K_{\epsilon}\beta\lambda\alpha\alpha\mu$, A adds καὶ $K_{\epsilon}\beta\lambda\alpha\alpha\mu$ to the preceding clause, and goes on καὶ ἐπάταξαν αὐτὸν κατέναντι τοῦ λαοῦ, a manifest doublet.

In this case also the Lucianic text does us a signal service by preserving the true text, but again there is no ternary variant in Hebrew. B as usual stumbles over the name *Ibleam* (in 4 Regn. ix 27 it gives us $\epsilon \kappa \beta \lambda \alpha \alpha \mu$), and possibly nothing more is wrong with its text than the

¹ Apart from such further blunders as B's THN for THN.

accidental dropping of en after ayton, and KEB- written for IEB-. More probably, however, in view of the doublet in A, the explanation of the mistake is to be found as usual in an attempt to correct a real or supposed error by means of the Hexapla, and that סבלעם (the Hebrew corruption of an original ביבלעם) was translated Κεβλααμ by Theodotion and κατέναντι τοῦ λαοῦ by Aquila. B then gives us the LXX mended by Theodotion. A gives us the LXX mended by Theodotion plus Aquila, while 'Lucian' has escaped altogether in this particular instance.

But this is a very different thing from regarding B and Lucian as two texts that have come down from pre-Origenian times, each preserving Hebrew readings independent of the Masoretic, or rather we should say 'later Palestinian', Hebrew text. Our Greek authorities can only attest one variant to the later Palestinian Hebrew text, and they can only do this by preserving the text which lay before the Ptolemaic translators. The reason that this is not always self-evident to those who discuss readings 'attested by the Septuagint' is that very few scholars have realized till lately the terrible extent to which the text of B is disfigured by unskilful sporadic correction from the Hexapla.

F. C. BURKITT.

LITURGICAL COMMENTS AND MEMORANDA.

CIRCUMSTANCES, which it is unnecessary to explain here, have induced me to think that it may be of use to offer to the readers of the Journal of Theological Studies a series of notes embodying passing notions or slight items of enquiry relating to liturgical questions; notes not regular, perhaps, but only intermittent; sometimes in the briefest form, but sometimes a dissertatiuncula. It is now more than forty years since the subject of Liturgy attracted my attention; much material, whatever its quality, has accumulated on my hands; the more so inasmuch as, perhaps in some measure by a natural disposition to what the Moralists call 'curiosity', I have been disposed rather to listen and learn than to write and teach. The material in question consists of hasty, if somewhat lengthy, pencillings in the margins or flyleaves of books made in the course of reading them; or a more formal examination, entered in note-books, of points as to which doubts suggested themselves to me that seemed not to have occurred to the authors. All these, with the mind that gave them birth and gives them a certain unity, may still be understood; but in a moment that cannot be distant

these notes, these comments, these memoranda, will become for the most part simply unintelligible. I propose, then, if circumstances be favourable, to utilize a few of them in these pages. It must not be imagined that I have any thought of thrusting on the readers of this Journal a selection from the undigested contents of a now long and varied line of old note-books. By no means. Hitherto, as is elsewhere remarked, everything I have done has been 'accidental'. This will, I trust and think, be the case in the projected series too. Although, doubtless, old stores will be utilized, each item will, I anticipate, be suggested, caused, by something new, a book, an enquiry, a chance remark in some current periodical.

This method, however, has doubtless its drawbacks, and the everlasting 'I' will, it is to be feared, be quite unduly prominent; and the more so that in anything I may write here the main interest, the main object, with me is to make it, if possible, more easy for others, here or there, at one point or another, to look into things for themselves. Whatever be the certainty of assurance I may actually entertain as to the justness of conclusions or the rightness of views that may be indicated, I would wish them ordinarily to take the form of a personal opinion and nothing more, the actual justness, or otherwise, of which only time and the work also of others can shew.

There is another difficulty. If I am to write thus at all, it must be in an informal way, rapidly as the phrase may happen to run off the pen, degenerating possibly sometimes even into the tone of a mere chat or gossip as the mood of the moment may dictate. To exercise over these intermittent trifles the austere control of elaborated revision would simply make them cease to be what they are and were intended to be. I see then how easily it is possible to fail in pleasing. But in such circumstances I will readily, willingly, lay down the pen. For a time, a stage, comes in life when it is not so hard to recognize how silence (with contentment) may be great gain.

I

In a paper on 'The Litany of Saints in the Stowe Missal' printed in this JOURNAL in October 1905 (vii p. 124) attention was called to the order of suffrages: 'John (the Baptist), (the Blessed Virgin) Mary', in the diptychs of the Stowe Missal and in the Litany of Saints in the MS Reg. 2 A xx; and I had to say: 'The case is, in both diptychs and litanies, so far as I can find, unique.' Already in the spring of 1907, the state of things thus indicated could mean no more than a state of ignorance; and a parallel could be produced which may possibly prove to come from a region familiar to us in England who so greatly

and justly revere Archbishop Theodore; I mean Antioch on the Orontes.

In Oriens Christianus v p. 178 sqq. was printed a Syriac anaphora drawn up by the (Jacobite) patriarch Cyriac of Nisibis (A.D. 793-817). As to the character of this piece a few words will be said later. The following is the passage of the Intercession that is of interest for the immediate purpose:

'As therefore the power of life and of death is Thine, O Lord, do Thou remember also those who from the beginning were of renown before Thee, the fathers, patriarchs, prophets and apostles, martyrs and confessors, preachers, evangelists, John, the voice and forerunner of Thy Word, and Stephen the first (principis) of the deacons and martyrs, and the altogether holy and blessed Mother of God Mary, and all saints, and make us sharers,' &c. (p. 191).

Here, then, is an order strictly 'historical' (the determinant of which is the date of death), and yet more fully exhibited than in our two insular documents mentioned above, seeing that St Stephen is in them ranged after the apostles and evangelists and at the head of the list of martyrs, i. e. in order of dignity. What are we to say as to this little problem: a feature that is in any case most striking, and all but unique, found on the one hand in the diptychs of remote Ireland in the West, on the other in the East in remote Nisibis?

I have not seen or read any remarks on the anaphora-text of the patriarch Cyriac beyond those of its editor, who is disposed to see in it traces of 'Old-Antiochene' influence. In cases of this kind we have to make our way by help of conjectures that are for the most part hardly more substantial than mere shadowy reflexions. Still, the impression the document makes upon me is much the same as that which it seems to have made upon its editor. At any rate this anaphora of Cyriac of Nisibis would appear to be one of those composed (like 'Chrysostom' in regard to 'Basil') by way of reaction against liturgical elaboration and parade, whether in ideas or in forms of expression; betokening at least some effort after simplicity, and perhaps a falling back in some measure on ancient forms. Again, the item in the Intercession, 'Memento Domine presbyterorum et diaconorum et των ὑποδιακόνων, lectorum, psaltarum, ascetarum et laicorum' . . . (p. 192), curiously recalls the Clementine liturgy (Brightman L. E. W. 21. 31, 21. 1). Were a Nestorian liturgy in question there might be some opening for the suggestion that the order: John, Stephen, Mary, was due to the Nestorian tenets. But the document is an anaphora of the Monophysite Church. This striking order (unique so far as at present appears in the East) would seem to be most naturally accounted for on

the supposition that it is copied from some more ancient (and, in accordance with what is said above, presumably Old-Antiochene) liturgical form.

If the diptychs order: John, Stephen, Mary, was that anciently existing in the liturgy of the truly Apostolic Church of Antioch on the Orontes, it would not be hard to gather how such Syrian order came to be adopted in Ireland, seeing the peculiar character of Irish learning and Irish devotionalism in the seventh century, so readily receptive of new, and especially strange, things.1 The foregoing considerations go to enforce the need of devoting much more attention than has hitherto been given to the liturgical influence of the 'Syrians' in Western Europe (cf. J. T.S. viii p. 293 n. 1); an influence exercised especially in the sixth and seventh centuries, contemporaneously with Byzantine influences. So far as these latter are concerned, their recognition, in general terms, has become almost a commonplace with the liturgists. But what is of importance is to identify in detail the particular features that are of this late introduction into our native western rites. I believe that many features of our earliest extant liturgy books of the West (and very especially the Gallican and Mozarabic), that have been referred to a primitive tradition, and are readily allowed in the Liturgical Schools to pass in this guise, will, when due investigation is made, be found to be really due to these two later currents of influence.

Perhaps it may be as well to add that I do not think our Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus is either directly, or indirectly, responsible for the particular order: 'John, Mary' found in the Stowe Diptychs, and the litany of MS Reg. 2 A xx.

EDMUND BISHOP.

1 It may be proper to recall here what was said (J.T.S. vii p. 136) as to the identity of the order of names of Apostles in the Liturgy of St James, and the Stowe diptychs. Since that passage was written the Vatican MS referred to (Gr. 2282) has been printed. It appears from internal evidence that, whatever be the age of the MS itself, it affords an actual text-recension that dates from some time between the later years of the seventh century and the later years (or, more probably, the middle) of the eighth (see the remarks of Drs A. Baumstark and Schermann Oriens Christianus iii, 1903, pp. 215, 218-219). The order of Apostles in this recension is the same as that found in the MSS already in print, among which the oldest text-recension, as fixed by internal evidence, is of the second half of the tenth century (see Brightman Litt. E. and W. pp. xlix-li).

REVIEWS

TRACTATUS DE EPITALAMIO AND TRACTATUS ORIGENIS.

It has been a burden on my conscience for the past two years that I have not noticed a remarkable study by Dom Wilmart, which appeared in the Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique of the Toulouse Institut Catholique, Oct.—Nov. 1906. My excuse must be that it is now with extreme difficulty I find time for work of the kind, the hours I can give to it being truly horae subsecivae. However, an article in the current number of the Revue Bénédictine, by Abbé Lejay, has brought it home to me that I must delay no longer.

The title of Dom Wilmart's article is Les 'Tractatus' sur le Cantique. In it he calls attention to a little-known volume of anecdota from Spanish libraries entitled Bibliotheca Anecdotorum, edited by Gotthold Heine, and published at Leipzig by Weigel in 1848. Among the pieces that make up this volume is a series of five Tractatus on the Cantica Canticorum (I-III 4). It is edited from three Spanish MSS of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. In these MSS the Tractatus stand among works of Gregory the Great, and one MS in the incipit expressly attributes them to him; but the explicit of the same MS runs 'Explicit explanatio beati Gregorii Eliberritani episcopi in Canticis Canticorum'.

There seems to be no prima facie reason for questioning the truth of this latter attribution; these *Tractatus* are manifestly not by Gregory the Great, and the community of name sufficiently explains how they came to be attributed to him—one of the MSS begins: 'Incipit Epitalamium Gregorii'—and affords a positive argument in support of their attribution to his namesake of Eliberis.

Wilmart prints the first of these *Tractatus* in full, and considerable passages from the others. He accompanies the text with a formidable array of 'parallelisms' from the *Tractatus Origenis*, with the view of establishing community of authorship for the two sets of *Tractatus*. The resemblances lie in the biblical text, in similarity of thought and expression in various contexts, and in the employment of single words and phrases. Reserving till a later point certain criticisms on the method employed, I say at once that I accept the argument as a whole, and consider that Wilmart has proved his point, and that the two sets of *Tractatus* must be taken as the work of the same author. This conclusion I was prepared to accept when the article first appeared two

¹ Oct. 1908.

years ago; since then I find that such competent judges as Krüger,' Morin,² Jülicher,³ and Lejay 'regard this position as established.

So that, if reliance be placed on the explicit of the MS of the Tractatus in Cantica—and no intrinsic reason can be alleged for doubting it—Gregory of Eliberis is to be accepted as the author of the Tractatus Origenis as well.

This Gregory was bishop of the Spanish see of Eliberis or Elvira, the modern Granada, during the second half of the fourth century. In the controversies of the time he was an adherent of Lucifer of Cagliari. St Jerome in the article devoted to him in *De Viris Inlustribus* (105) says he was still alive in 392, in extreme old age. The passage runs: 'Gregorius Baeticus, Eliberi episcopus, usque ad extremam senectutem diversos mediocri sermone *Tractatus* composuit, et *De Fide* elegantem libellum: qui hodieque superesse dicitur.' ⁵

Thus it seems that at last the *Tractatus* of Gregory of Eliberis, or some of them, have been recovered and identified. Is it possible to identify his book *De Fide?* A treatise entitled 'De Fide orthodoxa contra Arianos' exists, which in early and recent times has been attributed to a variety of authors.

Some of the MSS bear St Ambrose's name, and the treatise has been printed among his works; in later editions among the Spuria, for it certainly is not his.⁶ At an early date it circulated in a body of Latin pieces attributed to St Gregory Nazianzen, said to have been translated by Rusinus. There can be no doubt that St Augustine knew this attribution, for in *Ep.* 148 he refers to it as being by 'Gregorius sanctus episcopus orientalis'.⁷ But it has long been recognized that the *De Fide* must be taken as a work of Latin origin. In later times Chifflet assigned it to Vigilius of Thapsus, alleging what Tillemont describes as 'bien de méchantes raisons's; and Dom Rivet to Foebadius of Agen.⁹ The claim of Vigilius is quite given up; that of Foebadius has found considerable support until our own day, though it was shewn to lack solid foundation by Florio in a rare dissertation, published at Bologna in 1789; the argument has been summarized and reinforced by Dom Morin.¹⁰

- ¹ Theologischer Jahresbericht, 1906, p. 351. ² Revue Benedictine, 1907, p. 192.
- ³ Theologische Literaturzeitung, 1908, col. 77.
- 1 Revue Bénédictine, 1908, pp. 435 sqq.
- ⁵ The last clause undoubtedly refers to Gregory himself, not to the Libellus de Fide.
 - 6 Migne Patr. Lat. xvii, from the Benedictine ed.
- ⁷ Tillemont points out that in *Contra Iul.* (Lib. i c. 5) Augustine refers in the same way to Gregory Naz.
 - Mémoires ix 727.

- 9 Histoire litteraire de la France i 2.
- 10 Revue Bénédictine, 1902, p. 229.

Ouesnel and Tillemont 1 attributed the De Fide to Gregory of Eliberis, and this view was forcibly urged by Florio in the aforesaid dissertation,2 and by Duchesne and Morin in our own day. These writers had to base their view on the following considerations:—(1) the book bore the same title as that by Gregory of Eliberis mentioned by St Jerome; (2) the community of name would afford the best explanation of the early attribution to Gregory Nazianzen; (3) the congruity of its contents with the time and the circumstances of Gregory of Eliberis. These considerations could not amount to more than a probability. But now that other works of Gregory of Eliberis are known, we have at our disposal materials that render possible a positive proof. These materials Wilmart has utilized to such effect, that, in my judgement, and in the judgement of the other critics who have expressed themselves on his presentation of the case, he has marshalled an array of arguments, which, taken all in all, are enough to justify the conclusion that the De Fide is by the same author as the Tractatus, and consequently is to be adjudged finally to Gregory of Eliberis.

Lejay, in the article several times referred to,³ brings out the most salient points of the case; he shews, too, from St Jerome's usage that the differences of style and manner between the *Tractatus* and the *De Fide* correspond to the two epithets—'mediocri sermone' and 'elegantem librum'—which he applies to them respectively.

Readers of the JOURNAL may remember that on former occasions I have dealt in these pages with the problems that encompass the authorship of the so-called Tractatus Origenis (J. T. S. Oct. 1900, Jan. 1901, July 1905). In the first of these 'Notes and Studies' I called attention to the fact-already, I learn, signalized by Grandmaison in the *Études* of July of the same year—that there are a series of identical passages in Tractatus III and Rufinus's Latin translation of Origen's Homilia VII on Genesis. In the Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft (1903), and in the third of the 'Notes' in these pages, I printed alongside of each other the full texts of the most considerable of these parallel passages, and I insisted on the point that it is impossible to suppose that the piece in Rufinus can have been based on that in the Tractatus. I still maintain that any one who examines carefully the two texts, with a mind unprepossessed by a theory, will arrive at this conclusion. This view was accepted by Dom Morin, though apparently subversive of a thesis he had defended; by Prof. M. Schanz 5; by Dom

¹ Memoires ix 727.

² De S. Gregorio Illiberitano, Bologna, 1789.

^{3 &#}x27;L'Héritage de Grégoire d'Elvire' (Revue Benédictine, Oct. 1908).

¹ Revue Bénédictine, 1902, p. 226.

⁵ Geschichte der römischen Litteratur iii2 424.

de Bruyne, who reinforced it by some telling considerations1: it is accepted by Dom Wilmart himself as being 'd'une brutalité presque écrasante'2; and once again by Dom Morin 3 and by Abbé Lejay,4 in giving their adhesion to Wilmart's argument. Consequently the view taken by Jülicher, and mistakenly attributed by him to Wilmart, that Rufinus in this place copied the Tractatus, 5 is inadmissible. ever be the explanation, the passage of Rufinus is still a difficulty in the way of Gregory of Eliberis's authorship of the Tractatus. suggests that there is behind the passages of the Tractatus and the Homily a common source, perhaps a piece by Victorinus of Pettau, incorporated by both Gregory and Rufinus.6

Lejay's suggestion (loc. cit.) is: 'Tout se réduit à la question de l'originalité des traductions de Rufin.' In my first article I had put forward as a possible, though less likely hypothesis, that 'Rufinus and the Tractator may have made independent use of some earlier Latin translation of portions of Origen'. This suggestion is raised above the level of pure hypothesis by the fact that I had already in that article established the fact that Tractatus I presents certain definite points of contact with Origen, doubtless in a Latin dress; and the proof has been commonly accepted by scholars who have investigated the question. As the conditions of the problem have changed, this suggestion (in itself certainly the less probable) may be received, as affording an exodus from an apparent impasse.

Neither Wilmart, nor Lejay, nor Morin himself seems to consider it necessary to face the argument of the last named in proof of the position that a passage in *Tractatus IX* is derived from Gaudentius of Brescia; yet that argument was very cogent.8 It must be left as an unexplained outstanding difficulty; for the suggestion that here again we are in the presence of an unknown source, used by Gregory and Gaudentius, has nothing intrinsic to recommend it.

However, positions have sometimes to be accepted in spite of outstanding difficulties; and in this case I recognize that the balance of evidence is at present, thanks to Dom Wilmart, in favour of the claim of Gregory of Eliberis to the authorship of the two sets of Tractatus as well as of the De Fide. Accordingly I withdraw my former contentions that the Tractatus Origenis must be posterior to Rufinus and Gaudentius, and will find their level among the anonymous Latin writings of the fifth and sixth centuries. On the other hand, it is to be hoped that

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1 Revue Bénédictine, 1906, p. 172.
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³ Revue Bénédictine, 1907, pp. 192-193.

⁵ Theologische Literaturzeitung, 1908, col. 77.

⁷ J. T. S. ii 121.

See my third article, J. T. S. July 1905.

² Bulletin (ut supra), p. 264.

¹ Ibid. 1908, p. 445.

⁶ Bulletin p. 265.

no more will be heard of their attribution to Novatian—surely one of the most curious episodes of modern patristics.

It may be remembered that at any early stage of the discussion Dom Morin attributed the *Tractatus Origenis* to Gregory of Eliberis. But this was only *per accidens*, as part of a great combination that made him the author of half a dozen works.¹ The edifice gradually crumbled away, and was frankly abandoned by its constructor, except in regard to the *De Fide*. It now turns out that in regard to the *Tractatus Origenis* the attribution was right; but it was arrived at, not by 'intuition' or 'divination', but by mistaken method, for the reasons were no better in this case than in the others.

And now, having accepted Dom Wilmart's thesis, I venture to make certain criticisms on his method.

- (1) The first point is the manner in which he applies the current linguistic argument to prove identity of authorship, first between the two sets of Tractatus, and then between them and the De Fide. I have already expressed myself on the general subject in the second and third of the articles in the JOURNAL; and I now offer my criticism with the more confidence in that Lejay also considers that a great quantity of the material Wilmart has piled up is valueless, and indeed obscures the He says: 'Les matériaux accumulés par Dom Wilmart sont déjà presque trop nombreux. Deux ou trois rapprochements, bien solides, valent mieux qu'une poussière de détails discutables.' 2 One is compelled again and again to ask, Can there be any significance in the employment of such expressions as ut sciatis; eo quod; et ceteri; et ideo; quod quidem; ut dixi; inquam; quid quod; hac de causa; retro; manifestum est: or in Cantica Canticorum, vetus Testamentum; apud Graecos; vetus homo; caeleste regnum; unde apostolus; in saeculo; ex persona: or in the employment of obvious texts from Scripture? It is not too much to say that fully half-perhaps three-fourths-of the material collected by Wilmart as indications of identity of authorship are devoid of probative force. The method, as applied in his article, is radically unsound; and the proof that it is so is supplied by the fact that, certain striking exceptions apart, the great bulk of Wilmart's linguistic proof that the Tractatus Origenis are by Gregory of Eliberis is not a whit more cogent or valid than was Weyman's similar proof that they are by Novatian.3
- (2) The second criticism I have to make on Dom Wilmart's method is concerned with the argumentation developed on pp. 266-268, where

¹ See my second article, J. T. S. Jan. 1901.

² Rev. Bén. 1908, p. 437; cf. detailed criticisms, pp. 438-439.

³ Archiv für latein. Lexicographie xi 554-570; cf. my second article, J. T. S. Jan. 1901.

455

he arrives at the conclusion, on the ground of internal criteria, that the Tractatus Origenis were written in the third quarter of the fourth century, 'un peu raccourci en avant, un peu prolongé en arrière'—i.e. about 360 to 385;—and that the author received his theological formation between the years 350 and 360, and probably was not then a very I hold that it is impossible on such considerations as manner of scriptural exegesis, and theological standpoint and outlook. and general spirit and style, to determine that a work was written in the third quarter of the fourth century rather than in the first quarter of the fifth: while to attempt to decide the decade in which an unknown writer received his theological formation is a task that has again and again been shewn to be beyond the powers of the most scientific scholarship. There is no need to go beyond the story of the Tractatus themselves in order to be convinced of the insecurity of such criticism. The first experts who expressed themselves on the new find were prepared to receive the Tractatus as substantially translations of Origen; next, some scholars of first rank discerned in the Tractatus the theology and spirit and style of Novatian, and proclaimed him their author, and a book has been written in support of this thesis; another has said, 'not Novatian, but a Novatianist a generation later—at any rate ante-Nicene' One scholar has seen indications that they were composed in Spain in the second half of the fourth century, another that they were composed in Northern Italy in the fifth. Probably Bardenhewer exhibited not only prudence, but maturity of judgement begotten of much experience, when he declared that the Tractatus might have been written any time between the middle of the fourth century and the beginning of the eighth.2

If we look outside the *Tractatus* controversy, two striking examples of the fallaciousness of such subjective appreciations—for they are nothing more—are worthy of consideration.

In the mosaic commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liebana, there are a number of passages the sources of which have not yet been identified, and it is certain that a good deal of this material was taken from Tyconius, the African Donatist of the fourth century. Certain pieces of this unidentified material have been definitely assigned to Tyconius by eminent and excellent critics on internal criteria of the very kind now under criticism: they were in Tyconius's very style and spirit; they were clearly Donatist and un-Catholic; 'no Catholic writer after 400 could have written them'; &c. And yet Dom Ramsay has shewn

^{1 &#}x27;Sa formation théologique a dû s'opérer entre les années 350 et 360, et sans trop de peine, encore qu'il ne fût plus alors, semble-t-il, dans sa première jeunesse' (loc. cit.).

² Geschichte der altkirchlichen Litteratur ii 572.

456

that these very pieces were written by Gregory the Great and Isidore.1 The error was monstrous, whether regard be had to mere time—more than two centuries—or to the critique of the subject-matter.

A still more striking example, because of greater magnitude, is the case of Commodian. His date and locality have to be gathered from the indications afforded by his poems, and the conclusions drawn from these internal criteria by the most competent critics have led to startling divergencies. Confining our attention to writers of the past thirty years or so, we find that Ebert, Dombart, Aubé, Boissier, Krüger, Schanz, and Ehrhard (in 1894) agree in placing Commodian's poems in the middle of the third century; Bardenhewer's verdict is 'Ante-Nicene'; Jülicher and Harnack are less precise, saying 'any date from the middle of the third to the middle of the fourth century, but probably the beginning of the fourth': so that these all declared for an ante-Nicene date. Other scholars declared for a somewhat later date, Kraus saying the beginning of the fourth century at the earliest, Raymundo the reign of Julian the Apostate (362), and Maase the second half of the fourth century. And finally a couple of years ago Fr Brewer, S. J., produced a book advocating the view that Commodian must be placed towards the end of the fifth century, and in Gaul, not in Africa where most other critics had placed him. That it should be open to doubt whether the author of several hundreds of lines of poetry, dealing largely with theological and religious subjects, belonged (more or less) to the milieu of Cyprian or to that of Gregory of Tours, seems incredible. Yet, on the one hand, the list of writers who have pronounced these poems definitely ante-Nicene contains names of the highest eminence in the domain of literary criticism of early Christian writings; and they have by no means merely followed Ebert, for most of them give evidence of an independent study of the conditions of the problem. And on the other hand, the unreserved and enthusiastic adhesion given to Brewer's thesis by highly qualified critics is probably unique. Readers of the JOURNAL will remember Mr Souter's review, and how he declared he had 'nothing to offer' against the argument.2 In the Theologische Literaturzeitung Dräseke pronounces it 'the happiest and most convincing' solution of a problem in the domain of patristics that has been made during the And in the Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie Klotz declares that 'there can no longer be any doubt that Commodian wrote in the fifth century, and in Gaul'.4 Finally, Krüger accepts Brewer's The very features that were supposed to be sure signs of

5 Theol. Jahresbericht, 1906.

¹ Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses, 1902, pp. 440-443.

² Vol. ix 143. ² 1907, col. 80. 4 1907 (xv), p. 291.

ante-Nicene origin—the persecutions, the Sabellianism and the Patripassianism—are now recognized as being referable to southern Gaul in the fifth century!

Two other cases may be just noticed. A generation ago the actual extant literature of the Clementine Romance was freely used as coming from the second century, and from the middle of it. Fifteen years ago the high-water mark of criticism in their regard placed them towards the middle of the third century. Since then the reasons that were supposed to favour an ante-Nicene date have been one by one challenged and abandoned, and the theory has found favour that the 'Grundschrift' (now lost) was composed in the second half of the third century, but the extant forms of the work not till the beginning of the fourth, or perhaps later.¹ And now the most recent writer on the question holds that the 'Grundschrift' was written about the time of the Nicene Council, not made up out of earlier documents, and that the extant forms of the work date only from the second half of the fourth century.²

Lastly, the Canons of Hippolytus have, ever since their publication half a century ago, been accepted by scholars as being of the beginning of the third century. Funk was alone for a long time in contesting this date, and in attributing them to the sixth century—a difference of over three hundred years. The indications now are that Funk's view is likely to prevail; Harnack has confessed that the Canons are through and through post-Nicene, and has come over to Funk's position as to their date.³

Such a series of rude shocks should make us realize how little confidence can be had in assignations of date and circumstances of the composition of writings of unknown authorship, based only on internal criteria. The cases just recited would point to the conclusion that it cannot be done within a margin of a couple of centuries. The need of extreme caution in the application of one of the best recognized external criteria-viz. citations from earlier writings-is also usefully demonstrated by the *Tractatus* discussion. Mere judgements of the literary sense as to whether the *Tractatus* plagiarized Hilary, Lucifer, Evagrius, and others, or they him, have been shewn to be quite futile. And even when, as in the case of Rufinus, the passage of the Tractatus is relatively secondary as compared with the parallel passage of Rufinus, it now appears that it was not justifiable to conclude (as I and others did) that the obvious inference might safely be drawn: in the light of Dom

¹ See my short notice of Waitz in J. T. S. 1906, p. 305.

² Dom Chapman, 'On the Date of the Clementines' in Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 1908, Heft i and ii.

³ See my review of Funk's edition of the Apostolic Constitutions, J. T. S. 1906, p. 304.

Wilmart's investigations, it seems that the intrinsically less likely hypothesis—viz. an older translation of Origen's *Homilies*, or some of them, used by both writers—is to be accepted provisionally as the true one. Indeed, many of the problems raised by the relations of the *Tractatus* to other documents seem to find their most satisfactory solution in the theory of independent employment of common sources—in particular Origenistic and Hippolytean matter circulating in early Latin translations.¹

That I may not appear to conclude with a sceptical note, I shall briefly sum up the position in which the *Tractatus* question seems to have been placed by Dom Wilmart:—

- (1) It must, in my judgement, be accepted as proved that the *Tractatus Origenis* and the *Tractatus de Canticis* are by the same author.
- (2) The ground for attributing them to Gregory of Eliberis is the explicit in one MS of the Tractatus de Canticis. Of course attributions of this kind are at least as often wrong as right; and Wilmart points out that in a kindred MS a commentary on the Canticle, made up out of the writings of Gregory the Great, is attributed to Gregory of Eliberis; while in another MS earlier than the eleventh century, the De fide adversus Arianos ad Flaccillam of Faustinus (see Gennadius, c. 16) appeared under the title: 'Liber de Trinitate sancti Gregorii Hispaniensis Heliberitanae sedis antistitis ad Gallam Placidiam.' I do not think that these mistaken attributions afford a valid reason for doubting the attribution in the explicit of the copy of Tractatus de Canticis; against this no positive argument is forthcoming, and it is of a character to inspire confidence, especially as it is supported by St Jerome's statement that Gregory of Eliberis did compose 'diversos mediocri sermone tractatus'.
- (3) The only counter-argument lies in the passages of the *Tractatus Origenis* that are secondary as compared with the parallels in Rufinus and Gaudentius: I have above expressed the opinion that these should be left as outstanding difficulties, as yet not satisfactorily explained.
- (4) The attribution of the *De Fide* to Gregory of Eliberis is not new—it has recommended itself to a series of scholars, on the ground that in title, character, and contents it corresponds to what St Jerome tells us in his notice of Gregory of Eliberis; its modern attribution to Foebadius has been shewn to be devoid of foundation.
- (5) The link which Wilmart has forged between the De Fide and the Tractatus, by shewing (again, solidly, in my judgement) that they are
- ¹ See my article 'An Hippolytus Fragment' in Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 1903; and Dom De Bruyne in Rev. Ben. 1906, pp. 178 sqq.
 - ² Bulletin p. 274 (note).

by the same author, strengthens the case of each of them immeasurably; all the reasons for assigning *either* work separately to Gregory of Eliberis become a united body of proof in favour of assigning *both* works to him.

(6) These motives receive external support from the facts that (a) the *De Fide* and the *Tractatus de Canticis* both circulated under the names of more illustrious Gregories; and (b) the works thus assigned to Gregory of Eliberis are, in title and character, those which St Jerome attributes to him.

The thanks of students of Latin ecclesiastical literature are due to Dom Wilmart for a substantial contribution to Latin patrology.

E. CUTHBERT BUTLER.

EGYPTIAN MARTYRS.

- I. Scriptores Coptici—Acta Martyrum, interpretati sunt I. Balestri, O.E.S.A., et H. Hyvernat. I (Corp., Scr. Christ. Orient.). Paris, 1908.
- II. Scriptores Aethiopici—Acta Martyrum, interpretatus est F. M. E. PEREIRA. I (ibid.). Paris, 1907.
- I. The fifteen parchment volumes, brought from the Nitrian monasteries to Rome by J. S. Assemani in 1717, apparently represented all that even then remained of the older Coptic stock of those desert libraries. They can claim but a modest place, either for number or general interest, beside the long series of Syriac works, rescued thence from inevitable destruction. Yet for those concerned with the history of the Egyptian church and its literature or with the study of what eventually became the dominant dialect of the language, these tenth-century MSS must, for yet a long time to come, be of inestimable value. For, though since the days of Georgi and Zoega they have proved a fruitful mine, it is only during the last two decades that the texts have become accessible in complete and reliable editions. The earlier published extracts were unfortunately made, not from the originals, but from Tuki's quite unreliable copies. It was not till some eighty years later that MM. Amélineau and Hyvernat began to print in full certain groups of the texts: those relating respectively to early monastic history and to the acts of the martyrs.

The first of the works here to be noticed is to be taken as a continuation of Prof. Hyvernat's Actes des Martyrs (1886). That publication

and the present, between them, all but exhaust the texts of this class contained in the Nitrian volumes. Both are characterized by that absence of all commentary which, it seems, the regulations of the *Corpus* involve, but which those who use its publications cannot but regret. However, we should do ill to complain, where so much is given. Some 250 pages of very carefully transcribed and printed text, with a literal Latin translation which leaves little to be desired: that is a gift for which all will be grateful, and which justifies us in looking forward with high expectations towards the further collaboration of two such excellent scholars.

The 'Passions' of ten saints are here published and in the sequence of their commemoration in the calendar. All relate to the Diocletian persecution, all save two of the saints are either Egyptians or suffered in Egypt, all but one are recognized by the *Synaxarium*.

- 1. Lakarón. This name is a puzzle. Unknown otherwise, it must—like several more in these Nitrian MSS—be a distortion of some better known name; possibly a derivate of Herakles of Hierax (ἱερακίων?). Yet no such person is to be found in any Synaxarium at or near the date given (Oct. 11). His Passion is one of the worst specimens of its class. The incidents are constant, recurring with wearisome regularity, both in sequence and phraseology: Diocletian's edict publicly scorned by the hero, who insults the magistrate; threats, tortures, miraculously borne by divine intervention; imprisonment and the wonders worked upon the other prisoners; renewed threats, flattery, futile tortures, and consequent conversion of the bystanders; until the magistrate, in desperation, orders the saint's beheading; lastly, the burial of the martyr in his native village.
- 2. Anatolios the Persian. The missing first leaf of this is probably to be found in MS xxiv, fol. 1 of Leipzig University Library,² while fol. 2 of the same would help to fill the gap at the end of our text. This Passion, too, is devoid of individuality.³ I suspect it of being nothing more than an erroneous derivate of the next piece (which it immediately precedes in the calendar). A.'s and his father's names are moreover identical with those of characters in the Miracles of St George.⁴
- 3. Theodore the Eastern (Tiro). This popular figure has a rôle in several Acts besides his own. A Sa'idic version of the present text is traceable.⁵ Its Greek origin is evident in the play upon the word $\pi\epsilon\rho\sigma\dot{\epsilon}a$ (p. 35), and the explanation of the name Leontios (p. 59). It

¹ Cf. HAARDIOC for HPARAIOC, Br. Mus. Or. 6205 (Jkôw-Aphrodito).

² v. Leipoldt in K. Vollers's Katalog (1906), p. 388.

³ v. Forget's Synaxarium p. 204.
⁴ Budge St George 252.

⁵ Leyden MSS Coptes no. 55, Cairo 8021, Paris 12915 foll. 26-31 and 32, Brit. Mus. Cat. no. 354.

may be suggested that Theodore's fellow martyrs, Leontios and Panegereos (Panikeros, Panykiris), are a reminiscence of Leon(tios) and Paregorios.¹ This Leontios appears, from the reference to his place of martyrdom (p. 59), to be taken here for Leontios of Tripolis.² The prefatory story of Diocletian's youth in Egypt, his marriage with the emperor's daughter and subsequent apostasy, is here told in somewhat different terms from elsewhere; the emperor is named 'Kondelianos' instead of Numerian.³ The origin of this strange but persistent legend is still to seek.

- 4. Sarapion. This and the preceding piece had been already published by Balestri.4 There is an undeniable resemblance in the incidents, their sequence, and much of the phraseology, between this and the Acts of Bishop Sarapamon (ed. Hyvernat Actes 304). The two names, to begin with, are easily confounded.⁵ Then the prayer of S. in prison (p. 73) is in terms parallel to those in Hyv. 309; so likewise the incidents of the imprisoned approves, the wrapping of the martyr's body in inflammable bandages, the incense transformed, in the governor's hands, into lions, the name and rôle of the executioner, Orion, the hallucination whereby the ship bearing the martyr is arrested at his own village (pp. 75, 80, 82, 86). All these are to be found identically in the other Passion (Hyv. pp. 309, 314, 319, 322, 325, 329). Still more significant is the announcement made to Sarapion that he shall be doubly commemorated, upon the 8th of Toth as well as the 27th of Tubah. For, by reading 28th for 8th, we have the day assigned in the calendar to Sarapamon. The historical value of the piece may be gauged by the enumeration (p. 78) among the crowd, converted at sight of S.'s miracles, of eight monks!
- 5. Apa Til. This name is not found elsewhere. Zoega and the present editors regard it as one word, Apatil; Quatrèmere ⁶ divides it. ⁷ An equation with the familiar Apa Têr is tempting, though, in a Bohairic text, the permutation of r-l would be surprising. That they are identical seems to be proved by the Ethiopic Synaxarium, which, on the day of the former's commemoration (7th Yakatit-Emshir), shews the name Abâdîr. Whether the latter name is Têr or Patêr it is difficult to determine. ⁸ The first, without the preceding Apa, is not found. The second alone (once) ⁹ proves little, being explicable as an abbrevia-

¹ Greek Synax., 18th Feb. ² AASS. June 18th, 1st Tubah.

³ So, too, in Hyvernat Actes 187, 'Kontilianos'.
⁴ In Bessarione x.

v. Basset's Synax., 28th Hatur. 6 Recherches 125.

⁷ T $\hat{\eta}\lambda$ is a very rare name; G. Lefébvre Recueil des Inscr. no. 147.

⁸ Pereira's explanation (the work here noticed, *Versio* p. 147 n.) seems scarcely tenable. The Sa'id. fragm., Paris 129¹⁶, 104, relates to Apa Ter and Herai (thanks to photogr. from M. Chabot).

⁹ Brit. Mus. Or. 6225 (3).

tion analogous to Pakire, Pamoun. Twice the form Apa Patêr occurs.¹ The etymology given in Hyvernat *Actes* 79, 'beloved of God and men,' appears fantastic.

- 6. Paphnouti. The abstract in the Greek Synaxarium indicates the same story. In the present version occur the strange words wherewith the saint apostrophizes the judgement-seat, and which these writers are fond of introducing into their narratives: 'Tribunal ($\beta \hat{\eta} \mu a$), tribunal! I am come to thee with thine Apollo; I with my Lord Jesus.'
- 7. Epime. An otherwise unknown name; like Lakarôn &c., presumably of foreign origin.³ He is a native of Pankôleus, near Oxyrhynchos, a village which has of late reappeared as Παγγουλέειος.⁴ This is a relatively interesting text. It gives, for instance, a picture (p. 128) of the poor village church, with its glass communion vessels and no resident priest, the village headman being compelled each week to scour the neighbourhood for a celebrant. At the beginning of the narrative is inserted the seemingly irrelevant story of the military martyr Christodoros, possibly him whom the Sa'idic calendar records on the 15th of Tubah.⁵ Or is this simply a confusion with Christopher, 'the dog-faced,' whose day follows on that of Epime?
- 8. Theodore Stratelates. The fabulous dragon-slayer of Euchaita, whom the Egyptian legend claims as a citizen, if not a native, of Shôtep, near Siût. Of that recension we shall know more when Mr Winstedt publishes the text in Cod. Vatic. LXV.⁶ That here edited resembles the Greek (as against the Arabic Synaxarium) in making no reference to Egypt. The Passion is followed by a series of miracles, a chance fragment of which in Paris ⁷ testifies to their former existence in a Sa'idic version. Fol. 28 of Leipzig vol. xxvi is evidence of yet another Bohairic version.
- 9. Anoub (Anoup, ?'Aνουβίων). Here again is a story of the most dreary and conventional type. The mention of Anoub in Budge's St George (p. 169) as a 'confessor', who had suffered as martyr and monk at once, refers possibly to the saint honoured at Bawît rather than to the present martyr. Is the prediction of eventual martyrdom for Cyprian, the praeses, a confusion with that popular convert and martyr, C. of Antioch?



¹ Leyden MSS Coptes 212, Tuki's Theotokia 42. C1. perhaps Πατερεῦs, a common name.

² P. 117. Cf. Hyvernat op. cit. pp. 306, 315.

³ An abbreviation of Ἐπίμαχος seems improbable.

⁴ Pap. Oxyrh. no. 998. Is Παγκῦλις, no. 732, the same?

⁵ Leyden MSS 191, Paris 129²⁰ f. 155. The calendar of Abú 'l-Barakât (Paris arabe 203, f. 258) has 'Abd al-Masìh = Christodoulos on the 12th, which may indicate further confusion.

⁶ Cf. Zoega, p. 56.
⁷ MS 129¹⁵ f. 35 = Bohairic p. 189.

⁸ Cf. Brit. Mus. Catal. p. 153.

10. Apoli. This is merely a fragment and brings us back to the family of Numerian.

Valueless though these stories may be as history, and almost equally as literature, they present not a few interesting details, illustrative of Egyptian ecclesiastical affairs and civil life. Moreover, a certain number of passing references, mostly in the martyrs' prayers, point to apocryphal literature and legends not always familiar. On p. 42 the devil is named Mastema, on p. 44, Saklababth. We learn (p. 132) that the sign of the Cross was made by God on Adam at his creation. Adam's repentance (μετάνοια), as he stood in Jordan, was accepted by God, who sent Michael (sic) to him (p. 73)3; he was indeed brought a second time to Paradise.⁴ The mysteries vouchsafed to Seth, and the rôle of Enoch as 'scribe of righteousness', are referred to (pp. 77, 236). P. 1436 shews acquaintance with the legend of Abraham cast into the fire by Nimrod, or, as he is here strangely called, Bosoch. On p. 162 occurs an uncanonical saying of Christ: 'Salute (χαίρειν) not an unbeliever.' The Acts of Anatolios break off (p. 33) in the midst of what seems to be a vision, couched in markedly biblical language and making use of Job xxvi 13.8 The words, p. 23420, are quoted from Eccli. xxii 7.

But the real importance of these ancient Bohairic texts is linguistic; it is in realization of this that the editors have expended such care upon their reproduction. We have already said that the impression made is one of remarkable accuracy. A collation with Zoega's (i.e. Tuki's) transcripts has confirmed this. Exception might be taken to the system of word-division, which carries disintegration to its extreme length. The Preface explains why only a selection of the incidental Greek words has been transcribed in the Versio. Among these and the rest, a few suggest interpretations differing from those which the editors have adopted. P. 3615 Lemm has pointed out that TPATONAPIOC (again p. 198) is δρακωνάριος. I would suggest that a misunderstanding of this word was the cause of the legend that Diocletian's career began in goat-herding. P. 52^7 βουλευτήριον. P. 56^{17} έξέρκιτον exercitus. P. 67^8 probably σιγγουλάριος singularius. P. 9318 σφαιρίζειν 'play ball with' (cf. Brit. Mus. Catal. p. 153). P. 12826 ἐποίκιον. P. 14819 σύμβουλος: see Hyvernat's Actes 105, where the phrase 'o. of the land of Egypt' points perhaps to

¹ v. this Journal iv 397 n.

² Cf. such forms as Ialdabaôth,

³ v. Kautzsch Pseudepigr. d. AT. 512 infra.

^{*} v. ? Kautzsch op. cit. 525 (Vita).

⁵ Most recently von Lemm Kl. Kopt. Stud. no. 54.

⁶ Boh. forms of Nimrod are πεθρωα, πεφροα. For the story v. Jew. Encyclop, i 86 ff.

⁷ I cannot find this either in Resch or Ropes.

⁸ The dragon perhaps = Diocletian.

a post-Muslim date for at least certain of these pieces. P. 1656, cf. κόμβος, 'strap'; cf. also p. 175 κογμφος, Hyvernat op. cit. 312 κογηις, Rossi Papiri di Torino i, v 50 ως πκογμπος, Brit. Mus. Catal. p. 156 κογμποςε. P. 169¹ ἀφαιρετός (or ἀναφαίρετος), rather than ἀπέραντος. P. 229¹³ φερόνιον seems unknown; the editors apparently assume a connexion with ferrum.

A few observations may be permitted upon the Coptic text. P. 2^{10} †χη needs no further translation than 'I am'. Pp. 30^{11} , 176^{16} a form of interrogative new to me. P. 36^3 (an obscure passage) 'face-painting (?) wizards'—what does this mean? P. 41^{13} I see no corruption of the text. Ib.²⁰ read eqeep- (causal). P. 55^3 exactly thus in the charm Mitth. Rainer v 120. P. 127^{21} read terrangy with Amélineau.² P. 131^{17} æfwt genitalia; cf. the use of ἀναγκαῖα, p. 11^{23} . P. 165^6 houghey = ογοιμογειμ = ραβδίζειν Jud. vi 11, Ruth ii 17. P. 178^{29} read τερπι. P. 203^0 εθογοπο εĥολ usually = ἐπίσημος.³ P. 206^{25} perhaps θωμη for θωπιμ. P. 212^{10} read as in MS, 'whilst yet (ἔτι) he was on board.' P. 234^{25} 'good (lit. genuine) oil'. P. 238^{29} perhaps = θοπιμ. Several words are reminiscent of Sa'idic: P. 21^{10} pht, 30^{14} , 106^7 λωχο, 106^{26} αμμρ, 131^{16} λοκεογ? = 206 εοκεογ = 702 ογ, 196^2 αμρμ, 197^2 καστε-.

II. With the second work here under notice I am not competent to deal upon the same footing. And, on the other hand, a criticism in merely general terms seems superfluous, after the penetrating and enlightening remarks of Father Peeters, who has indeed, in describing the character of these Ethiopic Acts, given a but too just estimate of all this literature, whether preserved in its Coptic form or only in an Ethiopic derivate. That the texts are adequately edited we may take for granted, where the editor is a scholar of such experience as Senhor Pereira.

The six Martyrdoms here published, all for the first time, belong, with the exception of the last, to the group well named by Amélineau 'the Diocletian cycle'. The hero of each story is represented as a magnate of the court at Antioch, exiled by the emperor, after his own apostasy, to Egypt, there to die a cruel death at the hands of one or other of the familiar persecuting magistrates. The texts are all, of course, translations, made doubtless from Arabic versions, and not, as one of them would claim, directly from the Coptic. So much is sufficiently evident from the forms of the proper names alone. The translations

¹ Cf. C. H. Becker in Pap. Schott-Reinhardt i 35, Crum Rylands Catal. 151 n.

² Géogr. 208.

³ V. PSBA. xxix 304.

⁴ V. Zoega 630, Aeg. Zeitschr. xl 132 &c.

⁵ Anal. Bolland. xxvii 69.

were made in the fourteenth century, some of them by the famous Abba Salama.¹ The translators have allowed themselves varying degrees of freedom. While the story of Apa Têr and Hêrai (no. 4) follows the Bohairic text very closely, that of Theodore the Eastern (no. 3) diverges widely, at any rate from the Bohairic as published by MM. Balestri and Hyvernat. It is curious, too, to meet, in the final section of this story, with a perverted form of the legend of the veteran Eusignius ²—here a eunuch.

M. Pereira's prefatory statements as to other extant forms of these Acts allow of certain modifications. The fragmentary condition of most Coptic MSS, together with the confusing recurrence, throughout this cycle, of the same persons and incidents, renders it sometimes difficult to assign a given Coptic fragment to its precise source. But it may with assurance be said that the Acts of Justus (no. 2) are represented both in Sa'idic and Bohairic,³ that Sa'idic fragments of the story of Claudius have survived, likewise of that of Victor, son of Romanus.

Not the least welcome element in this book are the *Malke'at*, 'Portraits,' as those hymns are termed which sing the martyr's praises, addressing a stanza to each of his limbs and features. M. Pereira gives interesting examples at the close of each Passion. These at least may claim to be genuine Ge'ez compositions, independent of Copto-Arabic originals.

W. E. CRUM.

BYZANTINE HYMNS.

Miscellen zu Romanos, von K. KRUMBACHER. (Bavarian Academy, Abhandlungen, 1. Klasse, xxiv. Bd., 1907.)

It would appear, from these most recent studies of Professor Krumbacher, that his long looked-for edition of Romanos is nearing completion. A collective edition of the hymns of the most remarkable of Byzantine ecclesiastical poets is a task beset with many and various difficulties. The text tradition is anything but satisfactory; the question of authenticity is, in many instances, still unsettled; investigations of the sources whence the hymns were drawn have hitherto proved often fruitless. It is with this last problem that the present studies are principally concerned. Prof. Krumbacher lays stress upon the frequent relationship between hymns and Acta, the prose narrative which relates

VOL. X. H h

¹ v. C. Rossini, Note (Rendic. viii 207 ff).

² v. Greek Synax., August 5. Parts of a Sa'idic translation of the Greek text, ed. Lambecius (viii 109), are preserved in Paris.

³ v. Br. Mus. Catal. no. 338.

the story of the saint serving as a source of the later metrical composition. As examples of this close connexion, he prints the two hymns to St Menas (November 11), comparing each phrase and strophe with the parallel passage from the prose martyrdom; and he further edits a fresh form of the latter, which, although divergent from the two already available, is clearly not itself the direct source of the hymns. These must have been built upon a fourth form, still to seek. Similar investigations of other hymns (the Martyrs of Sebaste. St Tryphon) justify the conclusion that where a hymn contains features of the story not traceable in any extant prose text, we must assume a lost form of the latter. I have recently had occasion to realize this in regard to the Egyptian Antiphonarium, wherein not a few hymns refer to incidents and persons otherwise unknown. What must interest any one familiar with the narrative forms of the story of the national saint of Egypt—though why Menas is nowadays thus dignified it is not easy to ascertain—is the absence from these Greek texts of any of the local colouring and of various incidents conspicuous there. One alone of the Greek MSS (of South Italian provenance) has preserved anything of the sort. The only remnants of a Coptic version appear to coincide with that here newly published by Krumbacher.1 The Egyptian Synaxarium, clearly post-Muslim in its actual form.² has but little in common with the Greek story; nor does the ancient MS preserving an Ethiopic recension appear to be more than an elaboration of the same recension.3 More general interest in St Menas and his cult has been raised, during the past three years, by C. M. Kaufmann's excavation of his Libyan sanctuary, with its astonishingly elaborate 'water-cure' establishment. As to the legend, however, the excavations teach us little or nothing, and are singularly poor in inscriptions.

Prof. Krumbacher has much to say regarding general principles in the editing of hagiographical texts: how to deal with the countless variants which any exhaustive collation must amass; what course to pursue in face of metrical errors and obscurities. He advocates, as the only practical solution, an eclectic method, such as that here adopted for the new Menas Acts: out of some thirty MSS, the variants of only nine are given. The practical difficulty of collecting materials is one in which Prof. Krumbacher is, as is well known, an enthusiastic advocate of photography. Still greater facilities for photography in all



¹ Cairo 8088, MS of ca. sixth-seventh century. The legible fragment shews the text of K. p. 38 ll. 4-9. The extract, Leyden mss coptes pp. 281, 282, is from a well-known MS of the Synaxarium class.

² It closes with a reference to the Muslim conquest (the Ethiopic version naming Heraclius).

³ Brit. Mus. Or. 689, 73 b.

⁴ To this long list may be added MS Harl. 5639 fol. 7^a.

libraries are, in his opinion, a more pressing need—and one more likely to be realized—than any relaxation of the laws at present prohibiting a mutual exchange of MSS.

W. E. CRUM.

THE LEONIAN SACRAMENTARY

Das sogenannte 'Sacramentarium Leonianum' und sein Verhältnis zu den beiden anderen römischen Sakramentarien. Von Professor Dr Buchwald, Breslau. (Wien, 1908.)

This essay, in sixty-seven octavo pages, may have been written in sober earnest; it reads like a satire on those who, disdaining the patient toil of inductive methods, build up systems of reckless deduction on the basis of an unproved and improbable postulate.

It was observed by the late Dom Suitbert Bäumer that the Prayers and Prefaces of the Leonianum are for the most part so phrased as to render difficult the task of determining the dates at which they severally were written. Dr Buchwald believes the difficulty to have been exaggerated, and illustrates his meaning from the missa which lies between the twentieth and the twenty-first of the numbered items of the April section. Recent specialists, confining their attention to the Preface. 'cuius ecclesia sic ueris confessoribus falsisque permixta nunc agitur ut' &c., have found as many as three meanings for 'confessores', and, until Dr Buchwald entered the lists, two for 'nunc'. He, however, collates it with the prayer which goes before, and, finding that this figures in the Gelasianum, not indeed in its proper function, which is that of Secreta, but as Super Populum in a Mass for the Octave of Christmas, makes 'confessores' mean 'professors of the faith' and identifies 'nunc' with the Saturnalia and the revelries of the pagan New Year. So convinced is he that this is an absolutely certain exposition -eine ganz sichere Deutung-that he not only places it in the forefront of his essay as an exemplary illustration of his thesis, but reproaches the scribe of the Leonianum with the strange blunder of setting a New Year's Mass in an April series. The real culprit is not the scribe, but Dr Buchwald. Had he extended his examination to the first prayer of this professedly April missa, he would have seen that it figures in both the Gelasianum and the Gregorian Missal, not only as a first prayer, but as the first prayer, for the Third Sunday after Easter, an anniversary which often falls in the month of April; a double coincidence whence issues the very interesting question whether the Leonian Mass may not be from beginning to end an original composition designed in the first instance for use on some Third Sunday after Easter which happened

to coincide with the Sunday next after one of the eight days of the Ludi Ceriales. These began on the twelfth of April.

I have read Dr Buchwald's essay with great care and, for obvious reasons, with an anxious desire to do full justice to it; but I am constrained to say that the instance just notified is typical of his treatment of the subject from beginning to end. At one time he overlooks some obvious and highly probable alternative; at another he weighs part of the evidence, unconsciously careless of the rest; at yet another, from mere perfidy of memory, he reads into a citation some cardinal phrase which, on reference to the text of the Leonianum itself, is there found to be conspicuous by its absence. Some such radical fault vitiates each of his six arguments on the chronological limits of the aggregation of the materials which went to the making of the Leonianum, and, save where assertion takes the place of proof, his attempt to determine the aim and date of the ultimate redaction. His thesis as to these is of equal simplicity and boldness:—That the document was compiled for a specific purpose, not for transcription; that it was not worth transcribing, and was not transcribed; and therefore that the Verona MS is die erste und originale Niederschrift: that it was compiled as a repertory of materials for some intending sacramentary-maker; not Gelasius, not Gregory the Great, but Gregory of Tours, who died in 594: that the marginal notes in the Verona book are in the handwriting of Gregory of Tours, and therefore that-pace experts of European reputation—the Verona book cannot have been executed as late as the early half or middle of the seventh century.

A sequel is contemplated in which fresh arguments in support of the hypothesis thus enunciated are promised us from a collation of the whole text of the Leonianum with the old liturgical books of the Frankish Church.

MARTIN RULE.

CHRISTIANITY AND OTHER RELIGIONS.

Professor W. Bousset's recent book What is Religion? (T. Fisher Unwin, 1907) is a valuable introduction to the study of Comparative Religion. It traces the religious consciousness of man from its earliest beginnings in the primitive savage up through national religions, and the religions of the Prophets, the Law, and of Redemption, to Christianity, the crown of man's spiritual development. The chapters on the 'Religions of the Law' and on 'Prophets and their Religion' are particularly instructive, and in connexion with the former, though Dr Bousset is severe in his condemnation of the

barrenness that has resulted in Judaism, Islam, and the Persian religion, from undue stress laid on exact ritual in worship and on writings supposed to be infallible, yet he admits the real connexion to be seen in these religions between religion and morality, which stands out clearly in the doctrine of future retribution, however materially conceived. In dealing with Buddhism and Platonism, which he calls the Religions of Redemption, he does not quite give Plato his due. Doubtless Plato exalts the reason and conceives of redemption largely as redemption from earthly limitations and the material world; but if we remember that at the apex of the Platonic pyramid stands $\tau \delta$ $\delta \nu$, which is synonymous with $\tau \delta$ $\delta \gamma a \theta \delta \nu$, we shall not find in Plato an indifference to moral evil and the obstacles it imposes to man's progress.

Professor Bousset's outlook on Christianity is reverent and indeed enthusiastic, but still I venture to think hampered by certain familiar presuppositions. Christianity to him is the loftiest moralism together with belief in God as our heavenly Father and with the conviction that Iesus Christ stands far above all other men, and in virtue of His life and message is truly our Lord and Master. But the old dogmas fare badly at Dr Bousset's hands. The conception of redemption, the Divinity of Christ, the Trinity, vicarious atonement, miracles—all these must go. The law of history, even more than natural science or philosophy, is for Dr Bousset at once the interpreter and the solvent of these conceptions. Here we see him to be in close touch with the new historico-religious school of criticism in Germany, while at the same time something of the old Hegelian view of history as the logical developement of thought seems to appear in his pages. It is hardly necessary to point out the extreme danger involved in thus discovering or postulating a universal law of history, and then characterizing as unhistorical all incidents which do not conform to it.

But Professor Bousset's enthusiasm for Christ and Christianity is unmistakeable. He does not try to explain away the 'authoritative consciousness of Christ's personality', nor is it to him anything but very improbable that a higher type of religion will supersede the religion Christ founded. Like the Ritschlians, he makes us feel that he is so sure that God was in Christ that he needs not to trouble about more speculative problems. And much as he differs from St Paul and Luther he has no wish to depreciate their value to the Church, though their conception of Christianity in its relations to sin, guilt, and redemption, is especially alien from him, as indeed from all who against the old ideas uphold modern culture and modern might exemplified in Dr Bousset's pages by Goethe and Bismarck. Like the old Socinianism, the new moralism cries out against the Atonement

before it states its case against the Incarnation. At the same time we must point out that Dr Bousset is not always consistent with himself, seeing that he claims for Christianity the title of a religion of moral redemption.

Dr Bousset may be a rationalist, but he is a rationalist of the most reverent and religious kind. And in these days it is refreshing to find so eminent a theologian telling us that 'the Gospel is primarily pure, intense individualism'.

J. K. Mozley.

MR J. H. F. Peile, in his Bampton Lectures for 1907 (The Reproach of the Gospel, Longmans & Co., 1907), finds 'the great religious difficulty of the present day', in 'the striking contrast between the lives of Christians and the rules which they profess to accept' (p. 6). Believing that this inconsistency has robbed Christianity of its true office in the life both of the individual and of the community, he attempts to disturb the equanimity of professing Christians by a criticism of their unrealities, and a reminder of their responsibilities. They are unreal because they have attenuated the ethical and moral teaching of our Lord in order to compromise with the existing social conventions: they are responsible, because as the result of scientific discovery and social dissatisfaction, 'we are on the verge, if indeed we are not unawares in the midst, of one more great Religious Movement, perhaps the greatest the world has known.' If that movement 'is Christianized, if it is fearlessly claimed for Christ, and guided by His Spirit, it will make the world Christian' (pp. 168, 169).

Yet salvation is not found in any system, and it is allowed that 'there is no reason in the nature of things, why an absolute monarchy, or an oligarchy, should not be administered on Christian principles', (p. 137), though Democracy offers special facilities. Instead of basing his hope on changes in the system of Church or State, Mr Peile rests it on personal and individual conversion to the principles of Christ, resulting in the abandonment of self-love for the love of one's neighbours. In its own way Christianity has been, and always should be, a revolutionary force, changing the social and economic forms even in the using of them, till 'their methods and results' become 'something wholly different from what we have hitherto accepted . . .' (p. 151), but in our day it is 'acting as a protection against enthusiasm, a positive obstacle to genuine conversion' (p. 156). The adoption of practical Christianity by individuals, clerical or lay, conformist or non-conformist, is the true path to the formation of a controlling Christian public opinion, and to genuine social and religious advance.

The scope of Mr Peile's book is very wide, and his interests are equally wide. Sir Oliver Lodge, Wernle, and Browning give evidence side by side with Plato, and their evidence is admirably to the point. At the same time those tendencies of thought which drift around us so elusively are here caught and analysed with skill and sympathy, while the thoughtful study of the problems has resulted in a style always impressive, and crystallizing at times into epigrams which lose none of their brilliancy on closer inspection.

Mr Peile stands out rather as a prophet than as a reformer, being comparatively little concerned with the change of the outward form, but very deeply concerned with that change of the inner life which cannot but result in a slow but sure regeneration of the fabric of Society.

A careful reading of this book should convince clergy and laity that, if they be sincere Christians, 'Christian Socialism' such as this has an imperative demand on their attention.

C. WEST WATSON.

Neoplatonism in relation to Christianity (An Essay by Charles Elsee, M.A., Camb. Univ. Press, 1908) is the essay which gained the Hulsean Prize in 1901, and its form has doubtless been dictated by the circumstances of the case. The result is a book in five chapters, of which only the fifth actually faces the subject: the others epitomize old results.

The earlier chapters thus form a useful and compendious introduction to Neoplatonism for the young student, and in fact might be termed 'what a man ought to know before writing chapter five'. This later chapter contains the interesting suggestion, which, however, cannot be taken as proven, that the developement of Neoplatonism is to be entirely explained as an intentional counterblast to Christianity. There can be no doubt that it was partly so, and that some of its positive teaching was coloured by the desire to supply from pagan sources of religion and philosophy those needs which men were increasingly seeking to satisfy through the Christian faith. It is quite true that later Neoplatonism was in direct opposition, and that the attack by the pen of Porphyry was supplemented by that of the sword of Hierocles. But it is somewhat straining the much-enduring argument from silence to say that, because Plotinus never mentions the Christians or comes into collision with them or their beliefs, therefore he is making a subtle attack on them, 'specially careful to avoid using Christian terminology where he approaches most nearly to Christian doctrines,' and endeavouring 'to secure his aim by haughtily ignoring the Christians'. Mr Elsee rightly draws attention to the use made by Hierocles of the Life of Apollonius of Tyana, in order to discredit the life of Christ by providing a parallel. And it is

true that in earlier times, in the days of Septimius Severus, the Empress Julia Domna had encouraged both the writing of the book and the cult of its hero. But the philosophy of her coterie was Neopythagorean, not Neoplatonist, and it is precarious to argue that, because Plotinus developed Neoplatonism between those days and the time of Hierocles, it must have been in direct opposition to Christianity that he developed it. Certainly Philostratus, in writing the Life, borrowed shamelessly from the facts of a faith which he does not mention, but it is scarcely proven that Plotinus did the like in the sphere of doctrine.

And the general conclusion is somewhat bold, that 'the search for the direct use of Christian doctrines by the Neoplatonists has been productive of such very scanty results', for the reason that 'they naturally preferred not to parade any obligations to their opponents under which they might labour'.

Approaching this relationship from the Christian side, Mr Elsee finds some interesting parallels with Neoplatonic thought, especially in Origen, and the whole of this last chapter is well worth reading.

On p. 96 a new paragraph begins in the middle of a sentence.

T. W. CRAFER.

It seems hardly necessary at this date to direct the attention of students to Delehaye's admirable Légendes hagiographiques (The Legends of the Saints, an introduction to hagiography, from the French of Père H. Delehaye, S. J., Bollandist, translated by Mrs V. M. CRAWFORD: Longmans, 1907); nor do I think that a translation was really needed. The original (already I am glad to note in its second edition) possesses in an unusual degree the qualities of the best French prose-clearness and simplicity. But if there had to be an English rendering the task of making it could not have been entrusted to better hands than those of Mrs Crawford, who combines accurate scholarship with a style that betrays very few traces of the foreign idiom. For the sake of readers who have not seen this valuable little book, it may be pointed out that it is devoted entirely to apocryphal lives of saints and that it is in no sense a work of controversy, although it contains a wise and well-timed protest against the school of critics who find a heathen origin for every Christian saint and Christian festival.

H. F. STEWART.

La Religion des peuples non civilisés (by A. Bros, Professeur au Grand Séminaire de Meaux: P. Lethielleux, Paris, 1907) is the first of a series of books intended to diffuse more widely a know-

ledge of the results of research with reference to the history of religions, and at the same time to serve the cause of Christianity. Its author relies on recognized authorities in his presentation of facts and theories concerning animism, magic, mythology, and the religious beliefs and practices of primitive and of savage man. In the last chapter he discusses the permanence and universality of the religious impulse, which persists in civilized races and is never satisfied by scientific knowledge. The volume contains a sound answer to such as have hastily convinced themselves that religion, to quote the words of Vacherot, 'answers to a transitory state, not to a permanent sentiment of human nature'.

G. MILLIGAN.

CHRONICLE

PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

La Notion de Vérité dans la Philosophie Nouvelle, par J. DE TONQUÉDEC. (Paris, Beauchesne et Cie.)

This book is a criticism of the view of the nature of truth held by representatives of 'the new philosophy', such as Bergson, Le Roy, and Wilbois. The new philosophy is pragmatism of an extreme kind, which conceives truth to be 'fluid' or 'only of the moment'. It seems to have affinity with Fichtean idealism, but it maintains that thought and reflexion 'deform' reality. The propositions of common sense, the laws of science, and the dogmas of theology alike are but means to intuitional knowledge; they are true if fruitful, and only on that account. The question of the nature of truth will be seen to be the fundamental point in dispute between the 'new philosopher' and the scholastic; as M. le Roy has said: 'Le grand désaccord entre les scolastiques et nous porte sur la notion même de vérité.'

The author of the present work criticizes this theory of truth from the standpoint of realism, shews that the new philosophy is inconsistent with itself, and points out some of its exaggerations.

Foi et Systèmes, par E. BERNARD ALLO, O.P. 2me édit. (Paris, Librairie Bloud et Cie, 1908.)

FATHER ALLO has collected into a volume bearing the foregoing title a number of articles which have previously appeared in various reviews. The book is an eirenicon addressed from the standpoint of orthodox Roman Catholicism to the contending parties in the theological world of France, and is chiefly concerned with the views of writers such as Laberthonnière, Blondel, Loisy, and Le Roy. It advocates withdrawal on all sides from exaggerated statements, and cessation from warfare with shadows and men of straw. At the same time it endeavours to construct a definite conception of the Faith as distinguished from the more or less true theological systems in which it is enshrined. Fr Allo's work will be of interest to such English readers as care to study in detail the various forms of modernism which France has recently been producing.

Les deux aspects de l'Immanence et le problème religieux, par Prof. E. Thamiry. 2^{me} édit. (Paris, Librairie Bloud et Cie, 1908.)

THE two aspects of Immanence of which Prof. Thamiry's book treats are the doctrine of absolute Immanence, which is identical with pantheism, and the relative Immanence which, in various forms, is to be met with in Christian theology and theistic systems. The latter type of doctrine regards God as also distinct from the world, or as transcendent. Prof. Thamiry greatly restricts the meaning he assigns to relative Immanence by identifying it with the doctrine of rationes seminales as taught by St Augustine and Aquinas. He sketches the history of the two theories of Immanence, and contrasts them with respect to their adequacy to solve problems such as those of life, divine action, the organization of the world, evolution, and others. In doing so, he is especially concerned with the treatment which such problems have recently received from French theologians and philosophers, and he deals with the views of many of the same writers to whom Fr Allo replies in the book referred to above. work of Prof. Thamiry will be more useful to French readers who are able to accept much of the scholastic philosophy than to English students who generally prefer to build on foundations only rendered accessible since the beginning of the 'modern' period.

Le Fidéisme, par H. HALDIMANN. (Paris, Librairie Fischbacher, 1907.)

Fidéisme is said to be a doctrine grafted by Ménégoz on the symbolism of Sabatier; and it seems, from this booklet, to consist in one-sided emphasis on the importance of that element in Christian faith which may be called personal trust. Such trust (foi) without intelligent grounds for belief (croyance) in the claims of the Person trusted—another element in Christian faith—is surely an inadequate basis for the religion of a reasonable man. If fidéisme is not thus a one-sided and inadequate form of religion, it is nothing new to orthodox Christians. The little book which M. Haldimann has devoted to the defence of the doctrines of Ménégoz attempts to meet some objections, mostly trivial, that have been urged against it.

Job fils de Job, par ÉTIENNE GIRAN. (Paris, Fischbacher.)

In the form of a dialogue between a modern Job, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, the author treats of the problem of evil. The first of the three friends maintains the educational value of evil, and to him Job replies that if God has willed the evil of the world, He has shewn Himself capable of for ever willing it. The old dilemma inevitably presents itself, as it must in all discussions of the problem of evil. In

476 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

face of it, Bildad adopts the idea of a non-omnipotent God, who calls upon us men to help Him in the overcoming and extirpation of the world's evil. To this Job answers that such a God, knowing His partial impotence, was without excuse in creating a world such as this. Hereupon Zophar argues that God did not create the world, and that He does not interfere with its laws, which are immutable. It is the will of man, not that of God, which needs to be altered, and physical ills are to be removed through increased knowledge of Nature. It is hard to conceive that science will succeed in preventing earthquakes, for example, but Zophar's solution of the problem apparently involves such a possibility. By the mouth of Zophar the author of this essay seems to voice his own belief. If his view suffers from the difficulties necessarily inherent in all forms of pantheism, it must be admitted that it is propounded in an interesting way.

Man's Relation to and Apprehension of the Universe, by the Rev. R. W. Corbet, M.A. (London, Eliot Stock), is a paper that was read by its late author before the Christo-theosophical Society, and which has been published by request. It deals with a perfectly definite subject by so indefinite a method, and in such vague and mystifying language, that it is not calculated to enlighten.

F. R. TENNANT.

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The American Journal of Theology, January 1909 (Vol. xiii, No. 1: Chicago University Press). A. C. McGiffert Was Jesus or Paul the founder of Christianity?—S. Mathews A positive method for an evangelical theology—H. W. Wright The problem of natural evil and its solution by Christianity—B. W. Bacon Professor Harnack on the Lukan narrative—J. H. Leuba The psychological nature of religion—Critical notes—Recent theological literature.

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480 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

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The Journal of Theological Studies

JULY. 1909

THE INFLUENCE OF ST JEROME ON THE CANON OF THE WESTERN CHURCH. I.

In some previous articles I have tried to analyse the position of the several reformed bodies in relation to the Canon of the Holy Scriptures. I propose now to continue the study of the subject by a similar examination of the very important influence upon the theory of the Canon, and on the practice of the Latin Church in regard to it, exercised by St Jerome.

But first it will be well to recapitulate the conclusions already reached in the previous articles.

As we have seen, the continental reformers, when they set aside the authority of the Church, fell back upon that of the Bible, and in so doing they had recourse to a criterion for the authority of the contents of the Bible not hitherto applied, and in fact quite uncertain and unworkable. It was determined by subjective considerations, and ultimately rested on the personal inspiration of every godly man who chose to read the Bible. Controversial necessities and the inherent weakness of the position eventually led the reformers, other than the extreme Lutherans, more or less to modify their estimate of these personal grounds and to revert to historical and traditional evidence to support the authority of the Holy Scriptures. In this way Karlstadt, the first of the reformers to write a treatise on the Canon, fell back upon the arguments of Jerome and Augustine as the best material for the settlement of the question. These he confronted with each other, and so tried to reach a workable theory and a stable conclusion. The same course was adopted by several of the later apologists for the Reformation: and in regard to the New Testament the result was the general acceptance of the traditional

Ιi

VOL. X.

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Canon; the extreme Lutherans being the only section who continued like their master to treat certain books with despite as of doubtful authority.

In respect of the Old Testament the case was different. The two great doctors of the later fourth century, Jerome and Augustine, had adopted different views as to the Canon; and although the view of St Augustine eventually prevailed, that of St Jerome was widely adopted and continued to be held during the middle ages, and in some respects affected the Canon as received by the Latin Church. It was to Jerome's theory, as contrasted with that of Augustine, that the reformed Churches adhered, and they quoted him freely in defence of their conclusions.

The essential distinction between Jerome and Augustine was that the former in regard to the Old Testament claimed that the Jews, who had compiled and preserved it, were the best judges of what it should be, and he accordingly argued persistently that nothing but what was found in the current Jewish Canon of the Old Testament should be received as canonical; while Augustine took the view that the Church from the beginning had had a separate tradition of its own, and that the Bible of Christ and His disciples was not the Bible as the Jews accepted it in the first century, but the Bible as it had been accepted by them when the Septuagint version was made, containing several books not in the current Jewish Bible. With Augustine the real mark of authenticity and canonicity in a book was the fact that it had been accepted by the Church, and decided by the Church to be authoritative. He knew of no other Canon than the Canon so determined.

On this critical issue, as I have said, the reformers sided with Jerome. This was the case with the English Church, in one of whose articles the enumeration of the books of the Old Testament as received by the Jews is followed by the statement: 'The other books, as Jerome saith, the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners, but yet doth not apply them to establish any doctrine'; after which follows the list of the so-called Apocrypha. It will be seen that no attempt is here made to justify the displacement of the Christian Canon by the neo-Jewish, save a reference to an obiter dictum of Jerome's, whose theory of the Canon is indirectly adopted. In the subsequent controversial works of English divines, and notably in Cosin's

work on the Canon, the justification of the change is based very largely on Jerome's arguments, and in fact things entirely unjustifiable are said of the Tridentine decision by which the Christian Canon was reaffirmed as authoritative, and the continuity of the Church's teaching on the subject—save in some particulars due to mistake—was emphasized; while the English Church was led away into the wilderness by the specious arguments of those who ought to have known better, but had been committed to Jerome's theory by the successive English Bibles from Coverdale's onwards.

The teaching of St Jerome is also responsible for some illogical features in the modern Canon of the Roman Church; and inasmuch as the real purport and importance of this teaching have been more or less overlooked by those who have devoted so much pains to Jerome's *text*, I desire here to analyse his theory of the Canon, a subject obviously of great importance.

Eusebius Hieronymus was born of Christian parents (Praef. in Fob) at Stridon near Aquileia, on the frontier of Dalmatia and Pannonia, about the year 346. When about 18 he went to school in Rome where, under the teaching of Aelius Donatus (c. Ruf. i 16), he acquired that wide knowledge of Latin authors and that skill in the use of the Latin tongue in which he became so pre-eminent. He tells us, 'dum essem Romae puer et liberalibus studiis erudirer solebam cum ceteris eiusdem aetatis et propositi diebus dominicis sepulchra Apostolorum et Martyrum circuire, crebro cryptas ingredi, quae in terrarum profunda defossae ex utraque parte ingredientium per parietes haberent corpora sepultorum' (Com. in Ezech. 90). When about 20 years old he was baptized in Rome. Having finished his schooling, he went with his friend Bonosus to Gaul, then famous for its culture, and thence returned to his home and settled at Aquileia. tempestuous temper made him many enemics, and consequently in about 372 he set out for the east and made his way through Asia Minor to Antioch. Here his life became increasingly austere, and eventually in about 374 he adopted the life of a hermit in He now devoted himself more especially to the study of Svria. the Holy Scriptures, and began his Hebrew lessons, his masters being two Jews. 'Quo labore,' he says, 'quo pretio Baraninam nocturnum habui praeceptorem. Timebat enim Iudaeos et mihi alterum exhibebat Nicodemum' (Ep. lxxxiv 3). He also devoted

himself to Greek, of which language, according to Rufinus, he was till then almost wholly ignorant. At this time also he wrote the Life of Paul the Hermit and several extant letters, the most important of which is one to Damasus, written probably in 375, describing the feud of the three bishops at Antioch. Two years later he abandoned the eremitic life, for which his fiery temperament was in fact ill-suited. Returning to Antioch he was ordained priest in 379, and in the following year he went to Constantinople, where he consorted with St Gregory of Nazianzus and St Gregory of Nyssa; where also he translated the Chronicle of Eusebius, continuing it down to the death of Valentinian I. From Constantinople he went to Rome, apparently at the invitation of Damasus, to give the benefit of his learning to the fathers of the Council of 382, and to assist Damasus himself with his advice (Ep. exxiii 10 cum in chartis ecclesiasticis iuvarem Damasum').

It was on his arrival in Rome that Damasus asked him to revise the Latin Gospels by collation with the Greek; and this was the first work of biblical revision which he undertook. The letter of Damasus containing his instructions is not extant; but from Jerome's address to the pope on presenting his new version of the Gospels, we learn that his purpose was not to produce a new translation, but only to correct the Old Latin. He says: 'Novum opus facere me cogis ex veteri, ut post exemplaria Scripturarum toto orbe dispersa quasi quidam arbiter sedeam: et quia inter se variant, quae sint illa quae cum Graeca consentiant veritate decernam.' He points out the difficulty and danger of the process, but consoles himself 'quod et tu qui summus sacerdos es, fieri iubes': and he continues:—

'Si enim Latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant quibus: tot sunt paene quot codices. Sin autem veritas est quaerenda de pluribus, cur non ad Graecam originem revertentes ea quae vel a vitiosis interpretibus male edita, vel a praesumptoribus imperitis emendata perversius, vel a librariis dormitantibus aut addita sunt aut mutata, corrigimus?... De novo nunc loquor Testamento; quod Graecum esse non dubium est, excepto apostolo Matthaeo, qui primus in Iudaea Evangelium Christi Hebraeis literis edidit. Hoc certe cum in nostro sermone discordat, et diversos rivulorum tramites ducit, uno de fonte quaerendum est. Praetermitto eos codices, quos a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos, paucorum hominum adserit perversa contentio: quibus utique nec in veteri Instrumento post septuaginta interpretes emendare quid licuit, nec in Novo profuit emendasse... Igitur haec

INFLUENCE OF ST JEROME ON THE BIBLE CANON 485

praesens praefatiuncula pollicetur quattuor tantum Evangelia quorum ordo iste est, Matthaeus, Marcus, Lucas, Iohannes, codicum Graecorum emendata collatione sed veterum; quae ne multum a lectionis Latinae consuetudine discreparent, ita calamo temperavimus, ut his tantum quae sensum videbantur mutare correctis, reliqua manere pateremur ut fuerant.'

From this address, which was prefixed to the four Gospels, and apparently has them alone in view, it has been reasonably concluded that the Gospels were the only books of the New Testament which Jerome revised at this time. This is not quite certain however; for in *de Vir. Illust.* 135 and elsewhere, for instance in *Ep.* xxvii 3, he seems to imply that he had at the same time corrected the whole of the New Testament.

There can be no doubt that Jerome was by far the most learned person at the Council of 382, and that it was from him that Damasus derived the list of the books of the Bible which was issued by the Council, and is the first official list from a Western source of which we have any record. This list has been called in question by several writers; but its genuineness was affirmed by Thiel, F. Maassen, and Zahn, and was finally established by Mr C. H. Turner in the first volume of this JOURNAL.¹

The decree of the Council is headed 'Incipit Concilium Urbis Romae sub Damaso papa de explanatione fidei'; while the paragraph especially interesting to us is as follows:—'ITEM DICTUM EST. Nunc vero de scripturis divinis agendum est, quid uniuersalis catholica recipiat ecclesia et quid vitare debeat.' Then follows a list of the books of the Old Testament, to which we shall revert presently. After this the decree continues:—

'Item ordo scripturarum novi et aeterni testamenti quem sancta et catholica suscipit ecclesia. Evangeliorum secundum Matheum liber I, secundum Marcum liber unus, secundum Lucam liber unus, secundum Iohannem liber unus. Epistulae Pauli [apostoli] numero XIIII; ad Romanos una, ad Corinthios duas, ad Ephesios I, ad Thessalonicenses II, ad Galatas I, ad Philippenses I, ad Colosenses I, ad Timotheum II, ad Titum I, ad Filimonem I, ad Hebreos I. Item Apocalypsis Iohannis liber I, et Actus Apostolorum liber I. Item epistulae canonicae numero VII; Petri apostoli epistulae duas, Iacobi apostoli epistula una, Iohannis apostoli epistula una, alterius Iohannis presbyteri epistulae duae, Iudae zelotis apostoli epistula I. Explicit canon Novi Testamenti.'

¹ Journal of Theological Studies i. 1900, pp. 554 sqq.

It will be seen that this Canon is in point of contents precisely that afterwards sanctioned by the Councils of Carthage, Florence, Trent, and the Vatican, and accepted by the various reformed bodies, except the strict Lutherans. What is more to the point, since it fixes the real authorship of the list, is that in two phrases its language, as Mr Turner pointed out, is that used by Jerome himself. In the *de Viris Illustribus* the ninth biography is devoted to the Apostle John, and we find in it:—

'Scripsit autem et unam epistulam, cuius exordium est Quod fuit ab initio, quod audivimus et vidimus oculis nostris, quod perspeximus et manus nostrae temptaverunt de verbo vitae, quae ab universis ecclesiasticis et eruditis viris probatur. Reliquae autem duae, quarum principium est Senior electae dominae et natis eius et sequentis Senior Gaio carissimo quem ego diligo in veritate, Iohannis presbyteri adseruntur, cuius et hodie alterum sepulcrum apud Ephesum ostenditur, et nonnulli putant duas memorias eiusdem evangelistae esse.'

The similarity of the language between Jerome and the Council in regard to the second and third Epistles of St John is remarkable. To the same source, as Mr Turner says, may perhaps be referred the phrase used in describing the book of Jeremiah which, in the list of Damasus, reads 'Cum Cinoth id est Lamentationibus suis', which recurs word for word in the *Prologus Galeatus* of Jerome.

The four Gospels were not the only books translated by Jerome on the occasion of this visit to Rome. He also, as we shall presently see, revised the old translation of the Psalms by means of the Septuagint.

Damasus died at the end of 384, and Jerome, whom some had regarded as his possible successor, but whose ungoverned temper made him quite unsuited to such a position, soon found himself involved in quarrels, the result of his violent language, and he determined to leave the city. He took his departure for the east in August 385.

With some companions who were devoted to him, he first called at Cyprus to pay a visit to another famous student, Epiphanius, and then went on to Antioch. After visiting the various places of interest in Palestine and Egypt, and spending some time among the anchorites of the Egyptian desert, he returned again to Palestine and settled down near Bethlehem, where he spent the remaining thirty-two years of his life.

It must be remembered that at this time he was a devoted disciple and follower of his great predecessor in biblical criticism, Origen; and no doubt one great attraction for him in his new home was that he could there easily consult at his leisure the library of Pamphilus at Caesarea, and especially the great hexaplaric and tetraplaric MSS which Origen had compiled. He now, in fact, devoted himself to the work of translating into Latin the hexaplaric text of Origen, marking his MS, as his archetype was marked by Origen, with asterisks and obeli. To this I shall revert presently. He also more completely revised the Latin New Testament by the help of the Greek.

With regard to this translation, we have some important statements made by Jerome, which do not seem to me to have been sufficiently appreciated. It seems quite plain that, as in the case of the Old Testament, so in the New, his great guides and lights at this time were Origen and Eusebius, and that his translation approximated as nearly as might be to a reproduction of the text of the New Testament favoured by those two fathers.

Thus in his commentary on the Galatians he says:—

'Legitur in quibusdam codicibus: Quis vos fascinavit, NON CREDERE VERITATI? Sed hoc, quia in exemplaribus Adamantii non habetur, omisimus' (in Gal. iii 1: Vallarsi, vii 418 C).

Again, in his commentary on St Matthew xxiv 36, he says:-

'In quibusdam Latinis codicibus additum est NEQUE FILIUS, cum in Graecis et maxime Adamantii et Pierii exemplaribus hoc non habeatur adscriptum: sed quia in nonnullis legitur, disserendum videtur' (vii 199 A).

Jerome's translation of the New Testament therefore has a great many claims to represent one of the very oldest and most reputable recensions of the Greek. It was highly approved of by an excellent judge, St Augustine, and it will be well to repeat what St Augustine said in reference to it. After animadverting upon Jerome's new translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, he continues:—

'Proinde non parvas Deo gratias agimus de opere tuo, quo Evangelium ex Graeco interpretatus es: quia paene in omnibus nulla offensio est, cum Scripturam Graecam contulerimus' (ap. S. Jer. Ep. civ 6).

While Jerome nowhere, so far as I know, breaks with the Church's tradition in regard to the actual validity and canonicity

of the New Testament books, and admits them all into his Canon, he speaks, as did Erasmus and Calvin in later times, with great plainness of the antilegomena and of their authorship and origin.

In Ep. lxxiii ad Evangelum presbyterum (§ 4) he mentions 'Epistula ad Hebraeos quam omnes Graeci recipiunt et nonnulli Latinorum'. In his letter to Paulinus (Ep. liii 8) he says:— 'Paulus apostolus ad septem ecclesias scribit, octava enim ad Hebraeos a plerisque extra numerum ponitur.' Again, a few lines lower down:—

'Iacobus Petrus Iohannes Iudas apostoli septem epistulas ediderunt tam mysticas quam succinctas, et breves pariter et longas, breves in verbis, longas in sententiis: ut rarus sit qui non in earum lectione caecutiat. Apocalypsis Iohannis tot habet sacramenta quot verba: parum dixi pro merito voluminis: laus omnis inferior est.'

In the *de Viris Illustribus* (A. D. 392) he is more explicit about some of these books and less explicit about others. Of the Epistle to the Hebrews he says in chapter 5:—

'Epistola autem quae fertur ad Hebraeos non eius [sc. Paul's] creditur propter stili sermonisque dissonantiam, sed vel Barnabae iuxta Tertullianum, vel Lucae evangelistae iuxta quosdam, vel Clementis Romanae postea Ecclesiae episcopi: quem aiunt sententias Pauli proprio ordinasse et ornasse sermone, vel certe—quia Paulus scribebat ad Hebraeos et propter invidiam sui apud eos nominis titulum in principio salutationis amputaverat, scripserat autem ut Hebraeus Hebraice, id est, suo eloquio disertissime—ea quae eloquenter scripta fuerant in Hebraeo eloquentius vertisse in Graecum, et hanc esse causam, quod a caeteris Pauli epistolis discrepare videatur.'

Here he merely disputes the authorship, and has nothing to say against the canonicity of the Epistle, and the language is altogether different from what immediately follows about another Epistle, then still accepted by some: 'Legunt quidem et ad Laodicenses, sed ab omnibus exploditur.'

With regard to the authorship of the Epistle of St James, he says in the second chapter:—

'Iacobus, qui appellatur frater Domini, cognomento Iustus—ut nonnulli existimant, Ioseph ex alia uxore, ut autem mihi videtur, Mariae sororis Matris Domini, cuius Iohannes in libro suo meminit, filius—post passionem Domini, statim ab Apostolis Hierosolymorum episcopus ordinatus, unam tantum scripsit epistolam, quae de septem Catholicis est; quae et ipsa ab alio quodam sub nomine eius edita adseritur, licet paulatim tempore procedente obtinuerit auctoritatem.'

As to the Epistle of St Jude, in c. 4 of the same work:—

'Iudas frater Iacobi parvam, quae de septem Catholicis est, epistolam reliquit. Et quia de libro Enoch, qui apocryphus est, in ea adsumit testimonium, a plerisque reicitur: tamen auctoritatem vetustate iam et usu meruit et inter sanctas Scripturas computatur.'

This last clause is assuredly ambiguous and doubtful in its phraseology.

Of St Peter's Epistles, in c. 1: 'Scripsit duas epistolas, quae Catholicae nominantur; quarum secunda a plerisque eius esse negatur, propter stili cum priore dissonantiam.' He then refers to certain other works associated with the name of St Peter, and treats them as distinctly apocryphal and therefore by implication affirms the canonicity of both the epistles just named. His words are: 'Libri autem, e quibus unus Actorum eius inscribitur, alius Evangelii, tertius Praedicationis, quartus Apocalypsis, quintus Iudicii, inter apocryphas scripturas repudiantur.'

We will now turn to Jerome's translations of the Old Testament. His first venture was made during his second visit to Rome, where, as we have seen, he went to assist at the Council of 382, and remained till 385. It was then that he issued a revision of the Latin Psalter, based on the Septuagint; and to this he refers in the first sentence of the preface to the Psalms addressed to Paula and Eustochium: 'Psalterium Romae dudum positus emendaram, et iuxta Septuaginta interpretes, licet cursim, magna illud ex parte correxeram' (Vallarsi, x 105).' He further tells us that it was adopted by the Roman Church: 'psalterium... certe emendatissimum iuxta LXX interpretes nostro labore dudum Roma suscepit' (c. Rufin. ii 30); and it is still in use in St Peter's and at St Mark's in Venice and in the archdiocese of Milan (Martène de Ant. Eccl. Rit. iv 3 § 3; Swete Introduction p. 99).

It would be interesting to know what text of the Septuagint Psalter Jerome used in his revision. It is not improbable that it was the text then current in Constantinople, where he had recently spent two years as the disciple of St Gregory of Nazianzus, 'praeceptor meus' (de Vir. Illust. 117).

In addition to this translation Jerome, as we have seen, probably advised Damasus and supplied him with materials for the

statement on the Canon issued among the acts of the Council of 382. I have abstracted above that part of the decree which deals with the New Testament Canon, and I will now do the same for the Old Testament. The list of Old Testament books is preceded by the title 'Incipit ordo veteris testamenti', and then continues:—

'Genesis liber unus, Exodus liber unus, Leviticus liber unus, Numeri liber unus, Deuteronomium liber unus, Iesu Nave liber unus, Iudicum liber unus, Ruth liber unus, Regum libri quattuor, Paralypomenon libri II, Psalmi CL liber I, Salamonis libri III, Proverbia liber I, Ecclesiastes liber I, Cantica Canticorum liber I. Item Sapientia liber I, Ecclesiasticus liber I. Item ordo prophetarum, Esaiae liber unus, Hieremiae cum Cinoth id est Lamentationibus suis liber unus, Ezechiel liber I, Danihel liber I, Oseae liber I, Amos liber I, Micheae liber I, Iohel liber I, Abdiae liber I, Ionae liber I, Naum liber I, Ambacum liber I, Sophoniae liber I, Aggei liber I, Zachariae liber I, Malacihel liber I. Item ordo historiarum, Iob liber I, Tobiae liber I, Esdrae libri II, Hester liber I, Iudit liber I, Machabeorum libri duo.'

Here, as will be noted, there is no departure from the Septuagint Canon, and no attempt, such as there was in Jerome's later days, to substitute the Hebrew Canon for the Greek.

Jerome's theory in regard to Old Testament translation at this time may be gathered from his preface to the Vulgate Gospels above referred to. He says:—

'Neque vero ego de veteri disputo Testamento, quod a septuaginta senioribus in graecam linguam versum tertio gradu ad nos usque pervenit. Non quaero quid Aquila, quid Symmachus sapiant, quare Theodotion inter novos et veteres medius incedat: sit illa vera interpretatio quam apostoli probaverunt.'

On his migration to Palestine in 385 Jerome, as we have seen, applied himself to a revision of the Latin Old Testament by the help of the Septuagint: from which we may conclude that at this time he looked entirely to the Septuagint and not to the Hebrew as the authoritative *fons* of the Old Testament text. A few passages from his writings on this point will make the matter perfectly plain.

In the Preface to the Book of Job he says: 'Utraque editio, et Septuaginta iuxta Graecos et mea iuxta Hebraeos, in Latinum meo labore translata est.' And in the Preface to the books of Solomon he says: 'Si cui sane Septuaginta interpretum magis

editio placet, habet eam a nobis olim emendatam.' Again, in c. Rufin. ii 24: 'Egone contra Septuaginta interpretes aliquid sum locutus, quos ante annos plurimos diligentissime emendatos meae linguae studiosis dedi, quos quotidie in conventu fratrum edissero, quorum psalmos iugi meditatione decanto?' and in c. Rufin. iii 25: 'Septuaginta editionem diligentissime emendatam ante annos plurimos meae linguae hominibus dedi.' Again, in Ep. lxxi ad Lucinium he says (§ 5): 'Septuaginta interpretum editionem et te habere non dubito, et ante annos plurimos diligentissime emendatam studiosis tradidi.'

But the influence of Jerome's Hebrew knowledge and of the study of the Hexapla of Origen was already giving a hebraizing bias to his work on the Septuagint text. For it seems plain, although the fact has not been sufficiently emphasized, that his next translations were made not from the $\kappa o \nu n n n n$ or primitive text of the Septuagint, but from the Hexaplaric text. So in Ep. cvi 2 ad Sunniam et Fretelam, written in about 403, he speaks of 'aliam Septuaginta interpretum quae in Έξαπλοις codicibus reperitur, et a nobis in Latinum sermonem fideliter versa est, et Hierosolymae atque in Orientis ecclesiis decantatur': and further down, 'ea autem quae habetur in 'Εξαπλοι̂s et quam nos vertimus, ipsa est quae in eruditorum libris incorrupta et immaculata Septuaginta interpretum translatio reservatur.' Again, in Tit. iii 9 he says: 'Nobis curae fuit omnes veteris legis libros, quos vir doctus Adamantius in Hexapla digesserat, de Caesariensi bibliotheca descriptos, ex ipsis authenticis emendare; in quibus et ipsa Hebraca propriis sunt characteribus verba descripta, et Graecis ditteris tramite expressa vicino.'

It is also clear that in this translation Jerome applied the Hexaplaric marks to his own text. For in the preface to his Hebrew Job, speaking of his translation of this book from the Greek, he says:—

'Apud Latinos, ante eam translationem quam sub asteriscis et obelis nuper edidimus, septingenti ferme aut octingenti versus desunt: ut decurtatus et laceratus corrosusque liber foeditatem sui publice legentibus praebeat.'

And in the preface to his translation of the same book from the Greek (Vallarsi, x 47) he says:

'Ac beatum Iob, qui adhuc apud Latinos iacebat in stercore et vermibus scatebat errorum, integrum immaculatumque gaudete... Ego in

lingua nostra (audacter loquor) feci eum habere quae amiserat. Igitur et vos et unumquemque lectorem solita praefatione commoneo, et in principiis librorum eadem semper annectens, rogo ut ubicumque praecedentes virgulas ÷ videritis, sciatis ea quae subiecta sunt in Hebraeis voluminibus non haberi. Porro, ubi stellae imago ¾ fulserit, ex Hebraeo in nostro sermone addita sunt.'

And again, in the preface to his version of the Psalms made from the Septuagint, he says (x 107):—

'Notet sibi unusquisque vel iacentem lineam vel signa radiantia, id est vel obelos ÷ vel asteriscos ¾. Et ubicumque viderit virgulam praecedentem ÷, ab ea usque ad duo puncta : quae impressimus, sciat in Septuaginta translatoribus plus haberi. Ubi autem stellae ¾ similitudinem perspexerit, de Hebraeis voluminibus additum noverit aeque usque ad duo puncta, iuxta Theodotionis dumtaxat editionem, qui simplicitate sermonis a Septuaginta interpretibus non discordat.'

In Ep. exii 19, written to St Augustine, we have:—

'Quod autem in aliis quaeris epistolis, cur prior mea in libris Canonicis interpretatio asteriscos habeat et virgulas praenotatas, et postea aliam translationem absque his signis ediderim; pace tua dixerim, videris mihi non intellegere quod quaesisti. Illa enim interpretatio Septuaginta Interpretum est; et ubicumque virgulae, id est, obeli sunt, significatur quod Septuaginta plus dixerint, quam habetur in Hebraeo, ubi autem asterisci, id est, stellulae praelucentes, ex Theodotionis editione ab Origene additum est. Et ibi Graeca transtulimus: hic de ipso Hebraico, quod intellegebamus, expressimus, sensuum potius veritatem quam verborum ordinem interdum conservantes. Et miror quomodo Septuaginta interpretum libros legas, non puros ut ab eis editi sunt, sed ab Origene emendatos sive corruptos per obelos et asteriscos, et Christiani hominis interpretatiunculam non sequaris: praesertim cum ea quae addita sunt ex hominis Iudaei atque blasphemi post passionem Christi editione transtulerit. Vis amator esse verus Septuaginta interpretum? Non legas ea quae sub asteriscis sunt, immo rade de voluminibus, ut veterum te fautorem probes. Quod si feceris, omnes Ecclesiarum Bibliothecas damnare cogeris. Vix enim unus aut alter invenietur liber, qui ista non habeat. . . . Ego enim non tam vetera abolere conatus sum, quae linguae meae hominibus emendata de Graeco in Latinum transtuli, quam ea testimonia quae a Iudaeis pretermissa sunt vel corrupta proferre in medium, ut scirent nostri quid Hebraica veritas contineret.'

In Ep. cxxxiv, also written to Augustine, he says: 'Praeceptis tuis parere non possumus, maxime in editione Septuaginta quae asteriscis verubusque distincta est; pleraque enim prioris laboris

fraude cuiusdam amisimus.' This last most plainly implies that his translation extended to the whole Bible, and not merely to the books which are still extant, and it explains why the rest are lost. In a letter to Jerome (Ep. 117 among Jerome's letters § 34), St Augustine, who had hitherto seen only the translation of Job from the LXX, says, 'Mittas obsecto interpretationem tuam de Septuaginta, quam te edidisse nesciebam'; which also implies that the translation was not a mere fragment. But, as Vallarsi shewed in the preface to his tenth volume, the matter is made perfectly clear by Cassiodorus, who tells us that he rediscovered the portions to which Jerome referred as having been lost, and incorporated them in his own edition:—

'Tertia divisio est inter alias codice grandiore, littera clariore conscripto, qui habet quaterniones xcv, in quo Septuaginta interpretum translatio Veteris Testamenti in libris quadraginta quattuor continetur. Cui subiuncti sunt Novi Testamenti libri viginti sex, suntque simul libri septuaginta: in illo palmarum numero fortasse praesagiati, quas in mansione Elim invenit populus Hebraeorum. Hic textus multorum translatione variatus...patris Hieronymi diligenti cura emendatus compositusque relictus est' (de Div. Inst. § 13).

And below Cassiodorus adds, 'ex his codicibus quos Hieronymus in editione Septuaginta interpretum emendavit' (ib. 15).

Presently a great change came over Jerome's theories in respect of the Canon of the Old Testament. Whether it was that his quarrel with the followers of Origen, of whom he had himself once been a devoted champion, affected his theory, or that his intercourse with Jews in Palestine, from whom he learnt his Hebrew, influenced him, it is plain that he abandoned as far as he could the traditional Canon of the Church in favour of that of the Jews, and began a new translation of the Old Testament directly from the Hebrew, which he called 'the primitive verity'. We cannot date the change with precision, but it must have begun as far back as 390 or 391, since in 392 he published the de Viris Illustribus, in which (cc. 134, 135) he refers to the Psalter and the Prophets 'quos nos de Hebraeo in Latinum vertimus', and uses the phrase 'Vetus [Testamentum] iuxta Hebraicum transtuli'. This latter reads as if the whole translation was then complete. It is certain, however, that this was not so, but that some of the books were not translated till later. He did not work at the task methodically; he seems rather to have translated various books as he was asked for them by his friends. He began, as would appear from the *Prologus Galeatus*, with the Books of Kings, which among the Jews were contained in two volumes known as *Samuel* and *Malachim*. In *Ep. ad Pammachium* xlix 4, written in 393, he mentions that he has also translated the sixteen Prophets 'in Latinum de Hebraeo sermone', and of Job 'transtuli nuper Iob in linguam nostram'; and he bids his correspondent compare the new version with the old ones: 'Lege eundem Graecum et Latinum; et veterem editionem nostrae translationi compara; et liquido pervidebis quantum distet inter veritatem et mendacium.'

During the following two years, apparently, he published the Books of Chronicles, Solomon, and Esdras with Nehemiah; and in the preface to the last, addressed to Domnio and Rogatianus, he says:—

'Ut privata lectione contenti librum non efferatis in publicum, nec fastidiosis ingeratis cibos, vitetisque eorum supercilium qui iudicare tantum de aliis et ipsi facere nihil noverunt. Si qui autem fratrum sunt, quibus nostra non displicent, his tribuatis exemplar, admonentes ut Hebraea nomina, quorum grandis in hoc volumine copia est, distincte et per intervalla transcribant.'

In Ep. lxxi ad Lucinium, written in 398, he says (§ 5): 'Canonem Hebraicae veritatis excepto Octateucho, quem nunc in manibus habeo, pueris tuis et notariis dedi describendum.' It thus appears—and the fact is singular—that the last part of the Bible which he translated from the Hebrew was that which the Jews esteemed the most. He apparently did this last part of his work at the request of Desiderius of Aquitaine, whom he calls a presbyter. He does not say in the above-quoted passage that he had then finished the Octateuch, and it would appear that it was only the books of Genesis and Exodus which were then complete, while the rest were only gradually finished afterwards; and it was not until the year 404 that they were finally completed. This appears from the preface to the books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, where he says:—

'Tandem finito Pentateucho Moysi, velut grandi foenore liberati, ad Iesum filium Nave manum mittimus, quem Hebraei Iosue ben Nun, id est Iosue filium Nun vocant; et ad Iudicum librum, quem Sophtim appellant; ad Ruth quoque et Esther, quos iisdem nominibus efferunt...

Caeterum post sanctae Paulae dormitionem, cuius vita virtutis exemplum est, et hos libros, quos Eustochio virgini Christi negare non potui, decrevimus, dum spiritus hos regit artus, prophetarum explanationi incumbere.'

In her epitaph the death of Paula is dated 'Honorio Aug. vi et Aristaeneto Coss.': that is, in 404.

Jerome's conversion to the conclusion that the 'Hebrew verity' was the ultimate and unadulterated source of the Bible was complete. No doubt he admits that the Septuagint is the official text of the Old Testament: 'Et tamen iure Septuaginta editio obtinuit in ecclesiis, vel quia prima est et ante Christi facta adventum, vel quia ab Apostolis (in quibus tamen ab Hebraico non discrepat) usurpata' (Ep. lvii ad Pammach. § 11). But elsewhere he says plainly: 'cum inter discordia Veteris Testamenti Latina exemplaria fluctuarem, ad Hebraicam veritatem, de cuius fonte gustaveram, recursum habui.' Again, in the Prologus Galeatus (to the Books of Kings), after enumerating the several books of the Hebrew Canon, he continues:—

'Hic prologus Scripturarum quasi galeatum principium omnibus libris quos de Hebraeo vertimus in Latinum convenire potest, ut scire valeamus, quidquid extra hos est inter apocrypha esse ponendum. Igitur Sapientia, quae vulgo Salomonis inscribitur, et Iesu filii Syrach liber, et Iudith, et Tobias, et Pastor, non sunt in Canone. Machabaeorum primum librum Hebraicum reperi. Secundus Graecus est; quod ex ipsa quoque phrasi probari potest. Quae cum ita se habeant, obsecro te, lector, ne laborem meum reprehensionem aestimes antiquorum . . . Quamquam mihi omnino conscius non sim, mutasse me quippiam de Hebraica veritate. Certe si incredulus es, lege Graecos codices et Latinos, et confer cum his opusculis; et ubicumque inter se videris discrepare, interroga quemlibet Hebraeorum cui magis accomodare debeas fidem; et si nostra firmaverit, puto quod eum non aestimes coniectorem, ut in eodem loco mecum similiter divinarit.'

Again elsewhere Jerome says, in the preface to Job, 'Haec autem translatio nullum de veteribus sequitur interpretem: sed ex ipso Hebraico Arabicoque sermone, et interdum Syro, nunc verba, nunc sensus, nunc simul utrumque resonabit'; and once more, 'De Hebraeo transferens magis me Septuaginta interpretum consuetudini coaptavi, in his dumtaxat quae non multum ab Hebraicis discrepabant. Interdum Aquilae quoque et Symmachi et Theodotionis recordatus sum, ut nec novitate nimia

lectoris studium deterrerem, nec rursum contra conscientiam meam fonte veritatis omisso opinionum riuulos consectarer' (Praef. ad Comm. in Ecclesiasten: Vallarsi, iii 381).

And he appealed not only to the Hebrew text, but also to the Hebrew Canon. In the preface to the books of Solomon he says:--

'Fertur et Panaretos Iesu filii Sirach liber, et alius pseudepigraphus, qui Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur. Quorum priorem Hebraicum reperi, non Ecclesiasticum, ut apud Latinos, sed Parabolas praenotatum, cui iuncti erant Ecclesiastes et Canticum canticorum: ut similitudinem Salomonis, non solum librorum numero, sed etiam materiarum genere coaequaret. Secundus apud Hebraeos nusquam est, quin et ipse stilus Graecam eloquentiam redolet: et nonnulli scriptorum veterum hunc esse Iudaei Philonis affirmant. Sicut ergo Iudith, et Tobi, et Macchabaeorum libros legit quidem Ecclesia, sed inter canonicas Scripturas non recipit; sic et haec duo volumina legat ad aedificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam.'

Jerome's new attitude must have disturbed the minds of churchmen, and their view is partially expressed by St Augustine. It was a serious matter to discard the Bible of our Lord and the Apostles for the Bible of the later Rabbins. Jerome is styled a Doctor of the Church; but for all that, he had no more authority than any other individual to displace the voice of the Church and substitute for it his own opinion. He set a bad example, which was followed fatefully, eleven hundred years later, by reformers who freely appealed to his name in setting up their new rule of faith in place of the Bible recognized by the Church.

In a future article I hope to shew how deep and widespread was Jerome's pernicious influence on the views held of the Canon in the middle ages, and on the practice of the Latin Church, as well as on the Reformers.

H. H. HOWORTH.

'COMMON PRAYER.'

COMMENTATORS on the Book of Common Prayer have not, so far as I have observed, been at the pains to attempt to trace the history of the most characteristic 1 phrase in its title-page or, except quite incidentally, to illustrate the use of it. It is true that writers from Jewel and Hooker downwards have supplied in passing some materials for the illustration of it; but thirteen years ago it was still possible for Dr Gasquet and Mr Bishop to feel justified in saying, in reference to 'common prayer' as it occurs in the Injunctions of 1547, 'this word since so familiar was then a novelty.' 2 It may therefore be of use and not without interest to collect and classify, in what will be only too much like an article in a dictionary, such examples of the use of the phrase as I have been able to light upon; examples which, perhaps, will be sufficient to suggest that the phrase was no novelty, but a quite familiar one, and that these examples are

1 Characteristic, but not specially prominent: for there is no justification for the current practice of printing the words 'Common Prayer' in larger type than the rest of the title-page, as if the rest were subordinate to it, or as if 'The Book of Common Prayer' were the essential title of the book and not, as in fact it is, a merely convenient, if inevitable, abbreviation. The practice is comparatively modern and has no authorization except the 'typographorum audacia et temeritas'. So far as I have noted, the case stands thus. In the books of 1549, 1552, and 1559 the title is printed throughout in uniform type, except that, from the first, some editions have the words 'The Book of' or merely 'book of', apparently for some aesthetic reasons, printed larger than the rest; and this continues in the 1604 revision and down to 1661, except that Ogilby's folio of 1660 prints 'prayer' in larger type, but this is only the caprice of an artist. The Book Annexed and the Sealed Books vary their types as between the lines, but give no prominence to 'common prayer', and if in the first issue of the last revision the words are a little prominent to the eye, this is because the initial capitals are rather large and the minuscules rather thick in their down-strokes, but this is balanced by the fact that 'sacraments' and 'rites and ceremonies' are in capitals throughout. The first edition which I have noticed in which 'common prayer' is in distinctly larger type than the rest is an Oxford issue of 1790, and even here the type is very little larger than that of 'sacraments', which in turn is very little larger than 'rites and

VOL. X.

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³ Gasquet and Bishop Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer, 1st ed., p. 54, note 2. кk

themselves only a few out of an indefinitely larger number which it would be possible to collect without any very laborious search.

T

1. 'Common Prayer' is, in the first place, collective, as distinguished from individual, prayer: in its most absolute form, 'to pray commonly is for a multitude to aske one and the selfe thing with one voyce, and one consent of minde' (Homily of Common Prayer and Sacraments, ed. 1623, p. 136). Thus in 2 Macc. viii 29 ταθτα δε διαπραξάμενοι καὶ κοινην ικετείαν ποιησάμενοι τον ελεήμονα Κύριον ηξίουν εls τέλος καταλλαγήναι τοις αὐτοῦ δούλοις, the 'common supplication' is that of the assembled army of Judas or of the assembled people generally. In the Testament of the XL martyrs of Sebaste 1 (ap. Gebhardt Ausgewählte Märtyreracten p. 166) ἐπειδὰν τῆ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι καὶ ταῖς κοιναῖς τῶν πάντων εὐχαῖς τὸν προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα τελέσωμεν, the 'prayers' are rather the prayers of individuals, rendered 'common' by the identity of their purpose and object 1; as in S. Basil's ή ἐν ταις προσευχαις κοινωνία (Ep. cli 2) or $\dot{\eta}$ κοινωνία των εὐχων (Ep. lxxiv, Hom. xiv 8); or in S. Innocent I's letter to Aurelius and Augustine (S. Aug. Ep. clxxxiv), 'Gaudere ergo in Domino vestram germanitatem amantissimi cupimus et pro nobis paria ad Deum vota rependere precamur: quia ut bene nostis communibus et alternis plus agimus orationibus quam singularibus aut privatis'; or again in the maxim, 'Wenn ein fürst jedermans gunst und das gemaine gebet verleurt, so ists mit ihm geschehen' (G. Henisch Thesaurus linguae et sapientiae germanicae, Augsburg 1616, p. 1388 l. 28),2 where the 'common prayer' is apparently the scattered but unanimous prayers of the prince's subjects. Or a particular form of prayer may be 'common' as enjoined upon all and fitted for 'common' use, as expressing what are or ought to be the aspirations, desires, and needs of all: as in the Declaration of the Lollard Walter Brute in 1392 (ap. Foxe Acts and Monuments, ed. 1570, p. 593) 'Christ being desired by his disciples to teache

¹ Cp. Clem. Al. Strom. vii 6 § 31 τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀνακειμένων μίαν ὥσπερ ἔχον φωνὴν τὴν κοινὴν καὶ μίαν γνώμην.

² Quoted in Grimm Deutsches Wörterbuch, s. v. Gebet, ii 2 c. Cp. the imperial acclamation in Const. Porphyrog. de Caerim. i 92 αδται κοιναὶ εὐχαί αδται αὶ εὐχαὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης.

them to pray, gaue them the common prayer both to men and women, to the which prayer in my estimation, no other is to be compared. For in that first the whole honour due vnto the deity is comprehended. Secondly whatsoeuer is necessary for vs, both for the time present or past or for time to come is there desired and prayed for.'

2. Hence 'common prayer' or 'common prayers' is used of the public prayers of the Church as contrasted with individual private prayers, and this in a general sense and in specific senses.

As a preface to the illustration of these uses, the interesting passage from S. John Chrysostom, Hom. 18 in 2 Cor. 3, may be quoted at length: 'Η γοῦν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εὐχὴ τὸν Πέτρον ἀπὸ τῶν δεσμών έλυσε [Acts xii 5], τοῦ Παύλου τὸ στόμα ἢνέφξεν [Eph. vi 19]. Ή τούτων ψήφος οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχε καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πνευματικὰς ἀρχὰς έρχομένους κατακοσμεί· διά τοι τοῦτο καὶ ὁ μέλλων χειροτονείν καὶ τὰς έκείνων εύχὰς καλεῖ τότε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιψηφίζονται καὶ ἐπιβοῶσιν ἄπερ ἴσασιν οἱ μεμυημένοι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ θέμις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμυήτων ἐκκαλύπτειν απαντα. Εστι δε οπου ούδε διέστηκεν δ ίερευς του αρχομένου οίον σταν απολαύειν δέη των φρικτών μυστηρίων δμοίως γαρ πάντες άξιούμεθα των αὐτων οὐ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς τὰ μὲν ὁ ἱερεὺς έσθίει, τὰ δὲ ὁ ἀρχόμενος, καὶ θέμις οὐκ ἦν τῷ λαῷ μετέχειν ὧν μετεῖχεν δ ίερεύς άλλ' οὐ νῦν, άλλὰ πᾶσιν εν σῶμα πρόκειται καὶ ποτήριον εν. Καὶ ἐν ταις εὐχαις δὲ πολὺ τὸν λαὸν ἴδοι τις αν συνεισφέρουτα καὶ γὰρ ύπερ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων, ὑπερ τῶν ἐν μετανοία κοιναὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ίερέως καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν γίνονται αἱ εὐχαὶ καὶ πάντες μίαν λέγουσιν εὐχήν, εὐχὴν τὴν ἐλέου γέμουσαν. Πάλιν ἐπειδὰν εἴρξωμεν τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων τους ου δυναμένους της ίερας μετασχείν τραπέζης έτέραν δεί γενέσθαι εὐχὴν καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπ' ἐδάφους κείμεθα καὶ πάντες δμοίως ανιστάμεθα.3 "Όταν είρήνης πάλιν μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ μεταδιδόναι δέη πάντες δμοίως άσπαζόμεθα. Έπ' αὐτῶν πάλιν τῶν φρικωδεστάτων μυστηρίων ἐπεύχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς τῷ λαῷ, ἐπεύχεται καὶ ὁ λαὸς

¹ Cp. the bidding Ἡ θεία χάρις ἡ πάντοτε τὰ ἀσθενῆ θεραπεύουσα καὶ τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀναπληροῦσα κτλ. with the triple Κύριε ἐλέησον in response in the Byzantine ordinations (Goar Euchologion, ed. 1647, pp. 250, 292, 302, &c.), and in all the other oriental rites (Denzinger Rit. or. ii 5, 80, 117, 228, 288, &c.). Chrys. is alluding to some such form, and this form itself may be as old as the fourth century: see S. Didymus de Trinitate ii I ἡ θεία χάρις ἡ τὰ λείποντα ἀναπληροῦσα καὶ τὰ ἀσθενῆ ἰωμένη.

² The prayers for the expelled orders: see Litt. E. & W. pp. 3-9, 471 sq.

³ The prayers of the faithful: ib. 9-12, 472 sq.

⁴ The kiss of peace: ib. 13, 473.

τῷ ἱερεῖ· τὸ γὰρ Μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ τοῦτο.¹
Τὰ τῆς εὐχαριστίας πάλιν κοινά· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος εὐχαριστεῖ μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἄπας· πρότερον γὰρ αὐτῶν λαβὼν φωνὴν εἶτα συντιθεμένων ὅτι ἀξίως καὶ δικαίως τοῦτο γίνεται, τότε ἄρχεται τῆς εὐχαριστίας.² Καὶ τί θαυμάζεις εἴ που μετὰ τοῦ ἱερέως ὁ λαὸς φθέγγεται ὅπου γε καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τῶν χερουβὶμ καὶ τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων κοινῆ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἐκείνους ὕμνους ἀναπέμπει; ³ Ταῦτα δέ μοι πάντα εἴρηται ἴνα ἔκαστος τῶν ἀρχομένων νήφῃ, ἴνα μάθωμεν ὅτι σῶμά ἐσμεν ἄπαντες ἔν τοσαύτην ἔχοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορὰν ὅσην μέλη πρὸς μέλη καὶ μὴ τὸ πῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱερέας ρίπτωμεν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὥσπερ κοινοῦ σώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπάσης οῦτω Φροντίζωμεν.

Chrysostom is urging that the whole liturgical activity of the Church is the activity of the body as a whole, and not of the ministers alone, and is therefore 'common'; and that this community of action is marked in three ways:

- (a) some acts are simply common to ministers and people alike; e.g. the prayers for the expelled orders, the kiss of peace, the communion:
- (b) some acts are bidden by the minister and done by way of response by the people; as in the intercessions for ordinands before their ordination;
- (c) other acts are done by the priest alone, but the context indicates that they are yet 'common', and the minister is only expressing the common intention; e.g. the central eucharistic action prefaced as it is by the Sursum corda, &c. He might have added that the responsive Amen gives this common character to all the prayers of the Church.

These three varieties of form correspond, the third to the general

¹ The salutation before the Sursum corda: ib. 14, 473.

² Ib. 14, 473.

⁴ Compare Hooker E. P. v 39; and the three methods of rendering αὶ κοιναὶ ψαλμφδίαι in the night office of the church of Caesarea as described by S. Basil Ep. ccvii 3 νῦν μὲν διχῆ διανεμηθέντες ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις (the 'antiphonal' method, side answering to side verse by verse) . . . ἔπειτα πάλιν ἐπιτρέψαντες ἐνὶ κατάρχειν τοῦ μέλους οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπηχοῦσιν (the 'responsive' method, the officiant singing the first half of the verse, the congregation responding with the second: cp. S. Ath. de Fuga 24; Constt. ap. ii 57 § 5) . . . ἡμέρας ἡδη ὑπολαμπούσης πάντες κοινῆ ὡς ἐξ ἐνὸς στόματος καὶ μιᾶς καρδίας τὸν τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως ψαλμὸν ἀναφέρουσι τῷ Θεῷ (simultaneous recitation). These methods of 'common psalmody' do not, of course, correspond term by term with the three methods of 'common prayer' above, except in so far as one method of 'responsive' psalmody is analogous to the 'bidding' method of prayer: see below, p. 504 note 2.

sense of 'Common Prayer' as applied to the prayers of the Church, and the first and second to the specific senses already mentioned.

- (1) 'Common Prayer' can stand for the service 1 of the Church generally. In sense, it expresses only the commonplace, on the one hand, that the prayer of the Church is the act of the Church and of all its members, and not of the ministers merely, and this even in the Canon itself (see e.g. Florus of Lyons Expositio missae 80 'in illa sacrosancta oblatione communis servitus exhibetur Deo tam a sacerdotibus quam a cuncta familia domus Dei': cp. 73 sq., 91, 109); and on the other hand, that the individual in reciting the Divine Service by himself need not curtail it or otherwise adapt it to his individual needs, since he is reciting it in the name of the Church (S. Peter Damian Dominus vobiscum passim, ap. Hittorp. pp. 370 sqq.).2
- S. Thomas Aq. Summa II² lxxxiii 12: 'Communis quidem oratio est quae per ministros ecclesiae in persona totius fidelis populi Dei offertur; et ideo oportet quod talis oratio innotescat toti populo pro quo profertur; quod non posset fieri nisi esset vocalis; et ideo rationabiliter institutum est ut ministri ecclesiae huiusmodi orationes etiam alta voce pronuncient, ut ad notitiam omnium possint peruenire.' Here, verbally at least, S. Thomas excludes the Canon from communis oratio.

Lyndwood *Provinciale* ii 3 § 1: 'et nota quod oratio communis, quae fit per ministros ecclesiae in personam totius populi, ut innotescat ei pro quo fit, merito ex institutione debet esse vocalis.'

The Pilgrimage of Perfection, 1526, iii 8: 'How there ben two maner of prayers, a pryuate prayer and a commune prayer, and what difference is bytwene them. . . . Saynt Thomas sayth [secunda secunde q. lxxxiii. art. xiii. Item iiii. sente. d. xv. q. iiii. art. ii.] that there ben two maner of prayers. One in commune and of duty as in yo seruyce of God in yo chirche, sayd or songe, and such other prayers, as the statutes or ordynaunces of religyons commaundeth. . . . The first maner of these prayers ben offred to god, not onely for our selfe, but principally for the hole chirche

¹ I use 'service' throughout as meaning the ritual acts in which primarily the Church offers adoration and thanksgiving and prayer to God, as distinguished from those in which primarily it ministers grace to its members.

² Cp. S. Isidore of Seville Etym. vi 19 § 60 'quarundam horarum communium' as contrasted with the 'unceasing' individual private prayer to which Isidore regards 1 Thess. v 17 as referring.

of Chryst, and all the people of the same, where so euer they be in the worlde.'1

Calvin *Institutes* iii 20 § 29: 'ne contemptui essent communes ecclesiae preces, eas splendidis elogiis olim Deus ornauit: praesertim ubi templum vocavit domum orationis.'

Milasch Τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸν δίκαιον § 136: τοῖς δὲ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ ἀπουσιάζουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς προσευχάς, ἐπειδὴ χωρίζουσιν ἐαυτούς κτλ.; where the whole service of the Church is included in 'the common prayers'.²

Hence 'common prayer' may be used of any part of the service of the Church, or of any prayer or class of prayers belonging to it.

Evagrius Hist. eccles. i 21: κοινὰς δὲ τὰς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν λιτὰς διημερεύουσί τε καὶ διανυκτερεύουσιν—of the offices of cenobitic communities.

Vita S. Athanasii Neapolitani (Muratori Rer. ital. script. ii 2 c. 1054) 'in qua (sc. in Naples) laici simul cum clericis assidue gracce latineque communi prece psallunt Deo debitumque persolvunt iugiter officium': where the reference seems to be to the choir office, but may be general. The Life was written by a contemporary of Athanasius († 887).

Micrologus 7 (ap. Hittorp. p. 334: repeated by Ralph of Tongres de Canonum observatione 23, ib. p. 669)—of the first Collect in the Mass: 'Omnes autem adstantes, iuxta antiquam sanctorum patrum traditionem, in signum confirmationis Amen subiungere debent, ut communem orationem quam sacerdos pro omnibus libauit confirment.'

Manuzzi Vocabolario della lingua italiana, Florence 1859, s.v. comune (i 762): 'Le comuni orazioni, e quelle cose che in confessione, in capitolo, o vero altrove, per varie cagioni, gli sono comandate, abbia in primo luogo'—quoted from an old translation of a letter ascribed to S. Bernard. Here the 'common prayers' seem clearly to be the choir-offices, as obligatory upon a member of a religious order or a chapter.

S. Thomas Aq. Summa III lxxxiii 4: 'in celebratione aliorum sacramentorum non fit communis oratio pro salute fidelium defunctorum [the second Memento in the Canon]. deinde agitur de perceptione sacramenti et primo praeparatur populus

¹ I owe this reference to the New English Dictionary, s.v. Common Prayer.

² I quote from the translation, Athens 1906: the work was written in Servian.

ad percipiendum, primo quidem per orationem communem totius populi quae est oratio dominica [the Lord's Prayer after the Canon] . . . in his tamen quaedam dicit publice, scilicet quae pertinent et ad sacerdotem et ad populum sicut sunt orationes communes, quaedam vero pertinent ad solum sacerdotem sicut oblatio et consecratio, et ideo quae circa haec sunt dicenda occulte a sacerdote dicuntur: in utrisque tamen excitat attentionem populi dicendo *Dominus vobiscum* et expectat assensum dicentium *Amen*.'

Flerscheimer Chronik p. 53 (ed. O. Waltz, Leipzig 1874): 'Da Frantz von Sickhingen, in dem das man mess gehalten uund das gemein gebet fur sie gethan, durch herr Niclausen bericht (dem dann uber dem altar gesagt sie sey schon verschieden), das sie todt' &c.¹ In this passage (written after 1542 and referring to the death of Franz von Sickingen's wife), unless 'mess uund das gemein gebet' is to be taken as one expression to mean the proper mass pro iter agentibus or pro infirmo, either of which would fit the circumstances, 'the common prayer' would seem to denote the Officium mortuorum.

Hermann von Wied Simplex ac pia deliberatio, Cologne 1545, f. xcii b: 'Ob id enim populum Minister compellat hac uoce. Dominus uobiscum. Et, Oremus, & populus respondet, Et cum Spiritu tuo, significans eo, communem sibi cum Ministro precem fieri... Et quia debet communis hæc oratio esse totius Ecclesiæ, Collecta dicitur, eo quòd ceu collecta ex præsentium omnium uotis, Deo per Ministrum offeratur, uel quòd sit oratio collectæ in unum & pariter Dominum precantis Ecclesiæ' (not so fully expressed in the original German, Einfaltigs Bedenken, 1543, f. cv: cp. Durandus Rationale iv 15 § 13). Cp. Landesordnung des Herzogthums Preussen, 1525 (Richter Evangelische Kirchenordnungen i p. 25), Preussische Kirchenordnung, 1544 (ib. ii p. 67).

'Generalis' may also be used in the same application: S. Bernardino of Siena *Dom. i in Quadrages. Sermo* x (*Opera* ii p. 60): 'tertio vero in diebus festis orationi generali [insistendum est], id est attente seu devote et cum omni reverentia divinum officium audiendum est.'

A modification of this use of the phrase is found in *Micrologus* 18: 'nam beatus Innocentius papa, scribens sancto Augustino et Aurelio episcopis, asserit quod nos plus communibus et publicis

¹ Ouoted in Grimm Deutsches Wörterbuch u. s.

quam singularibus et privatis orationibus proficere poterimus' where it is applied to the essential prayers of the rite as distinguished from the private prayers of the ministers during its course, prayers which vary from church to church, in the several uses of the rite. The writer is criticizing the multiplication of private prayers for the celebrant before communion, and adapts to his purpose the letter of S. Innocent I quoted above (p. 498).

- (2) Specifically, 'common prayers' are those of the public prayers in which the faithful co-operate explicitly by word or action (ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐν ἐνὶ στόματι, Rom. xv 6), as opposed to the prayers of the priest with which they co-operate only in intention and by a final assent (δ $\partial v \alpha \pi \lambda \eta \rho \hat{\omega} v \tau \delta v \tau \delta \pi \rho v \tau \delta \hat{v}$ $\delta i \delta i \hat{\omega} \tau \rho v \dots \hat{\epsilon} \rho \epsilon \hat{i} \tau \delta$ 'Αμὴν ἐπὶ τῆ σῆ εὐχαριστία, I Cor. xiv 16). This explicit co-operation has been expressed for the most part, not by the simultaneous recitation of prolonged prayers, but by means of two closely related forms of prayer, the Litany and the 'Bidding of Bedes'. In a litany either the minister begins each petition and the people finish it with a standing response, or the minister bids the subject and the people make the petition whether by a vocal response or by silent prayer for which an interval is left.² The bidding of bedes is a modification of the bidding form of the litany, the biddings being recited continuously and the whole closed with
- 1 Simultaneous recitation of prayers at length is perhaps confined to the Lord's Prayer in the eastern (Litt. E. & W. i passim: S. Greg. Magn. Epp. ix 12) and Gallican rites (S. Greg. Turon. de mir. S. Martini ii 30). In the Book of Common Prayer, in 1549 no prayer is directed to be said 'with' or 'after' the minister, and the people take vocal part in prayers only by way of response; in 1552, in the choir-office the confession is to be said 'after' the minister, and the essential Paternoster by 'minister, clerks and people'; in the liturgy, the Paternoster after communion is to be said after the priest clause by clause (cp. Hooker E. P. v 36 § 1): in 1661 the Paternoster, 'wherever it occurs in divine service,' is to be said 'with' the minister, but its division into clauses indicates that 'with' means the same as 'after', and, while the rubric as to the confession before communion is incoherent and unintelligible, the division of the confession itself into clauses again suggests that it is to be said 'after' the minister. In short there are no certain directions for simultaneous recitation by ministers and people.
- ² The ancient method of responsive psalmody is analogous to this, the deacon or the reader reciting the text of the psalm, and the people, who of course had no books, responding with a standing refrain, which survives in the 'antiphon' to the psalm. I imagine that the fifteenth canon of Laodicea, which forbids 'others than the canonical singers' to sing, did not forbid the people to sing their own part, the refrain, which they knew, but only to create disturbance by attempting to sing the text of the psalm which they did not necessarily know.

prayers in which the people take part vocally. 'Common prayer' therefore, specifically, denotes the Litany and the Bidding Prayer.

a. The Litany as common prayer.

In all rites there is, or has been, in the Mass, after the sermon which follows the Gospel, a litany of intercession, the 'prayers of the faithful', forming the opening feature of the mass of the faithful. In the Roman liturgy this litany has fallen into disuse except on Good Friday, when the *Orationes sollemnes* are still said, while on all other days they are represented only by the isolated *Oremus* before the offertory. In some rites also this litany has been preceded by a series of litanies for catechumens, penitents, &c., recited, one for each order, before the expulsions. 'Common prayers' is, perhaps most frequently before the sixteenth century, applied to these litanies after the sermon'; but it is also used of Litanies generally.

S. Justin Martyr Apol. i 67: ἔπειτα (after the sermon) ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῆ πάντες καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν: ib. 65 (referring to the same feature of the liturgy) κοινὰς εὐχὰς ποιησόμενοι ὑπέρ τε ἐαυτῶν καὶ τοῦ φωτισθέντος καὶ ἄλλων πανταχοῦ πάντων. This no doubt implies an at least inchoate form of litany.²

Origen in Matt. xxvi 36 (iii p. 901) 'In ecclesiis Christi consuetudo tenuit ut qui manifesti sunt in magnis delictis eiciantur ab oratione communi': i.e. expelled after the mass of the catechumens and so excluded in the first place from the prayers of the faithful which follow.

- S. Chrys. hom. 18 in 2 Cor. 3: καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοία κοιναὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν γίνονται αἱ εὐχαὶ καὶ πάντες μίαν λέγομεν εὐχήν: de incompr. Dei nat. iv 4 ἴνα τοῦ δήμον τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης ἔνδον παρούσης κοιναὶ περὶ αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν ἐνεργουμένων) ἰκετηρίαι γένωνται πάντων ὁμοθυμαδὸν τὸν κοινὸν δεσπότην ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐξαιτουμένων. The reference in these passages is to the litanies for the expelled orders. Cp. in Eph. iii 5 ὅταν ἀκούσης Δεηθῶμεν πάντες κοινῆ—the opening of a litany. Cp. also de prophet. obscur. ii 5: hom. 2 in 2 Cor. 5.
 - S. Aug. Ep. lv 34: 'Aut antistes clara voce deprecatur aut

¹ The 'common' character of the prayers of the faithful is marked by the Είπωμεν πάντες with which the Byzantine form opens (Litt, E. & W. p. 373) and the Dicamus omnes of the Gallican (Stowe Missal f. 16b).

² See the remarks of Th. Harnack Der christliche Gottesdienst pp. 247 sqq.

communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur': where the deacon's 'bidding' of 'common prayer' is contrasted with the bishop's prayer.

Eusebius Gallus hom. in Litaniis (Bibl. patr. Lugdun. vi p. 645) 'inter haec autem ille se ab oratione communi reddat alienum qui se his periculis non sentit obnoxium': where the reference is to the Gallican Rogations.

Byzantine Liturgy, the prayer of the third antiphon of the Enarxis, i.e. our 'Prayer of Saint Chrysostom' (Litt. E. & W. i pp. 311, 367): 'Ο τὰς κοινὰς ταύτας καὶ συμφώνους ἡμῖν χαρισάμενος προσευχάς: where the reference is apparently to the litanies and hymns which accompany the prayers.

Missale Gothicum Orationes paschales (Nealeand Forbes Gallican masses p. 93) 'Communicatis precibus ac fletibus pro fratribus ac sororibus nostris Domini misericordiam deprecemur'. These prayers are a series of biddings 'for all sorts and conditions of men', each followed by a collect. The corresponding prayers in the Mozarabic liturgy have a space for silent prayer, marked by Flectamus genua and Levate, between each bidding and its collect (Migne P. L. lxxxv 448 sqq.).

Missale Francorum (Muratori Lit. vet. rom. ii 666 sqq.): in the ordinations, after the Dignus est which finally expresses the popular election, the bishop says, for deacons 'Commune votum communis prosequatur oratio, ut', &c.; for presbyters 'Sit nobis, fratres, communis oratio, ut', &c.; for bishops 'Deum...deprecemur uti hunc famulum suum . . . ad eorum (sc. plebis) nunc precem universam eundem summo sacerdotio . . . locupletet . . . ut igitur ... idoneus fiat ... adtentissimis concordissimisque omnium precibus adiuvemur; omnium pro ipso oratio incumbat . . . impetret ei affectus totius ecclesiae', &c.; after which follows in each case the benedictio of the order. The Gallican ordinations are now only preserved as combined with the Roman forms, and so placed that the Litany has already occurred in the preceding Roman formula. But it may be supposed that the Litany also occurred in the Gallican rite between the praefatio or bidding and the benedictio, and is what is meant by the communis oratio, and by its synonyms in the praefatio of bishops. Otherwise the communis oratio must be a silent prayer on the part of the faithful for which an interval was left.

- S. Bernard de gradibus Humilitatis 22 § 56: 'etsi enim a communibus orationibus ipsi se excludunt, sed ab affectibus omnino non possunt. viderint tamen in quanto periculo sint pro quibus ecclesia palam orare non audeat, quae fidenter etiam pro Iudaeis, pro haereticis, pro gentilibus orat. cum enim in Parasceve nominatim oretur pro quibuslibet malis, nulla tamen mentio fit de excommunicatis.' Here the reference is to the orationes sollemnes of Good Friday.
- S. Symeon of Thessalonica adv. omnes Haereses 339 (Migne P. G. clv 613) λιτανεία δέ έστι παράκλησις πρὸς Θεὸν καὶ ἰκεσία κοινὴ καὶ δι' ὀργὴν ἐπιφερομένην καὶ χάριν εὐχαριστίας ὑπὲρ ἀγαθῶν δωρηθέντων . . . καὶ τῆς κοινῆς εὐχῆς τοῦ Κύριε ἐλέησον ἀδομένου κτλ.
- G. Chastellain Chronique vi I § 65 (ed. Lattenhove, Brussels 1864, iv p. 207) 'Donc ceux de Londres, mesme le roy Edouart, en firent processions générales, sermons et dévotes solemnités, là où communes prières furent enjointes à tout l'universel peuple pour ce prince'. The ceremonies referred to are those celebrated in 1461 on the receipt of the news of the illness of Francesco The 'common prayers' are probably those of the 'general processions', viz. the Litany and its collects; but they may be those of the Bidding of the Bedes, and belong to the next heading. Chastellain's words suggest-especially when they are compared with the description which follows of what happened in France on the same occasion—that he is referring directly to the mandate by which the 'solemnities' were enjoined; but I cannot find the mandate in Wilkins, nor can I find, among the many mandates for such observances collected in Wilkins, any instance earlier than the sixteenth century which refers to the prayers ordered—i.e. the Litany—as 'common prayer'. The nearest approach to it I have found is the letter of Winchelsey in 1295 'ad excitandum populum ad orationes et eleemosynas...pro quibusdam nobilibus et discretis ad partes Vasconiae et Franciae transmissis', which has 'ut pro statu et tranquillitate regni Angliae processiones et orationes, eleemosynae, jejunia et caetera pietatis suffragia per ecclesias fierent in communi' (Wilkins Concilia ii 216).

Sächsische Kirchenordnung, 1539 (ap. Richter, i p. 313) 'Wiewol das volck bey allen Emptern in der Kirchen zum Gebet

¹ I owe this reference to the New English Dictionary, s.v. Common Prayer.

sol vermanet vnd angehalten werden, Doch sol man auch zu sonderlichen bestimpten zeiten, das gemeine Gebet der Litania halten, als auff die vier Quatember eine wochenlang, In den Stedten alle Mitwochen oder Freitage in der wochen, nach der predigt'. So Brandenburgische Kirchenordn. 1540 (ib. 329).

Hermann von Wied Einfaltigs Bedenken, 1543 (ib. ii p. 42) 'Vnd dweil das Kyrieeleyson ein algemein gebet, vnnd das Gloria in excelsis, einn gemein lobgesang ist, sollen die Pastoren sehen, das das volck diese gesang gelehret werde auch in Teutsch zu singen'.

Similarly 'generalis oratio' may be used, as in Rabanus Maurus de Institutione clericorum i 33 'post introitum autem sacerdotis ad altare litaniae¹ aguntur a clero ut generalis oratio specialem praeveniat sacerdotis'.

b. The Bidding of the Bedes as common prayer.

The litany of the faithful at the opening of the mass of the faithful, which had vanished from the Roman rite on all days except Good Friday, was replaced on this side of the Alps, at least from the end of the ninth century, by the less formal 'Bidding of the Bedes'. At first, as will be seen below, this retained an old form of the Litany, each bidding being followed by an interval for silent prayer, after which a collect was said by the priest. Later, the biddings were combined, generally into two paragraphs, for the living and for the dead respectively, and the prayers followed each paragraph. In Germany the Bidding followed the sermon; in France and in parish churches in England, at least in later usage, it preceded the sermon. In cathedral churches in England it was recited during the procession, under the rood. The Bidding, perhaps from the first, was in the vernacular, and so far Hamon L'Estrange's statement may stand-'of all the service then used this only could be called common prayer as being the only form wherein the whole congregation did join in concert' (Alliance of the Divine Offices vi, A.C.L. p. 136); but only so far, since the prayers themselves were recited in Latin.

I have not found any unambiguous instance of the 'Bidding Prayer' being called simply 'common prayer' or 'common prayers' earlier than the sixteenth century; but in the first

¹ i.e. the Kyrie eleison, which is the survival of a litany and continued to be called Litaniae: cp. Walafrid Strabo de rebus ecclesiast. 23 'Laetaniae autem quae sequuntur, id est Kirie eleison et Christe eleison'; Micrologus 1.

explicit reference to it, as below, it is directed to be said 'in commune', and in the sixteenth century the title is used so frequently and so instinctively, especially in Germany, that it seems to be traditional.

Regino of Prum de eccles. discipl. i 190 (Migne P. L. cxxxii 224) 'Oportet ut diebus festis vel dominicis, post sermonem intra missarum sollemnia habitum ad plebem, sacerdos admoneat ut iuxta apostolicam institutionem orationem omnes in commune pro diuersis necessitatibus fundant ad Dominum pro regibus et rectoribus ecclesiarum, pro pace, pro peste, pro infirmis qui in ipsa parochia lecto decumbunt, pro nuper defunctis, in quibus singillatim precibus plebs orationem dominicam sub silentio dicat, sacerdos vero orationes ad hoc pertinentes per singulas admonitiones sollemniter expleat. Post haec sacra celebretur oblatio'.¹ This is repeated by S. Ivo of Chartres Decret. ii 120.

Luther Deutsche Messe, 1526 (Richter, i p. 39) 'Es sihet, als habens die alten bis her, auff der Cantzel gethan, daher noch blieben ist, das man auff der Cantzel gemeyn gebet thut, odder das vater vnser fur spricht'.

Hereafter in the Lutheran Kirchenordnungen this intercession after the sermon, called 'das gemein' or 'allgemein Gebet' or 'das gemein Gebet für alle Stände', becomes a constant feature, sometimes in the form of a bidding prayer (e.g. Pomerania 1542, Richter, ii p. 3: cp. Daniel Cod. lit. iii p. 39), sometimes the Litany (Prussia 1544, ib. p. 67), sometimes only a prayer of the minister (Albertine Saxony 1580, Sehling Evang. Kirchenordn. i p. 370). It is unnecessary to quote further examples at length; but see Richter i p. 319 (Hamburg), ii p. 116 (Halle), 42, 50 (Cologne), 138 (Würtemberg), Sehling i pp. 440 (Saxony), 567 (Gottleuba), 684 (Torgau), 595 (Leipzig).

¹ Perhaps it is these prayers that are referred to in *Capitulary* i 4 of Charlemagne, A. D. S10, with which Baluze connects Regino's rule (Baluze *Regin. Prum. de eccles. discipl.* exc p. 95; cciv p. 104).

³ In the English translation of Hermann's Consultation 1547 and 1548 'gemein gebet' is rendered 'common prayer'.

³ On the traditional German Pronaus (French prone) of the Mass—i.e. the sermon, the public confession, the bidding prayer, and the notices for the week—see Thalhofer Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik, Freiburg-i.-B. 1883-90, ii pp. 123 sqq., where it is remarked: 'Dieses allgemeine Gebet ist so recht ein Stück kräftiger Volksliturgie und wird daher füglich vom ganzen Volke gemeinsam gebetet, vom Prediger nur angestimmt; betet er es allein und laut vor, so thut er es jedenfalls

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In England during the sixteenth century, not only after, but also before the influence of the occurrence of the phrase in the title of the new service-book made it popular in its present vague use, 'common prayer' or 'common prayers' is frequently found. It is used in the specific senses already noticed; and it gains a new importance in the general sense as applied by way of a standing title to 'Divine Service'; but in many instances its exact denotation is quite ambiguous. All that is possible is to collect the instances of unambiguous use, and under them to arrange tentatively cases that are ambiguous.

1. The Litany.

Henry VIII to Cranmer, Aug. 20, 1543 (Cranmer Miscellaneous Writings, ed. Parker Soc. p. 493): 'Forasmuch as there hath been now a late and still continueth much rain, and other unseasonable weather, whereby is like to ensue great hurt and damage to the corn and fruits now ripe upon the ground ... we ... have thought good to cause the [people] to be exhorted by you and other the prelates of this our realm... to call unto God for mercy, and with devout and humble prayers and supplications every person, both by himself apart, and also by common prayer, to beseech Him to send unto us seasonable and temperate weather . . . for the which purpose we require you, and nevertheless command you, to send unto all your brethren the bishops within your province, to cause such general rogations and processions to be made incontinently within their dioceses, as in like case heretofore hath been accustomed in this behalf accordingly.' Here 'common prayer' for a particular emergency is to find expression in the 'accustomed' form of a rogation or litany.

Exhortation to prayer and Litany, Berthelet, 27 May 1544 (the first edition of the English Litany) it is thought convenient in this common prayer of procession to have it set forth and used in the vulgar tongue.

Litany, 1544, fin.: 'Almightie God whiche haste given vs grace at thys tyme with one accorde to make our commune supplicacyons vnto thee.'

zunächst im Namen des Volks.' The directions for the *Pronaus* are to be found in the diocesan *Ritualia* or *Agendae*: in that of Salzburg, 1675, the prayer is called *oratio generalis* (ii p. 547).

A letter from the lords of the council for prayers on sundays and holy days, May 6, 1548 (Wilkins Concilia iv p. 26) 'this is to will and require you to give advertisement and commandment to all the curates in your diocese, that every Sunday and holy day in their common prayer they make devout and hearty intercession to Almighty God for victory and peace'—and a form of prayer is enclosed 'the which we would that you and they should follow and read it instead of one of the collects of the King's majesty's procession', i.e. the Litany. The form of prayer here referred to is quite probably that printed in Jenkins Cranmer's Remains ii p. 186, headed 'The Common Prayer'. But it is likely that 'common prayer' includes also the Bidding of the Bedes, the more so that Cranmer provided a further clause for the Bidding on the same occasion: see Jenkins ib. p. 187.1

Probably the following should be included under this head.

Articles to be followed and observed according to the king's majesty's injunctions and proceedings 1549 (Cardwell Doc. Ann. i p. 64) 'That the common prayer upon Wednesdays and Fridays be diligently kept, according to the king's ordinances, exhorting such as may conveniently come to be there': similarly in Ridley's Injunctions 1550 (ib. p 83). These apparently refer to and enforce the first rubric after the Mass in the book of 1549, 'Upon wednesdays and fridays the English Litany shall be said or sung in all places, after such form as is appointed by the king's majesty's injunctions: or as is or shall be otherwise appointed by his highness'—with the 'antecommunion' following. reference of the rubric is commonly, I think, supposed to be to the Injunctions of 1547, and in that case it only covers the 'form', since those Injunctions have nothing about Wednesdays and Fridays, but only require that the Litany shall be said before the high Mass, kneeling and without perambulation. But it is plain from the other passages cited above that there must have been another injunction which has disappeared, and all three passages become clear if it directed the Litany to be used on Wednesdays and Fridays. The similar 48th Injunction of

¹ The relation of the Bidding Prayer to the Litany had become very close. As we have seen, in cathedral churches the bidding was made in the procession; but since 1545 the Litany had been the only procession in use.

Elizabeth, 1559, is explicit (ib. p. 196): 'That weekly upon Wednesdays and Fridays, not being holy days, the curate at the accustomed hours of service shall resort to church, and cause warning to be given to the people by knolling of a bell, and say the litany and prayers.' It is to be remembered that the Litany was not yet, what (in imitation of the Scotch Book of 1637) it was practically made to be in 1661, an appendage to Matins; and consequently its use was provided for independently of the rule as to the recitation of the choir-offices and without the exceptions allowed by that rule.

And possibly the following is to be added.

Articles against Gardiner (Foxe Acts and Monuments, 1563, p. 757) 'and touchinge the procession and common prayer in english'—referring to the requirements made of Gardiner as to the subject-matter of his sermon before the king in June 1548. The phrase may well be only the equivalent of the 'common prayer of procession' of 1544 and mean the English Litany.¹ But it is possible that 'common prayer' means the Bidding of the Bedes, as in the Injunctions, and that the reference is to a proposal, otherwise, so far as I know, unrecorded, that the bedes themselves and not only, as had always been the case, the Bidding, should be said in English.

2. The Bidding Prayer.

Injunctions of 1547, fin. (Cardwell Doc. Ann. i p. 21) 'The form of bidding the common prayers. Ye shall pray for the whole congregation of Christ's church', &c. In 1559, when 'common prayer' was currently used in a wider sense, this title

¹ The original editions of Foxe, 1563 and 1570, read as above: the reprint of Townsend and Pratt, 1870, has 'the procession, and Common Prayer in English'; Dr Gasquet and Mr Bishop, Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer pp. 111 sq. (1st ed.), paraphrase 'processions, and the establishment of Common Prayer in English', and comment 'He was consequently not merely commanded to express his approval of what had actually been done, but also of what Somerset and Cranmer proposed to do'. In any case this is something of an exaggeration; for matins and evensong and the Mass itself had already been used in English (ib. p. 102); and here, if so it be, only the principle of common prayer in English is referred to, not the particular form which it might take in the future. But anyhow there is a difficulty which this interpretation does not remove; for the Litany had been in English since May 1544, and had been enforced as the ordinary Sunday and festal procession since the middle of 1545 (Letters and papers foreign and domestic: Henry VIII xx pt. i p. 550: Wriothesley Chronicle, ed. Camden Soc. i p. 161), and presumably Gardiner had already accepted it.

was altered, in the Injunctions of Elizabeth, to 'The form of bidding the prayers to be used generally in this uniform sort' (Cardwell Doc. Ann. i p. 202).

Here, I think, should be added Institution of a Christian man 1537 (the 'Bishops' Book') and Necessary doctrine and erudition for any Christian man 1543 (the 'King's Book') on the fourth commandment (Lloyd Formularies of faith put forth during the reign of Henry VIII pp. 143 sqq., 307 sqq.: the words in brackets are only in the King's Book): 'We be bound by this precept at certain times to cease from bodily labour, and to give our minds entirely and wholly unto God, to hear [the divine service approved, used, and observed in the church, and also] the word of God, to acknowledge our own sinfulness unto God, and his great mercy and goodness unto us, to give thanks unto him for his benefits, to make public and common prayer for all things needful'; and below 'Against this commandment generally do offend all they' who do not cease from pleasing themselves, who spend holy days in idleness instead of spiritual exercises, who hear the divine Word heedlessly, who distract themselves 'in Mass time', 'and likewise do all those, which in such time as the common prayers be made, or the word of God is taught, not only themselves do give none attendance thereunto, but also by [reading], walking, talking, and other evil demeanour, let other that could well use themselves.' Now obviously the statement of the positive devotional duties of the holy days—a first sketch of the exhortation 'Dearly beloved brethren' of 1552—is not so much a description of particular services of the Church, as a statement of the needs which those services and private devotions are meant to satisfy, and therefore the insertion of the allusion to 'divine service' in the King's book, however desirable practically, is rather illogical. But if it be asked where the 'public and common prayer for all things needful' finds its expression, it is easy to point to the Bidding Prayer and the Litany. But the Litany would only be heard by the people on a few days in the year; while the Bedes were heard nearly every Sunday, and being bidden in the vernacular were conspicuous and familiar, and they covered 'all things requisite and necessary both for the body and the soul' at least as adequately as anything else in the Breviary or in the Book of Common VOL. X. Ll

Prayer apart from the Litany.¹ It is noticeable also that the 'common prayers' and the 'word of God' are the only parts of 'divine service' to which the detailed attention of 'the ignorant people', as distinguished from occupation with their own devotions, is asked for; and this is natural if the common prayers are the bidding of the bedes and consequently the only element in the service which was in the vernacular, except the sermon, and after 1542 two lessons of Scripture. And this conclusion is confirmed by Tyndale's description in 1532 of the public prayers for 'the common necessities' (Exposition of Matthew v. vi. vii, ed. Parker Soc. p. 79): 'we must have a place to come together, to pray in general, to thank and to cry to God for the common necessities, as well as to preach the word of God in: where the priest ought to pray in the mother tongue, that the name of God may be hallowed, and his word faithfully taught and truly understood, and faith and godly living increased; and for the king and rulers, that God will give them his Spirit, to love the commonwealth; and for peace, that God will defend us from all enemies; for wedering and fruits, that God will keep away pestilence and all plagues': where it is evident that the Bidding Prayer, the only public devotion at that moment which 'ought to' be said 'in the mother tongue', is being summarized.

Articles to be enquired of in the visitations to be had within the diocese of Canterbury, 1547 (Cardwell Doc. Ann. i p. 42) 'Whether in their common prayers they use not the collects made for the king, and make not special mention of his majesty's name in the same'. These prayers might be either the Litany or the Bedes. But since in the next enquiry the Litany is called 'the English procession', they are more likely to be the Bedes.

The Council to Bonner, May 23, 1555 (Wilkins, iv p. 128) 'to

¹ See the forms of Bidding Prayer in Honorius of Autun Speculum ecclesiae (Migne P. L. clxxii 819 sqq.); Burnet Reformation ii app. p. 104 (1509); the collection in Forms of Bidding Prayer, Oxford 1840; the French 'prone' in Manuale Noviomense, 1546, fin. (Noyon), Rituel du diocèse de Sens, 1694, pp. 405-426. The Sarum form is meagre as compared with some others. It is to be remembered that the preces of the Divine Service were not said on Sundays and festivals. In Hermann Einfalt. Bedenk. (Richter, ii p. 42) the 'gemein Gebet' after the sermon is called 'das gepet fur alle stende vnnd notturfft der kirchen' (English translation 1547 'a prayer for all states of men and necessities of the congregation').

cause common prayers to be used for this purpose' (viz. for peace between the Emperor and France) in all churches within your diocese... and in the same their common prayers to pray also to Almighty God' for the conclave engaged in the election of a pope.

3. The Divine Service.

Prayer Book of 1549, title: 'The book of common prayer and administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church: after the use of the Church of England.'

ib. Preface: 'the common prayers of the Church, commonly called divine service.'

Act of Uniformity, 1549: 'Where of long time there hath been had in this Realm of England, and in Wales, divers forms of Common Prayer, commonly called the service of the Church: that is to say the Use of Sarum,' &c.

Here 'common prayer' or 'common prayers' is distinguished from 'the administration of the sacraments and other rites', and is equated with 'divine service' or the 'service of the Church'. Now in England 'divine service', servitium divinum, generally meant the choir offices, the contents of the Breviary, as contrasted with the Mass and the contents of the Missal.1 Besides, the Preface of 1549, now called (since 1661) 'Concerning the Service of the Church', treats only of the choir office, as it did in its first form in Cranmer's experimental reformation of the Breviary, and in the original from which Cranmer for the most part derived it, the Breviarium Romanum of Quignon, while Cranmer's 'common prayers of the church commonly called divine service' translates Quignon's 'horarias preces quas canonicas etiam appellamus'.2 It might seem then that in the book of 1549 'common prayer' means simply and exactly what 'divine service' meant, and that it covers only matins and evensong, along with the Litany, which

¹ For the popular use of 'divine service' in this sense see Chaucer Canterbury Tales Prologue, Prioress; Cavendish The Life and Death of Thomas Wolsey passim. In the Sarum Consuctudinary and Customary (Frere Use of Sarum i) servitium is generally used of the choir offices, officium of the mass; but sometimes servitium is used of the mass, while officium is used frequently (pp. 159, 180, &c.) and officium servitii sometimes (pp. 174, 182) of the choir offices. In the Rationale 'divine service', and in the 25th Injunction of 1547 'service', denote the choir office simply.

² Gasquet and Bishop Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer pp. 356 sqq. L l 2

was also contained in the Breviary and was already, as we have seen, regarded as typically common prayer. But on the other hand, 'divine service' was sometimes used more loosely in the sixteenth century; e.g. in Cromwell's Injunctions of 1538 (Gee and Hardy Documents p. 280), in Necessary doctrine as quoted above, and in the book of 1540 itself, in the seventh rubric after the Mass, it is used in a sense which must include the Mass.¹ In the reign of Mary, in the 10th of the Articles directed by the Oueen to Bonner (Cardwell Doc. Ann. i p. 113), in Bonner's Visitation Articles 7, 12, 18 (ib. pp. 126, 128 sq.) and in Pole's Visitation Articles: touching the lay people 4, 5 (ib. p. 173), 'divine service' includes the Mass and is in fact equivalent to 'mass, matins and eveningsong' (ib. p. 175). As we have already seen, the 'common prayers' of Wednesdays and Fridays included the 'antecommunion'. And again, further down in the Act of Uniformity, the contents of the book are described (Gee and Hardy p. 360) as 'the Matins, Evensong, celebration of the Lord's Supper, commonly called the Mass, and administration of each of the sacraments and all their common and open prayer', and (ib. p. 361) the use of 'any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of Mass . . . or Matins. Evensong, administration of the sacraments, or other open prayer than is mentioned or set forth in the said book' is forbidden under penalties. Here the Mass is, quite properly, distinguished from the administration of the Sacraments, a distinction which was especially emphasized at the moment, since for some months. while the Mass remained in Latin, 'the order of the Communion' had been in English; a distinction too which has left its mark on the title of the Mass in the book of 1549, 'The Supper of the Lord and the holy Communion, commonly called the Mass': so that the Mass, apart from the Communion, is not included in the administration of the sacraments and must belong to 'common prayer'. Consequently 'common prayer' and its equivalent 'divine service' do not exclude, and in fact seem to be

¹ In the book of 1549 'divine service' occurs only in the two places mentioned above: 'service' in the rubric after the twenty-fifth Sunday after Trinity is of 1552, and covers both choir office and mass: the other instances of 'divine service' in the present book are of 1661 and obviously cover both, if not in fact everything done in church.

intended to cover, the Mass, with its bidding prayer, otherwise provided for outside the book, as well as the choir offices and the Litany.

This use is further illustrated by the following.

Rationale (1545-1547¹: Strype Eccl. Mem. i app. cix) 'Ceremonies used in the Mass... And first, it is to be understanded, that the Priest is a common Minister in the name and sted of the whole congregation, and, as the mouth of the same, not only rendreth thanks unto God for Christs death and passion, but also maketh the common prayer, and commendeth the people and their necessities in the same unto Almighty God.' But perhaps 'the common prayer' is here the bidding of the bedes.

Some questions with answers made to them by the bishops of Worcester, Chichester and Hereford (i.e. Heath, Day and Skyp) 1547 (Cranmer Miscellaneous Writings, Parker Soc. p. 153) 'Whether in the primitive church there were any priests that lived by saying of mass, matins and evensong and praying for souls only . . . Answer. There were priests in the primitive church which preached not, but exercised themselves in prayer for the quick and the dead, and other spiritual ministrations in the church, and accustomably used common prayers both morning and evening'; where the 'common prayers both morning and evening' of the answer corresponds to the 'matins and evensong' or 'mass, matins and evensong' of the question.

Tunstall in Answers to queries concerning abuses in the Mass 1547 (Burnet Reformation ii app. pp. 146, 138) 'the Mass, being the common prayer of the whole Church'; 'the Mass by Christ's institution consisteth in those things which be set forth in the Evangelists... with... common prayer for the mystical body of Christ.'

¹ The date of the so-called Rationale seems to me to be fixed for one of these three years by the section on General and particular processions; for this provides 'that in al processions the maner of praying appointed by the King's injunctions'—i.e. the English Litany—'be observed', and cannot therefore be earlier than 1545 (see p. 512 n. 1 above); and it implies perambulation, which was forbidden by the Injunctions of 1547. And it is obviously intermediate between the Necessary doctrine of 1543 and the Book of Common Prayer of 1549; for while its exposition of the minor ceremonies is derived from the section on the Fourth Commandment in the former (which repeats it from the Institution of 1537), its account of the rationale of ceremonies in general is identical in substance with the note Of Ceremonies in the latter.

Under this head perhaps the following ought to be included.

Injunctions 20, 1547 (Cardwell Doc. Ann. i p. 13) 'That no person shall from henceforth alter or change the order and manner of any fasting day that is commanded, or of common prayer or divine service, otherwise than is specified in these injunctions'-which repeats one of Cromwell's injunctions of 1538 (Gee and Hardy Documents p. 280), only substituting 'common' for 'any' and 'these' for 'the said'. language 'common prayer' and 'divine service', covered as they are by a single 'of', ought to be equivalents; and in that case they would be used synonymously in what appears to be their meaning in 1549. But perhaps precision of language in that period, or in any period, can scarcely be so closely pressed, and the meaning of 'common prayer' ought perhaps to be determined by 'common prayers' as used further down in the Injunctions. And in that case, 'divine service' would keep the general sense it has in the original injunction of 1538, and the changes referred to would be those of Injunction 22 above (Epistle and Gospel in English in high Mass; and an English lesson in Matins and Evensong, with abridgement of the offices to make room for them); while 'common prayer' would be the Bidding of the Bedes, for which a modified formula is provided at the end of the Injunctions.

Articles to be enquired of in the visitations to be had within the diocese of Canterbury, 1547, 62 (Cardwell Doc. Ann. i p. 49) 'Whether in the time of the litany, or any other common prayer in the time of the sermon or homily, and when the priest readeth the scripture to the parishioners, any person have departed out of the church', &c.: derived from the twenty-fourth Injunction of 1547 with the substitution 'or any other common prayer in the time' for 'of the mass': ib. 72 (ibid. p. 50) 'whether any have used to commune, jangle and talk in the church in the time of the common prayer, reading of the homily, preaching, reading or declaring of the scripture': similarly no. 80, and Ridley's Injunction (ib. p. 84). In the first of these passages it is certainly implied that litany and bidding prayer before a sermon otherwise isolated are 'common prayer'; but in all three cases 'common prayer' would seem to be used in the larger sense.

III

Hitherto the denotation of 'common prayer' has been principally illustrated, and the phrase has been taken to connote prayer made by or in the name of all the faithful, who take their part in it either vocally or by intention. But in some few of the examples of its use already quoted it seems at least to include something more than this, while in some examples it may be doubtful what is the precise connotation intended. But the use of the phrase can be further illustrated by examples in which the general connotation already mentioned is modified, and by others in which it is definitely changed; and these may throw light on the doubtful cases.

1. By a slight shifting of meaning, 'common prayer' may be that which all the faithful may or do frequent or are expected to frequent, apart from all immediate consideration of the part they take in it.

This, I imagine, is the meaning of 'das gemeine Ampt' ('commune officium', 'commune seruice') or 'das ordentliche gemeine Ampt' used by Hermann von Wied of the high Mass of festivals (Richter, ii p. 50; *Pia deliberatio* f. cxvi; *Consultation* f. ccli).

And 'common' seems to have a similar connotation in the title of Knox's Book of Common Order, 1564.

Calvin uses ecclésiastique in this sense, in the title of his service-book, La forme des prières ecclésiastiques.

In English it is generally represented by 'public' and sometimes by 'open'; and in fact 'common prayer' in the title of the Prayer Book seems to have been sometimes understood in this sense immediately after the publication of the book of 1549.¹

The council's letter to Bonner for reformation of certain masses at St Paul's, 24 June 1549 (Cardwell Doc. Ann. i p. 66) 'as it is appointed in the book of the public service'.

The king's order for bringing in popish rituals, 14 Feb. 15_{50}^{49} (ib. p. 74) 'the publicke service, th' administration of the sacramentes, and other rightes and ceremonies'.

So the title of Haddon's Latin translation of the Prayer Book, 1560, is Liber Precum publicarum seu ministerij Ecclesiasticae

¹ The Homily Of Common Prayer and Sacraments (1563) and Hooker E. P. v 24 sq. use 'public' and 'common' as synonymous in the sense of 'collective'. In Acts v 18 publica ($\delta\eta\mu\omega\sigma'(q)$) from Wyclif onwards has been rendered 'common'.

administrationis Sacramentorum, aliorumque rituum & caerimoniarum in Ecclesia Anglicana-a curious perversion of the title-page; and Liber precum publicarum has been the constant rendering down to the present, except in Durel's version of 1670, which has communium. Similarly the Greek versions of 1638 and 1665 have δημοσίων εὐχῶν and της δημοσίας εὐχης respectively, the French of 1618 prières publiques, the German of 1718 das allgemeine Gebetbuch, the Italian of 1685 publiche preghiere, the Spanish of 1612 rezado publico, the current Danish den almindelige Bønnebog. On the other hand, 'common' seems to be represented by the gyffredin of the Welsh version of 1500, the comhchoitchion of the Irish of 1608 and choitchionn of the Gaelic of 1794; while the French of 1553 has prieres communes, the Dutch versions of 1645 and 1704 gemeinen Kerckendienst and gemeene gebeden respectively, the Portuguese of 1695 oração commum, the Spanish of 1707 oracion commun, and the current Italian preghiere comuni.1

So S. Thomas in a passage parallel to that quoted above (p. 501) from the Summa, exchanges communis for publica: in Sentt. IV xv 4 qu. 2: 'duplex est oratio, scilicet privata quam quisque pro se facit: et publica quae facienda incumbit ministris ecclesiae, ut dictum est. et quia haec publica oratio non fit ab orante solum pro se sed pro aliis, ideo non debet solum esse mentalis sed vocalis etiam, ut per orationem voce expressam etiam alii ad devotionem excitentur et ad continuandam intentionem suam orantibus.' Cp. Catechismus Conc. Trident. IV viii 3. 'Open prayer' is illustrated by the following.

Act of Uniformity, 1549 (Gee and Hardy Documents p. 361) 'open prayer in and throughout this Act, is meant that prayer which is for other to come unto or hear either in common churches or private chapels or oratories, commonly called the service of the Church'.

Ridley's Visitation articles, 1550 (Cardwell Doc. Ann. i p. 80) 'any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of communion, mattens or evensong, ministration of sacraments, or open prayers, than is set forth in the Book of Common Prayer'.

¹ On the other hand, Bingham in *The French church's apology for the church of England* iii 6 renders *les prières publiques* of the French protestant synods by 'common prayer' or 'the public common prayer'.

Advertisements, 1566 (ib. p. 288) 'in the ministration of God's holy worde, in open prayer and ministration of sacraments'.

Cp. A letter to preachers 1548 (ib. p. 52) 'open and common preaching'.

- 2. Again, prayer may be 'common' not only in its source, as made by all, but also in its scope and intention, as made for all, 'pro omnibus ordinibus,' 'for all sorts and conditions of men,' according to their several needs.
- S. Cyprian de dominica oratione 8: 'ante omnia pacis doctor adque unitatis magister singillatim noluit et priuatim precem fieri, ut quis cum precatur pro se tantum precetur. non dicimus Pater meus qui es in caelis nec panem meum da mihi hodie... publica est nobis et communis oratio, et quando oramus, non pro uno sed pro populo toto oramus, quia totus populus unum sumus.'
- S. Chrys. hom. 19 in Matt. 4: παιδεύει δὲ κοινὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν εὐχήν οὐ γὰρ λέγει Ὁ Πατήρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἀλλ' Ὁ Πατὴρ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ σώματος τὰς δεήσεις ἀναφέρων. 1

Antiphonary of Bangor ff. 20-22 (ed. Warren ii pp. 22 sq., 63) 'Oratio communis fratrum'; f. 34 (ib. pp. 31, 80) 'Ad horas diei oratio communis . . . common oroit dun' (i. e. 'common orate for us'); two series, a longer and a shorter, of verses and collects for the several estates, for use at the divine office. But 'common' here may mean 'said by', or 'in the name of, all'.

See also the end of the passage from the Pilgrimage of perfection quoted above, p. 501.

It is possible that 'gemein Gebet' was understood in this sense in some of the Lutheran Orders. Where it is explained, in some cases it is clearly laid down that it means common prayer in the sense of prayer made by all (Halle, Richter ii p. 16: Würtemberg, ib. p. 138); but in Eine kurze form des gemeinen

¹ Cp. Constt. app. iii 19 προσευχόμενος ὡς νίὸς πατρὶ καὶ λέγων ὡς ἀπὸ κοινοῦ τοῦ τῶν πιστῶν συναθροίσματος οὕτως Πάτερ ἡμῶν: [S. Bernard] Expositio in Or. Dom. 1: 'antequam ad petitiones veniatur, captatio benevolentiae in ore orantis praemittitur, Pater noster. inducitur unusquisque simul orans, non sibi sed communi saluti hominum, ut caritas et unitas ecclesiae designetur': Abelard Expos. in Or. Dom.: 'qui dicit noster excludit superbiam quia non sibi arroganter proprium aut specialem sed et aliis etiam communem denunciat': Latimer Sermon 1 on the Lord's Prayer: 'This word "our" teacheth us to consider that the Father of heaven is a common Father . . . so that when I pray, I pray not for myself alone, but for all the rest.' Cp. also S. Optatus de Schism. Don. iv 2.

gebets in the Albertine-Saxon Order of 1580 (Sehling, i p. 370) the bidding suggests the other sense: 'Ihr geliebten in Christo, dieweil wir aller glieder eines leibes sind, welches haupt Christus ist, so sol sich je ein glied des andern annemen, und füreinander bitten.' So also the Hanneberg Order (ib. ii p. 310).

This sense of 'common' is represented in the English Prayer Book by 'general'; viz. in the first rubric after the Mass (1552) 'the general prayer, for the whole state of Christes churche militante here in earth; and in the title of the Litany (1661)' the Litany or general supplication'; but it is possible that 'common' is intended to bear this sense in the passages quoted above (p. 517) from the Rationale and the second from Tunstall.

In Calvin's order of service, as in the Lutheran, a prayer of intercession follows the sermon, and among English people who have followed this order, this prayer has been commonly known as a 'General Prayer'. Thus:

A Brieff discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford, 1575 p. vii: 'After the sermon, a generall praier for all estates and for oure countrie of Englande was also deuised, at thende off whiche praier, was ioined the lords praier.'

A booke of the forme of common prayers ... agreable to ... the vse of thi reformed churches, 1586 (the 'Middleburgh Prayer Book': Hall Rel. Liturg. i p. 4) 'The contents ... divers Forms of General Prayers for the whole Estate of the Church, after the Sermon'.

The Reformation of the Liturgy, 1661 (the 'Savoy Liturgy': ib. iv p. 33) 'let the following General Prayer be used, when the Minister findeth it convenient, instead of the Litany and Collects'; p. 36' The General Prayer'; p. 142' A Larger Litany or General Prayer: to be used at discretion'.

3. Prayer may be 'common' as made for a class, as distinguished from prayers made for any or all of the included individuals in particular.

Council of Cologne, 1536, vi 37 (Mansi Concilia xxxii 1255) 'cum multum plerumque temporis parvo cum fructu teratur in recensendis singulatim defunctorum nominibus, ubi viritim pro quolibet exigitur una oratio dominica, idque interdum non citra suspicionem vel quaestus vel ambitionis fiat; nobis potius vide-

¹ See La forme des prières ecclésiastiques in Corpus reformatorum xxxiv p. 173.

bitur ut populus ad communem pro defunctis orationem pie ac devote dicendam accendatur et hae genealogiae intermittantur'.

G. Cassander Preces ecclesiasticae (Opera 1616) p. 386: 'Orationes communes pro salute viuorum et mortuorum': p. 393 'Orationes communes': where, if one is to judge by the contents of the prayers, communes means for the living and the dead, and for the people of God, in general.

This use of 'common' is analogous to that of 'general' in the 'General Confession' and 'General Thanksgiving' of the Book of Common Prayer; i.e. confession of sins in general and thanksgiving for benefits in general, as distinguished from the detailed enumeration of particular sins and benefits.

So S. Augustine de cura gerenda pro mortuis 4: 'quas (sc. supplicationes pro spiritibus mortuorum) faciendas pro omnibus in christiana et catholica societate defunctis etiam tacitis nominibus eorum sub generali commemoratione suscepit ecclesia; ut quibus ad ista desunt parentes aut filii aut quicunque cogniti vel amici ab una eis exhibeantur pia matre communi.'

Leofric Missal, ed. Warren, p. 192: 'Item alia missa generalis'—i. e. for the dead in general.

Wyclif Septem haereses init.: 'Thai say furst, that speciale prayere aplied by hor prelatis is better then generale. As, one Famulorum saide of a frere is better then a Pater noster, with other thinges even: ffor the Pater noster is moste generale, and the Famulorum moste special, of alle the prayers that God heris' -an example of Wyclif's polemic (founded partly on his predestinarianism, partly on his hostility to foundations—chantries and so on-for continual intercession) against 'special' prayers, in the sense of prayers 'applied' to individuals and of prayers directed to special objects. See also Sermons III xliv (ed. Wyclif Soc. iii pp. 380 sq.), IV iii (ib. iv pp. 27-33). His theory is that prayers should rather be 'general', for all men and for all good, and the special application of them left to God. Famulorum refers to the paragraphs of the Canon 'Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum' in which individuals are prayed for by name, 'N. et N.'

Erasmus Modus orandi (Opera, Basel 1540, v p. 941): 'denique tametsi probandum est, quod pro suo quisque principe orat, tamen conveniret, ut in publicis precibus non unius aut

illius, sed omnium principum Christianorum generalis fieret mentio.'

4. Prayers may be 'common' as used at any time, as distinguished from those proper to particular days or seasons.

Missale ad usum Sarum (ed. Dickinson c. 813* sqq.) 'Memoriae communes', i.e. the 'orationes diversae' of the Pian Missal 'dicendae in Missa ad libitum sacerdotis cum iis quae in propriis Missis assignantur, quando non est Festum Duplex'. Similarly the 'Commune sanctorum' and within it the 'communia' of the several classes of saints, of the Missal and the Breviary, are the services in commemoration of any saint belonging to the class, who has no proper service commemorating him individually. And the ferial Preface in the Mass is praefatio communis or generalis as distinguished from the propriae of particular days and seasons (Missale Romanum 1474, ed. Lippe, Henry Bradshaw Soc., i p. 205, ii p. 109). In the Jacobite Syrian rite | Lac., oratio communis, is used of the ferial office (Payne Smith Thesaurus syriacus s.v. Lac.).

In the English book, the Collects added after the Mass in 1549 'to be said after the Offertory when there is no Communion', were in 1552 converted into memoriae communes by the addition to the rubric of 'And the same may be said also as often as occasion shall serve, after the collects either of Morning and Evening prayer, Communion, or Litany, by the direction of the minister'; but no specific title is given them.

IV

'Common Prayer', then, is an old and venerable phrase, applied to litanies from the second century onwards and to the service of the Church as a whole and in its parts from at least the ninth century, and used to describe the contents of the existing service-books at the time when the reform of them was contemplated or in hand. Consequently it does not, as it sometimes seems to be supposed, mark any characteristic peculiar to the present English rite; it only expresses an acknowledged

¹ Ordo communis or generalis, the framework and fixed formulae of the liturgy, as distinguished from the variable lessons, hymns, and anaphoras, is perhaps due to Renaudot, and does not represent a Syriac phrase.

character of the service of the Church always and everywhere. At the same time, although I at least cannot recall any explicit evidence for the supposition, it is possible and probable that it was deliberately chosen from among several possible titles in order to emphasize this aspect of things and to keep it before men's minds. We have often been reminded in the last few years that the accepted obligation and practice of people in general in the middle ages was to assist not only at mass, but also at matins and evensong, on Sundays and festivals at least: the rule was 'matins, mass, and evensong'. This is assumed, for example, in the documents put out during the process of change in the sixteenth century. But of course the majority of people did not and could not follow either the mass or the offices in detail: they took their part by their general assent and their own devotions. Manuals like the Lay Folks' Mass Book and the Primer provided them with devotions by which they might follow the mass on a parallel line; and Tyndale's direction to the people in 1532 is 'Then while the priests sing psalms, let every man pray privately and give God thanks for such benefits as his heart knoweth he hath received of God, and commend to God his private necessities and the private necessities of his neighbours which he knoweth and is privy to '1; and the Institution of every Christian man and the Necessary doctrine give like directions at greater length.2 The book of 1549 aimed at providing a service which should be 'common' in a fuller sense, common, not only in intention but in expression, not only δμοθυμαδόν but also ἐν ἐνὶ στόματι, and at realizing what none would dispute to be the ideal of the Church—'quando psallitur psallatur ab omnibus, cum oratur oretur ab omnibus, cum lectio legitur facto silentio aeque audiatur a cunctis legente lectore'. And it is likely enough that the canonization given to the phrase 'common prayer' by its adoption as a formal title was intended to call and to retain attention to this ideal.

But Dr Gwatkin has lately asserted that 'this emphasis on *Common* Prayer, this ignoring of separate devotion in public worship' involved a 'significant' 'change in the ideal of worship',

¹ Expos. of Mat. v. vi. vii, ed. Parker Soc. p. 79.

² Formularies of faith in the reign of Henry VIII pp. 144 sq., 307 sq.

³ Nicetas of Remesiana de Psalmodiae bono 13: Isidore of Seville de Officiis i 10.

and he adds, apparently in illustration of this, that 'at the Reformation it was argued on the Romish side that the public service ought not to be understanded of the vulgar, because it disturbed their devotions',1 as though the system of parallel private devotions represented the existing ideal. Such fragmentary history of 'common prayer' as can be gathered from the examples of its use collected above, seems to me, so far as it goes, rather to suggest that there was no change of ideal at all, but at most an attempt to disentangle an acknowledged principle from the encumbrances created by historical circumstances. Of course the Book of Common Prayer itself does not 'ignore' private devotions any more than the books which it displaced, unless we suppose that these were intended to be unintelligible. In fact the book of 1540 recognizes private devotions as the older books had not: 'Every man and woman to be bound to hear and be at the divine service in the parish church where they be resident, and there with devout prayer or godly silence and meditation, to occupy themselves.' And if by the argument on the Roman side is meant, as I suppose it is, the argument of Harding against Jewel, Harding neither says, nor, I think, means what Dr Gwatkin suggests. Of course, he is concerned to defend the use of the Latin Church, and he expends a great deal of special pleading to make out the best case he can for it: but he does not, I think, offer any such abstract defence of it, as desirable in itself, as might be inferred from Dr Gwatkin's note. He uses 'common prayer' quite freely of the service of the Church; he of course grants that what he is defending is not primitive and apostolic, but 'after that the faithful people was multiplied . . . and had been so well instructed in all points of religion, as by their own accord they conformed themselves to the ministers at the common prayers, in the Latin church the service was set out in Latin, and it was thought sufficient, part of the people in the choir to answer for the whole. And this hath been esteemed for a more expedite and convenient order, than if it were in the vulgar tongue of every nation'-no doubt for the reasons ordinarily alleged, such as they are. some of the people can follow the service in detail, 'the Latin tongue in the Latin church is not altogether strange and un-

1 Gwatkin The Knowledge of God ii p. 233.

² Seventh rubric after the Mass.

known; for beside the priest, in most places, some of the rest have understanding of it, more or less' (so there can be no abstract desire that the laity as such should not understand the language of the Church)—and it is in itself desirable that all should understand; 'it were good the people, having humble and reverent hearts' (i. e. as the context shews, not innovating in this matter against authority), 'understood the service, I deny not... Yet all standeth not in understanding ... and when we shall all appear before Christ, in that dreadful day of judgement, we shall not be required to give an account of our understanding, but (faith presupposed) of our charity': 'yea, even with my very heart I wish with Moses Quis tribuat ut omnis populus prophetet . . . but all the common people to understand the priest at the service, I think wise and godly men judge it not a thing so necessary, as for the which the ancient order of the church, with no little offence, public and universal authority not consulted, should be condemned, broken and quite abrogated by private advice of a few.' But as it is, the service is in fact common, the people take their place in it, 'they give assent to it, and ratify it in their hearts, and do conform themselves unto the priest, though not in special, yet in general; that is to wit, though not in every particular sentence of praise and thanksgiving, or in every several petition, yet in the whole. For if they come to church with a right and good intent, as the simple do no less than the learned; their desire is to render unto God glory, praise and honour, and to thank him for benefits received, and withal to obtain of him things behoveful for them in this life and in the life to come. And without doubt this godly affection of their minds is so acceptable to God, as no understanding of words may be compared with it. This requisite assent, and conforming of themselves to the priest, they declare by sundry outward tokens and gestures; as by standing up at the gospel,' &c.: 'And as the vulgar service pulleth their minds from private devotion to hear and not to pray, to little benefit of knowledge, for the obscurity of it; so the Latin giveth them no such motion; they occupy themselves, while the priest prayeth for all and in the person of all, in their private prayers, all for all, and everyone for himself.'1

¹ The Works of John Jewel, ed. Parker Soc., i pp. 317 sqq., 322 sq., 332.

528 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

Now whatever any one may feel as to the presuppositions and the details of this argument, it is not an argument in defence of a service 'not understanded of the people' in the abstract, nor yet an argument that the service ought not to be understanded, because, if it were, it would disturb their private devotions. an argument, on the one hand, that there are considerations of greater importance which may, and at the moment do, interfere with what is abstractly desirable, however Harding's estimate of the intelligence of the people may suggest that he regards it as practically impossible; and on the other hand, that the people can, and by their devotions do, take their place in the service, which, though they cannot follow it in detail, they do understand in general; and that this is all they can really do in a vernacular service, which in fact is still in detail beyond their understanding, while by being half intelligible it is more distracting than a service the language of which is frankly unintelligible and can be ignored.

F. E. BRIGHTMAN.

DOCUMENTS

ITER DUNELMENSE: DURHAM BIBLE MSS, WITH THE TEXT OF A LEAF LATELY IN THE POSSESSION OF CANON GREENWELL OF DURHAM, NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

In September 1908 I was able to carry out a long projected visit to Durham with a view of examining such MSS of the Vulgate Gospels as still remained in the Cathedral Library. At Durham only was it possible to view on the spot some remains of what had been in its time a unique output of English scholarship and calligraphy. Northumbrian Church met and mingled the two streams of Christian tradition most fertilizing for the cause of sacred learning. though cut off since the fifth century, by the heathen invasion of England, from direct contact with the Christianity of Europe, displayed in her monasteries an ardent zeal for theological knowledge and an unrivalled skill and patience in the production of calligraphic manuscripts. And if missionaries came from Rome to wrestle with the paganism of the southern English, a line of Irish missionaries were simultaneously carrying the Gospel both to the north of England and also along the edge of Frankish territory as far as the Alps and the Apennines. At Péronne on the Somme, at Luxeuil in the Vosges, at St Gall by the Lake of Constance, at Bobbio on the northern slopes of the Apennines, Irish monasteries arose to be at once homes of learning and centres of evangelization; and what Gall and Columban had done abroad, that Aidan and his followers began for Northumbria at Lindisfarne. Meanwhile the greater mission from the south reached York in 625, in the person of Paulinus, some ten years before the consecration of Aidan. For a generation the two missions, one owing allegiance to Rome, the other looking to Iona and Ireland as the source of its inspiration, worked in presence of one another, till a definite solution of their rival claims was reached at the synod of Whitby in 664. The nominal dispute in the council raged over the shape of the tonsure and over the right method of calculating Easter. But the defeat of the Irish party, and the withdrawal of the irreconcileable element among them from English ground, meant much more than the adoption of two foreign customs: it meant that the English Church, instead of accentuating its insularity by turning its back on Europe, preferred to bind its fortunes with those of continental Christianity, and became of all Western Churches the most docile and devoted pupil of the successors of the great pope whom it rightly named 'apostle of the English'.

It is to this peculiar combination of Irish and Roman elements that VOL. X.

M m

the Northumbrian Church owed the qualities and opportunities which, in the century that followed the synod of Whitby, earned it its undying From its Irish ancestry it inherited all the learning and love of books which it was able to satisfy to the full in its intercourse with Italy, the paradise of the bibliophile. Two great twin monasteries between the Tyne and the Wear-St Peter of Wearmouth, founded in 674, and St Paul of Jarrow, founded in 681—became the hearth of the new renaissance and the depository of the treasures which the two indefatigable travellers, the abbots Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrid, collected on their numerous journeys to Rome. Naples and Capua were ransacked: books that had come from Sardinia, books that had come from Vivarium, Cassiodorus's school of learning in southernmost Italy, found their way to Northumbria. With the manuscripts came calligraphers to reproduce them in the best handwriting of the day: and Italian Bibles were being copied by Italian scribes, not only in Jarrow and Wearmouth, but, as it would seem, in northern Lindisfarne as well.

These books—the old exemplars brought from Italy, and the new and magnificent copies made from them—were the most priceless possession of the great Northumbrian religious houses: and it was with gifts of their best that they endowed their mother church of Rome and their daughter missions to Germany. What they had with infinite pains collected or reproduced, that with superb prodigality they distributed. The most splendid Bible that Northumbria could reproduce was sent as a tribute of devotion to the pope: ancient and modern treasures alike were lavished upon the English missionaries, Willibrord and Boniface and Burchard, and formed the glory of the mediaeval libraries of Würzburg and Fulda and Echternach.

By the kindness of Canon Greenwell, librarian of the Chapter Library, I was not only able to examine the two important MSS of the Gospels, A II 16 and A II 17, at leisure, but also had my attention called to two not less early fragments, the one a guard-leaf belonging to a MS in the Library, the other at that time in the private possession of Canon Greenwell himself and since presented by him to the British Museum.

- r. A II 16, of perhaps the first half of the eighth century, contains the four Gospels on 134 leaves. But the MS should probably be reckoned as made up out of two (contemporary) MSS, the first containing the Synoptic Gospels, the second St John.
- (a) Foil. 1-102 are for the most part in a hand of the Italian school, of the same general style as codex Amiatinus or the Greenwell leaf to be presently described: but the fourth gathering—foll. 24-33—and all the remaining leaves after the tenth gathering—that is to say, foll. 87-101—

are in 'Irish' semi-uncial. And the two scribes are further distinguished by the fact that the 'Italian' scribe signs his sheets at the top of the first page, whereas the 'Irish' scribe has left no signatures at all. The MS is mutilated as we have it: the first leaf of the first gathering has gone, so that the MS begins at Matt. ii 13 (the conjugate leaf was of course loose also, and instead of following fol. 6 is now at the end of the MS as fol. 102, Matt. vii 25 1-viii 29 'clamaverunt dicentes'): the leaf now numbered 11* is both mutilated and disarranged—it ought to precede, instead of following, fol. 11: the two conjugate leaves which formed the outer wrapper of the fifth gathering, foll. 24-33, have both disappeared, the former leaf covering Matt. xxii 15-xxiii 3, the latter Matt. xxviii 14-end. The MS was also copied from a mutilated exemplar: for whereas St Mark ends on the first column of fol. 60 b (the last leaf of the seventh gathering), the rest of the page being left blank, fol. 61 a begins at Luc. i 57, although our MS appears to have suffered no loss at this place. The confused condition of the exemplar was perhaps also the reason why the whole of the fifth gathering has been rewritten, foll. 34-43: I detected part of Marc. v as the under writing of fol. 37 b which in the rewritten form of the sheet now appears on fol. 41 b.

The detailed description of the gatherings is then as follows:-

- foll. 1-6, a quaternion, of which the first leaf is lost and the last is now fol. 102.
- foll. 7-15 (with a leaf omitted in the numbering after fol. 11), a quinion, in which fol. 11 and fol. 11* should be transposed: signed II on fol. 7 a.
- foll. 16-23, a quinion, of which two leaves were cut out before writing signed III on fol. 16 a.
- [foll. 24-33, a senion, of which the two outer leaves have disappeared: in Irish semi-uncial.]
- foll. 34-43, a quinion, signed V on fol. 34 a.
- foll. 44-51, a quaternion, signed VI on fol. 44 a.
- foll. 52-60, a quinion, of which the fourth leaf was apparently cut out before writing: signed VII on fol. 52 a.
- foll. 61-70, a quinion: no signature visible.
- foll. 71-78, a quaternion, signed VIIII on fol. 71 a.
- foll. 79-86, a quaternion, signed X on fol. 79 a.
- [foll. 87-96, a quinion: in Irish semi-uncial, and not signed.]
- [foll. 97-100, a binion: in the same Irish hand.]
- [fol. 101, a single extra leaf, in the same hand. St Luke's Gospel ends on fol. 101 a with the colophon (there is no colophon at all to St Mark) 'explicit liber'.]
 - 1 Or vii 27: the words 'et flaverunt venti | et inruerunt' occur twice.

M m 2

It is noticeable that of the eleven full-sized gatherings no less than six were quinions, and one a senion.

The Eusebian sections seem to be supplied in the margin by the same hand in both the Italian and the Irish parts of the MS. I have no doubt that an Irish-writing scribe was put on to assist the Italian-writing scribe in the work of copying, or possibly to complete work which the Italian scribe had, for whatever reason, to leave unfinished. This connexion of Italian and Irish hands is quite enough to prove that the MS was actually written where we now find it preserved, in North-umbria, where about the year 700 A.D. the Amiatinus was being produced in the one script, the Lindisfarne Gospels in the other.

St Mark's Gospel is the only one for which our MS has preserved any prologue or list of capitula. The text of the prologue is midway between the text of the Book of Armagh and the text of the Echternach Gospels of St Willibrord. The capitula are those of the Amiatine and Lindisfarne MSS (in cap. xxvi our MS reads 'interroganti' not 'interrogantibus', and is surely right): but the title to the capitula 'incipiunt breves causae' and the subscription 'expliciunt breves causae evangelii Marci' rather imply that the scribe had before him an exemplar on the Armagh and Echternach type, for which he deliberately substituted the text of the fuller and better capitula of the other family. For the other two Synoptic Gospels the capitula, if ever written out, are no longer extant: but the numbers corresponding to the capitula in the margin of the texts themselves are in St Matthew of an Amiatine-Lindisfarne type, in St Luke (or at any rate in that part of St Luke which is by the semi-uncial hand) they agree with the Armagh-Echternach family.

The Gospel text is mixed: but, so far as I could tell on brief inspection, the two characteristics which emerge are (i) a general likeness to the D PLR group (I use Wordsworth's symbols for the Vulgate MSS), (ii) remarkable agreements in unique readings with P, the Echternach MS. Thus in Matt. vi 15 our MS and P are alone in the transposition 'hominibus non dimiseritis', and in Matt. xxviii 7 they are alone again in omitting the words 'ecce praedixi vobis', as also in the reading 'in profetis' in Marc. i 2. In Matt. xi 1 the addition of 'verba haec' found in the Irish MSS L Q R is made by the corrector of our MS and in the margin of the Echternach MS. On the other hand I could trace no special resemblance between the two MSS at the end of St Mark.

The series of the New Palaeographical Society represents on Plates 54 and 55 the uncial and the minuscule or semi-uncial hand: plate 54 = fol. 12 = Matt. xiii 5-21, plate 55 = fol. 28 = Matt. xxv 33-xxvi 1.

(b) A third plate of the same series gives a page of the Gospel of

St John: plate 56 = fol. 121 = Jo. xi 4-17. But I prefer to treat this as really a distinct MS for the following reasons:—

- i. The four gatherings which contain St John's Gospel (foll. 103-109, 110-118, 119-125, 126-134) are in a different hand, and the sheets have, as far as I could see, no numbering.
- ii. The character of the text is absolutely different: for, whereas the Synoptic Gospels (apart from the Summaries) find allies in the texts of D and still more of \mathfrak{P} , St John's Gospel, though the hand that wrote it is English, agrees closely with the Italian text of Amiatinus. It is even closer to A than is either the Lindisfarne Gospels or the Stonyhurst St John: the four together—our MS being cited as Δ —form together the family on which in this Gospel the edition of Wordsworth and White mainly rests.

iii. As with the text, so with the capitula marked in the margin. The insular hand in St Luke (foll. 87-101) marks the chapters from xvi 19 to the end of the Gospel with numbers that agree with the D P series: conversely the (different) insular hand in St John (foll. 103-134) marks the Gospel throughout with the numbers of the Amiatine chapters.

Yet I am not indisposed to think that the two MSS were joined together almost from the beginning of their history: for the hand that inserted in the margin of St Matthew the Eusebian sections, and also within dots the Amiatine chapters as far as viii 19 cap. XXVIII, does not seem to be the same with the uncial hand of the text and may be identical with the hand that wrote St John.

Of other additions to the MS the following are noticeable:—

Lection notes. Throughout St Matthew's Gospel an early hand has added marginal notes of Gospel lections: iv 1 in capite XL, iv 12 de cotidiano, iv 18 in nt sci andreae, v 17 de cotidiana, viii 28 de passione, x 16 de scorum, xiii 24 in XL, xiii 36 in nat michaeli archangelis, xiv 1 passio sci iohan babt, xv 1 in feria in ieiunio septimi mensis, xv 21 in XII lectio in XL, xv 32 in sab in XII lec mensis septi, xvii 1 in XL, 1 xx 1 in ordinatione aepiscopi, 1 xxiv 44 or 46 in ordin episco, xxv 1 de martyris, xxvi 1 de cena dn.

Musical notes? Throughout the Passion in St Luke a nearly contemporary hand has inserted at intervals the marks C and L, the former apparently for the narrative, the latter for the words of Christ. Do they stand for cantor and lector respectively?

Blank pages filled up. Advantage was taken of the blank spaces at the end of St Mark (fol. 60 b) and of St Luke (fol. 101 b) to transcribe later mediaeval documents, all of them relating to the church of Durham,

¹ In these two cases my notes have suffered damage: and though I am certain of the chapters I am not certain of the verses.

and their presence proves conclusively, if proof were wanted, that our MS already belonged to the monks of St Cuthbert. The earliest of them, that on fol. 101 b, is a bull of pope Gregory to Bishop William of Durham—that is to say, from Gregory VII to William of St Carilef: the date of the original must be between 1081 and 1085. The other insertions, on fol. 60 b, are twofold: a document which mentions Robert of St Andrews (1124?-1158), Turstin of York (1114-1140), Rannulf of Durham (1099-1128), John of Glasgow (1115-1147), and Gaufrid abbot of St Albans (1119-1146)—and which must therefore fall between 1124 and 1128—is followed by an account of the miraculous cure of Thomas archbishop of York at the tomb of St Cuthbert. I had not time to copy out these documents, and indeed supposed they were probably already in print.

2. Durham A II 17, foll. 1-102.

This second MS of the Vulgate Gospels falls, like the other, but much more clearly and certainly, into two parts. The first 102 leaves are the disordered débris of what was once no doubt a complete MS of the Gospels; the last nine leaves are a fragment of an older Gospel book, written in uncial not in cursive, in two columns not in one, in the seventh century not in the eighth.

The first part of the MS, when in its original state, was a superb Gospels in the most beautiful style of the insular minuscule or semiuncial hand of the eighth century. I should judge it to belong perhaps to the middle of the century, and to be somewhat later than the MS or MSS described under A II 16, which I would place in the first half of Parts of all four Gospels survive (not of John the eighth century. Luke and Mark only, as the account which accompanies the reproduction in the New Palaeographical Society's series, plate 30, would appear to indicate); and, though many of the leaves have been shorn of their lower margins, enough signatures survive to shew that the four were arranged in the usual order: fol. 10 b R at Jo. v 18, fol. 28 b T at Jo. xiii 31, fol. 38 b F at the capitula of Mark, fol. 75 b L at Luc. iv 32. The headline for St Luke is regularly 'secundum lucanum': 'cata' is employed in the two pages of St Matthew that have survived (Matt. xxv 35 sitivi-xxvi 34 illi ihs; xxviii 17-end): both forms, 'cata' and 'lucanum', are Old Latin survivals. The manuscript appears to have been copied page by page from its exemplar: for at the end of the page the scribe seems to have had more before him, as a rule, than he could conveniently get into the last line of his normal handwriting. earlier half of his work the device he employed was to change for the last line from his stately semi-uncial calligraphy into a more compressed and more minuscule hand (e.g. the letter n no longer retains its uncial

form): though sometimes, as in the page of the Palaeographical Society's reproduction, Marc. vii 3-11, even this device proved insufficient and a word remained over to be written below. In the Gospels of SS. Luke and John the change of hand at the last line is dropped and the full complement of lines is written in the regular semi-uncial characters, the remaining words of the page of the exemplar being written below the last line without any attempt at concealment.

Between St Matthew's Gospel and St Mark's, on fol. 37 b, is a picture of the Crucifixion, the art of which is described in detail in the letterpress accompanying the plate of the Palaeographical Society. No attempt is however there made to decipher the inscriptions round the picture: and it may be worth while to point out that the inscription at the top of the page has been unintelligently copied from an earlier original.

scito quis et qualis est qui talia cuius titulus cui nulla est inventa passus pro nobis pp hoc culpa

hic est ihs rex iudae orum

It is clear that the exemplar must have been meant to run somewhat as follows:—'scito quis et qualis est qui talia passus est pro nobis, cui nulla est inventa culpa, cuius titulus Hic est ihs rex iudaeorum.'

1 Both the splendid insular semi-uncial, and the device of passing for the last line or two of the page into a closer minuscule hand, reappear in another MS of the eighth century, a book of Canons in the Cathedral library of Cologne (Colon. ccxiii: Y in my edition of the Canons). The resemblance is so marked that it is natural to conjecture that both MSS are products of the same scriptorium: and as there can be no doubt of the insular origin of the Gospel book, one is tempted to postulate an insular origin for the book of Canons. And such an origin would square with another indication of English connexions which I lit upon not long ago: in Theodore's Penitential, or rather the early edition of it made by an anonymous 'Discipulus Umbrensium', occurs the following citation 'De hoc in canone dicitur: Qui auguria auspicia sive somnia vel divinationes quaslibet secundum mores gentilium observant aut in domos suas huiusmodi homines introducunt in exquirendis aliquam artem maleficiorum, penitentes isti, si de clero sunt abiciantur, si vero seculares quinquennio peniteant' (I xv 4: Haddan and Stubbs, iii 190). The canon referred to is the penultimate canon of Ancyra according to the version called Isidorian vulgate: but the Cologne MS has reproduced from Theodore (not always in quite the right place) the most characteristic of Theodore's (or the disciple's) variations from the original, notably the insertion 'si de clero sunt abiciantur, si vero saeculares'. At the same time it is fair to say on the other side that the MS Y (i) represents a collection that originated in Italy and passed to the Rhineland (Reichenau, Trèves, Cologne?): (ii) gives a text of that collection that has been modified by the influence of the Quesnel collection (Gaul and Rhineland), or of the Würzburg MS, or both. Or are we to look for the ancestry of the Würzburg MS in England also?

St Mark's Gospel is preceded by capitula, by a brief 'interpretatio nominum' and by the prologue.

'Incipiunt tituli secundum marcum... finiunt breves causae evang mar̄': the heading is the same as in the Bodleian Gospel book known as O, once supposed to be one of the Canterbury Gospels of St Augustine; the text is closely similar, but without the blunders of O; the colophon appears to shew relationship with the heading of D 'Incip breves causae secundum marcum'.

'Incipit interprae[tatio nominum]. Abba syrum pater idumea rosa sive terrena solome sive pacifica tyro angustiae thabitha cumi puella surge traconitis (-tidis corr.) negotiatio tristitiae setha aperi paulus mirabilis sive electus pacificis. Finit inter nominum¹ ebreorum.' The Echternach Gospels have in the same way, after the capitula of St Luke, an 'an interpraetatio nomī eiusdem'.

'Incipit argument $um^1 \dots$ ' The prologue is given in a text which again bears a close resemblance to O: while a strictly contemporary hand has corrected it to a D text.

The only other prefatory matter that has survived in the MS is part of the prologue to St Luke, beginning with the words 'obiit in' (Wordsworth, p. 269 l. 4): the relationship of the text to O is maintained, but the D corrector has not been at work. Half of a leaf containing part of the prologue—'nativitate... indis[pertibilis]', Wordsworth, p. 270 ll. 3-9, is one side of it—has been torn away from the MS, and is now in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge: but the responsibility for the theft lies rather on the Dean and Chapter, who sanctioned this and other mutilations of the treasures in their charge, than on Samuel Pepys, in whose interest the deed was done.

The Gospel text is definitely not of the Italo-Northumbrian type, though I was not sure whether a corrector—as in the Canterbury Gospels at Cambridge—was not introducing readings of that description in the few verses of St Mark which I examined. I have little doubt that the relationship with O would be found to extend throughout the MS.

In the margin the original hand has noted chapter numbers, in general accordance with the capitula system of O, throughout the MS. A different hand (very similar to that which did the same work in A II 16) has added Eusebian sections and lection headings. Of the latter I have noted: Marc. x 2 de cotidie, xvi 5 in dominico paschae: Luc. i 39 de adventu, ii 1 * * atale dni, ii 21 de octabas dni, iv 16 post natale dni, vi 31 or 32 de cotidiana, vi 37 cotidiana, vii 19 de adventu [the MS is defective from Luc. viii 37 to xii 42], xiii 6 cotidiana, xiv 25 in scorum, xv 1 cotidiana, xvi 19 cotidiana, xviii 9 cotidiana; Jo. iii 16 cotidiana,

The abbreviation for -um in both these cases is something like this }

iv 7 b de XL ma, v 19 b cotidiana, v 24 ad defunctos, vi 37 de mortuorum, vi 51 cotidiana, viii 45 de cotidie, x 11 de cotidie, x 22 de dedicatione, xiii 1 in cena dni, xiv 1 cotidiana, [xiv 15 sab in pentī: a different hand from the other lection notes, and perhaps by the original scribe], xv 1 or 2 cotidiana.

At the foot of fol. 31 b are the following remarkable verses:—

+Quarta dine gressus per maria navigans stellarumque spacium ad regem spalacium

Regem primum salutem regem non aditu n ē clerum quoque conditum armites milierum

Illic Sitric defuncto armatura prelio sex annū excersitum uiuit rex Adelstanum

Costantine.

As I cannot profess to translate these metrical attempts, I may have deciphered them wrongly or divided words wrongly. But the names Sitric Athelstan and Constantine fix the date clearly enough to the earlier half of the tenth century. Sitric or Sihtric, a great Norse chief and leader of expeditions, settled in northern England as ruler of Danes and Northumbrians and married the sister of Athelstan king of Wessex, dying soon afterwards in 927. His death is clearly alluded to in the third line, and no less clearly a period of six years, or an event at the end of six years, after it. This brings us to the battle of Brunanburh in 934, in which Athelstan defeated Constantine king of Scotland and became undisputed ruler of Northumbria. It was this same Athelstan who offered gifts at the tomb of St Cuthbert, some of which are still to be seen in the Chapter library at Durham.

It is possible that our MS was one of the gifts made on that occasion, and that the puzzle of its relationship with a south English book, the Bodleian Gospels (O), is to be solved by supposing that our book too was written in southern England and only brought later by Athelstan to the North. Yet it is difficult not to connect our MS with the great days of Jarrow, Wearmouth and Lindisfarne: and in those great days we cannot doubt that there must have been some literary traffic between north and south, between Benedict Biscop's first abbacy at Canterbury and his new foundations between the Wear and the Tyne. The Cambridge Gospels of St Augustine (X), certainly a Canterbury book, have in this way been corrected in the margin from an exemplar of the Amiatine type.

3. Durham A II 17, foll. 103-111.

This fragment now consists of nine leaves, Luc. xxi 33 caelum et terra—xxiii 44 in nonam hora: but half a leaf has been cut away here, as in the earlier part of the book, so that the right-hand column of fol. 105 a and left-hand column of fol. 105 b (Luc. xxii 26-33 ministrator

... tecum) have been lost. I had confidently hoped that this fragment also would turn up in the Pepysian library, but the librarian tells me it is not to be found there, and Mr Pepys's own example has perhaps been imitated by another collector. The size of the pages is at present not more than 30 centimetres by 23: but the lower margin, below the last line of writing, has in every case been cut away, and though the leaves were when written probably rather larger than those of foll. I-102, they are now distinctly smaller. It is possible that damp or other injury had affected the margins, and that they were trimmed and made neat when they were bound up with the rest of the existing MS. The headlines are written, as in the early Vulgate Gospel fragments of St Gall, only on alternate pairs of pages: & SEC & on the verso, & LUCAN & on the recto (in one case 'lucam' is written, not 'lucan'): I am inclined to think that this device must have been a characteristic of Vulgate MSS. The Eusebian sections are very elegantly marked from o (for mt. mr. io.) by, as I suppose, the original scribe. At Luc. xxii 24 the chapter number LXXXVIIII is also given in the margin. There are no lectionary I think that a fresh gathering began at fol. 100, and on the top left-hand corner of fol. 100 a is a small +.

The leaves may have been brought into their present position in order to complete the Gospel of St Luke. Fol. 102, the last of the main MS as it is at present arranged, ends at Luc. xxii 2: the fragment begins only eight verses earlier, at xxi 33, and may have extended to the end of the Gospel. That the juncture had taken place by the middle of the tenth century, and that the joint MS was then already in possession of St Cuthbert's monks, is more than probable: for 'Boge the mass priest' has scrawled his name both on our fragment and on fol. 80 a of the main MS, and on one of the two occasions he has added to his unknown name the known name of 'Aldred God's bishop'. Aldred was bishop of Chester le Street from 957 to 968, and the body of St Cuthbert rested at Chester le Street for about a century before its final translation to Durham in 995.

A very slight inspection of the text is sufficient to shew that here, as in the St John of A II 16, we have a specimen of the purest Italo-Northumbrian type. But no one has yet noticed—and of course before the appearance of Bishop Wordsworth's Vulgate Gospels the identification of relationships was no such easy matter as it is now—that besides the general agreement with the Amiatine family we have in the fragment an indisputable and special likeness to the Lindisfarne Gospels. I have compared the Amiatine and Lindisfarne MSS as represented by Wordsworth: Dr Kenyon has kindly supplied me with the readings of another member of the family, Reg. I B vii of the British Museum. In the following instances our fragment and the Lindisfarne MS stand alone

against the consensus of all other MSS, A and Reg. included: Luc. xxi 38 manicavat, xxii 34 petrae, xxiii 19 facta (for factam). We may note also the spelling athuc Luc. xxii 37 (with FMY only), xxii 47 (with MX°Y Reg.: this suggests that the corrector of X drew not upon A but upon one of the other Northumbrian MSS), xxii 60 (with MY Reg. only), xxii 71 (with MY Reg. only). In the perhaps still more significant test of the arrangement of the cola, our fragment is again closer to Y than to A: and its few differences from Y seem to me mostly pure slips on the part of the scribe of the latter MS.

I hope some day to publish a complete transcript of the fragment as an appendix to an edition which I have in preparation of the early Vulgate Gospel fragments of St Gall. Meanwhile the New Palaeographical Society are issuing a specimen page of it in their publication for 1909.

The handwriting is a large fine but somewhat stiff uncial in two columns, with twenty-two lines to the column—exactly half the lines of Amiatinus. It has no suggestion of the Anglo-Irish School about it: on the other hand its resemblance to the Amiatinus struck Mr White many years ago,¹ and Dr Lehmann of Munich whom I consulted has independently noticed the same thing. I do not doubt therefore that the MS of which the fragment formed part, was written either in Italy or by the Italian school of scribes in Northumbria. To me, I own, while I quite admit the general resemblance, it seems a somewhat firmer and more natural hand than the Amiatinus: and the traits of the handwriting—the top stroke of T shorter, the bar of E sometimes above the middle of the letter, the elegance of the headline SEC LUCAM—also suggest to me a rather earlier date. I should date it myself in the second half of the seventh century: in any case I believe it was not improbably the exemplar from which the Lindisfarne Gospels were copied.

4. Guard-leaf at the end of B IV 6.

On a solitary guard-leaf written on one side only is another uncial fragment, now 21 centimetres broad by 13 high, containing in the first column 1 Maccabees vi 59-62 a, in the second 1 Macc. vi 63 b-vii 2. The text is printed below, p. 541. The words missing between the end of the first and beginning of the second column might have covered about fifteen lines, which with the fifteen preserved in whole or in part (the top line and bottom line are both cut) makes a total of thirty lines to the column.

The writing is less thick, and the letters tend to be broader, than in the fragment last described. The tags which descend from the cross-stroke of F, from the vertical stroke of R, and from the horizontal stroke of L, are much more pronounced than in the other MSS. But for all

1 Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica ii (Oxford 1890) 287.

that, the MS belongs, I think, to the same Italo-Northumbrian School, and may be dated to the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century. It has the same abbreviation for final m at the end of the line as the other MSS of the group, namely \div . In the first line of the fragment -us is in ligature. No other abbreviations occur. The MS is written *per cola et commata*, and a point is added in punctuation at the end of every *colon*. A chapter is marked at I Macc. vii I with the numbers XIX in a sort of rustic capitals.

5. The last fragment which I have to describe is also perhaps the most interesting and important of all. Canon Greenwell called my attention to a splendid single leaf containing on the recto I (3) Kings xi 29-xii 2, on the verso xii 2-18, which hung, framed and mounted, in the hall of his house: and I was struck at once with the resemblance of the handwriting and of the dimensions to that of the codex Amiatinus, and hazarded the guess that it must be a missing leaf of that great MS, which for its date—somewhat before A.D. 716—is quite unique in size. But there is no lacuna at that point in Amiatinus: and it was Canon Greenwell himself who suggested the true solution. We know from the anonymous life of Ceolfrid (accessible in Plummer's Baedae Opera Historica i 388-404), that that abbot caused three great Vulgate Bibles to be copied, one of which was placed, for convenience of consultation by the monks, in the church of the monastery of Wearmouth, a second similarly in the church of the monastery of Jarrow, while the third was the manuscript which he was taking to Rome as a gift to St Peter's when he died at Langres in 716, and which is now definitely identified with the codex Amiatinus. The Wearmouth and Jarrow Bibles were supposed to be hopelessly lost: but when Canon Greenwell, some twenty years ago, picked up in a bookseller's shop at Newcastle a solitary vellum leaf which had been folded in two to form a cover for an account book (of date about 1780), chance had thrown into his hands a fragmentary relic of one of the two lost Bibles. Size, number of lines, handwriting, text, all conspire to make the relationship to the Amiatine Bible a matter not of conjecture but of certainty. The size of the Greenwell leaf is 48 by 34 centimetres, that of Amiatinus is given as 50 by 34 centimetres: the number of lines is 44 in both: the handwriting is not that of the same scribe—it is obvious that one scribe could not have copied the whole of the three enormous folios: Amiatinus consists of over 2000 pages, with two columns each, and 44 lines to a

(Letterpress continued on p. 544.)

Ι

1 MACCABEES

vi 59-62 a

vi 63*b-*vii 2

quae despeximus	sus eum et occu	
irati sunt et fe	pauit ciuitatem·	
cerunt omnia	xix· Anno centensimo	
haec.	quinquagensi	
et placuit sermo	mo et primo∙	5
in conspectu re	exiit demetrius	-
gis et principum.	seleucii filius	
et misit ad eos pa	ab urbe roma.	
cem facere et	et ascendit cum	
receperunt illa-	paucis uiris in ci	10
et iurauit illis rex	uitatem marima-	
et principes et	et regnauit illic-	
exierunt de mu	et factum est ut	
nitione.	ingressus est	
et intrauit rex	in domum regni	15
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		

l. r. In the first line in both columns the lower half of the letters is alone preserved.

despeximus: -us in ligature.

1. 15. Between the end of col. a and the beginning of col. b about sixteen lines are lost: but it is impossible to fix how many of the lost lines belong to the end of col. a, how many to the beginning of col. b.

l. 2. I am not quite sure about the stop after ciuitatem: it is certainly fainter than the others, and possibly the stop was omitted at the end of a capitulum.

1. 7. eleucii (with the second i dotted) m. 1: seleucii m. 2, the s being added outside the line.

1. 11. marimam for maritimam.

II

1 (3) Kings xi 29-xii 18

The leaf printed on the next two pages contains on the *recto*, col. a xi 29-36, col. b xi 37-xii 2, on the *verso*, col. a xii 2-10, col. b xii 10-18. The *recto* has the headline MALACHIM, which is, as usual, in a different style of writing from the body of the MS: in this case the scribe employs for his headlines a script that reminds one of rustic capitals. The *verso* has nothing: compare what was said above, p. 538, of the employment of headlines only on alternate pairs of pages in the best Vulgate MSS. The *recto* has further the letters a b in minuscule at the bottom of the page: if this were in the original hand, it might conceivably be the signature to the gathering, but it rather appears to be early mediaeval.

MALACHIM

et inueniret eum ahias silonites profeta in uia opertus pallio nouo erant autem duo tantum in agro 5 adpraehendensq ahia pallium suum nouum quo coopertus erat scidit in duodecim partes et ait ad hieroboam tolle tibi decem scissuras 10 Haec enim dicit dns ds israhel ecce ego scindam regnum de manu salomonis et dabo tibi decem tribus porro una trib, remanebit ei 15 propter seruum meum dauid et hierusalem ciuitatem quam elegi ex omnib, tribub, isral eo quod dereliquerint me et adorauerint astharoth deam sidoniorum et chamos deum moab et melchom deum filioru ammon et non ambulauerint in uiis meis ut facerent iustitiam coram me et praecepta mea et iudicia sicut dauid pater eius nec auferam omne regnum de manu eius sed ducem ponam eum cunctis dieb, uitae suae propter dauid seruum meum quem elegi qui custodiuit mandata mea et praecepta mea 35 auferam autem regnum de manu filii eius et dabo tibi decem tribus filio autem eius dabo tribū unam XXIII Venitautem roboam in sychem ut remaneat lucerna dauid seruo meo cunctis diebus coram me

in hierusalem ciuitate quam

elegi ut esset nomen

meum ibi

te autem adsumam et regnabis super omnia quae desiderat anima tua erisq, rex super israhel si igitur audieris omnia quae praecepero tibi et ambulaueris in uiis meis et feceris quod rectum est corame custodiens mandata mea et praecepta mea sicut fecit dauid seruus meus ero tecum et aedificabo tibi domum fidelem quomodo aedificaui dauid et tradam tibi israhel et adfligam semen dauid super hoc uerum tamen non cunctis diebus Voluit ergosalomon interficere hieroboam qui surrexit et aufugit in aegyptu ad susac regem aegypti et fuit in aegypto usq, ad mortem salomonis Reliquum autem uerborum salomonis et omnia quae fecit et sapientia eius ecce uniuersa scribta sunt in libro uerborum salomonis dies autem quos regnauit salomon in hierusalem super omnem israhel quadraginta anni sunt dormiuitq[,] salomon cum patrib[,] suis et sepultus est in ciuitate dauid patris sui regnauitq roboam filius eius illuc enim congregatus erat omnis israhel ad constitu endum eum regem at hieroboam filius nabat cum

adhuc esset in aegypto pro

fugus a facie regis salomonis

audita morte eius reuersus est de aegypto miseruntq· et uocauerunt eum uenit ergo hieroboam et omnis multitudo israhel et locuti sunt ad roboam dicentes pater tuus durissimum iugum inposuit nobis	nostrum tu releua nos sic loqueris ad eos minimus digitus meus grossior est dorso patris mei et nunc pater meus posuit super uos iugum graue ego autem addam super iugum uestrum	5
tu itaq ³ nunc inminue paululū de imperio patris tui durissimo et de iugo grauissimo quod in posuit nobis et seruiemus tibi	pater meus caecidit uos flagellis ego autem caedam uos scorpionibus Venit ergo hieroboam et omnis	10
qui ait eis ite usq, ad tertium diem et reuertimini ad me cumq, abisset populus iniit consilium rex roboam	populus ad roboam die tertia sicut locutus fuerat rex dicens reuertimini ad me die tertia responditq ¹ rex populo dura derelicto consilio seniorum	15
cum senibus qui adsistebant coram salomone patre eius dum aduiueret et ait quod mihi datis consilium ut respondeam populo	quod ei dederant et locutus est eis secundum consilium iuuenum dicens pater meus adgrauauit iugum uestrum	20
qui dixerunt ei si hodie oboedieris populo huic et seruieris et petitioni eorum cesseris locutusq fueris ad eos uerba lenia	ego autem addam iugo uestro pater meus caecidit uos flagellis et ego caedam scorpionibus et non adquiebit rex populo quoniam auersatus eum	25
erunt tibi serui cunctis diebus qui dereliquit consilium senum quod dederant ei et adhibuit adulescentes qui nutriti fuerant cum eo	fuerat dns ut suscitaret uerbum suum quod locutus fuerat in manu ahiae silonitae ad hieroboam filium nabat	30
et adsistebant illi dixitq ad eos quod mihi datis consilium ut respondeam populo huic	Videns itaq populus quod nolu isset eos audire rex respondit ei dicens quae nobis pars in dauid	35
qui dixerunt mihi leuius fac iugum quod inposuit pater tuus super nos et dixerunt ei iuuenes qui nutriti fuerant cum eo sic loqueris populo huic qui locuti sunt ad te dicentes	uel quae hereditas in filio isai in tabernacula tua israhel nunc uide domum tuam dauid et abiit israhel in tabernacula sua super filios autem israhel quicumq habitabant in ciui tatibus iuda regnauit roboā	40
pater tuus adgrauauit iugum	Misit igitur rex roboam	

column—yet so like that it must belong to the same school: the text is identical but for the most minute divergences.

Canon Greenwell has since last autumn presented the leaf to the British Museum: and both pages of it will be reproduced in this year's publication of the Palaeographical Society.

A late hand of fourteenth (possibly thirteenth) century has substituted for the marginal chapter number XIII, opposite I K. xii I, the number XII. This may perhaps suggest that the MS was at that time still in use.

It is impossible not to hope that yet other leaves may have survived. The church of Durham is the lineal descendant of the church of Lindisfarne, and it is a legitimate conjecture that the three (or four) MSS first described above which together form the existing MSS A II 16 and A II 17 were carried about by the monks of Lindisfarne, together with the body of St Cuthbert, through the peregrinations that ended at On the other hand the monasteries of Jarrow and Wearmouth, before the time when their history was finally closed and the monks incorporated in the new foundation of Durham in 1083, had suffered many vicissitudes, and it is hardly likely that the two great 'Pandects' of the whole Bible still remained in their churches. At any rate if any volumes so unusual had ever been moved to Durham, we should expect to have heard something of them in their new quarters: we need not therefore assume any Durham epoch in their history. It is more likely that they were left to suffer a gradual disintegration—books of that size are neither lost nor destroyed quite easily—and there is no reason in the nature of things why, if one leaf has survived to our own day, others may not still be lurking in the libraries or lumber rooms of country houses in Durham and Northumberland.

C. H. TURNER.

1 I owe to the kindness of Dr Kenyon the loan of a collation made with the Amiatinus: the only difference of text is on p. 1, col. b, l. 22 where Am. originally wrote fugit for fuit: the only differences of spelling are p. 1, col. b, l. 27 Am. scripta for scribta, and p. 2, col. b, l. 43 Am. regnabit for regnauit: the only difference of palaeography appears to be that, while both MSS ordinarily use an uncial s, they differ somewhat in the form which they substitute for the uncial s when space has to be saved at the end of a long line. On the other hand, in arrangement the two MSS do not tally either page for page or line for line: the cola and commata are absolutely identical in the two, but within these the scribe of either MS has subdivided at his pleasure: and as the scribe of Amiatinus wrote a somewhat larger hand, and is perhaps rather less fond of abbreviating -que and -bus and the final -m at the end of a line, he has often got rather fewer words into a line-one of his columns of 44 lines is only equivalent to from 38 to 42 lines of our leaf. Also the first line of each capitulum (cap. xxII at xi 40: cap. xxIII at xii I: cap. XXIIII at xii 18) is in red in our leaf, but not in Am.: conversely Am. has marked the numbers in the margin more carefully than our leaf has done.

SOME OLD NUBIAN CHRISTIAN TEXTS.

In the summer of 1906 Dr Carl Schmidt purchased in Cairo for the Royal Library at Berlin, two series of fragments on vellum from Upper Egypt, written in an unknown language. Greek words, proper names and rubrics shewed that they were Christian. Schmidt rightly conjectured that they must be Nubian and soon confirmed his conjecture by recognizing the phrase 'Herod the King', expressed with the Nubian word uru for 'king'. By November of the same year Professor Heinrich Schäfer of the Berlin Museum was able to give an account of the script and language, with extracts and descriptions of both texts, and to establish the fact that a form of Nubian was the language of all those rare inscriptions in the Greek character of Christian date, but hitherto unread, which had been found both in Lower Nubia and in the extreme south on the Blue Nile.

The alphabet used in these MSS and the inscriptions is the Greek with five additional characters, one of which (sh) occurs in Coptic, while two others (h and j) must be derived from Coptic characters, and two (\tilde{n} and a nasal \dot{n}) are peculiar. The language is a strongly marked variety or rather prototype of the Mahass dialect of Nubian, spoken in the centre of the Barabra country between the Second and the Third Cataracts. The Barabra have been Muhammedans since the thirteenth century. The modern language is full of Arabic loanwords from which the Christian texts are free; but most of the old roots survive to this day and are to be found in the Nubian vocabularies of Reinisch and Lepsius. Although the grammatical forms are now greatly changed, the language remains fundamentally the same as in the Christian period, genderless, agglutinative, working by means of suffixes. Of the Berlin MSS one series of pages, numbered 100-115, contains a Lectionary for Christmastide, and Greek rubrics indicate vaguely the places from which the texts are derived. So far as these fragmentary Biblical texts go they furnish a first-rate key to the language.1

In the following spring Schäfer and Schmidt gave a further account of the two texts, the second of which was shewn to be a conversation of Christ with the Apostles in the days before the Ascension: a portion of it is a hymn in praise of the Cross, to which a partial parallel is found in a sermon of pseudo-Chrysostom (Migne P. G. l. c. 819).²

VOL. X.

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¹ Heinrich Schäfer u. Karl Schmidt Die ersten Bruchstücke christlicher Literatur in altnubischer Sprache, in Sitzungsb. d. k. pr. Ak. d. Wissenschaften, 8 Nov. 1906, pp. 774 sqq.

² Die altnubischen christlichen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin in Sitsb. 20 June 1907, pp. 602 sqq. N n

A date of about the eighth century was suggested in the first paper, but this is corrected to the tenth-eleventh in the second.

In the autumn of 1907 Mr de Rustafjaell kindly lent me for examination a small but complete Nubian MS which he had obtained in Egypt along with a number of Coptic texts.¹ From various indications it was believed to contain a life of St Menas and some Nicene canons. Happily Dr Schäfer's extracts from the Berlin MSS contained many words and expressions found in the Rustafjaell texts, and I was soon in a position to state that the Menas text related a miracle, similar to but different from those to which Mr Crum had kindly drawn my attention, given in Latin in Surius (Lipomanni), Vitae Sanctorum 10 Nov. and in Greek in J. Pomialowski Žitiê prepod. Paîsie Velikago, Petersburg, 1900. Meanwhile the MS itself was purchased for the British Museum and it was understood that Dr Budge had undertaken to publish it for the Trustees. Professor Schäfer proposed to Dr Budge an exchange, offering the copies of his fragmentary material, including his precious bilingual key, in exchange for a copy of the complete text in the Rustafjaell MS. But the authorities of the Museum found it impossible to accede to his request. Hearing that I was interested in it, Dr Schäfer most generously lent me photographs, and subsequently his own annotated copies, of the Berlin fragments, shewing the astonishing progress which he had made in identifying mere morsels of a few words each, though much remained obscure. With this aid a renewed attack on the Rustafjaell texts gave a fairly complete decipherment of the Menas miracle, which proceeds in a continuous narrative, while the less simple Canon text still offers a stout resistance.

Dr Budge has now published the MS, with an introduction and other texts bearing on St Menas.2 His work is in nine chapters, of which the first gives a brief account of the little that is known of the history of Christianity in Nubia, of the literary evidence as to the language of the Christian Nubians, and of the chief works on the modern dialects of Nubian. The second describes the Rustafjaell MS (which now bears the press-mark Or. 6805 in the British Museum), with the alphabet, &c. For its date Dr Budge suggests the tenth century. The third chapter deals with the contents of the MS and enumerates some Greek and Hebrew words met with in the text. The fourth chapter (à propos of the first text in the MS) gives the history of St Menas, his

¹ Apparently from the ruins of a Coptic monastery near Edfu. See the account of the whole find by Mr S. de Ricci in Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions, 1909, p. 162.

² Texts relating to Saint Mêna of Egypt and Canons of Nicaea in a Nubian dialect with facsimile: edited by E. A. Wallis Budge. (Printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1909.)

church near Alexandria, recently excavated by Herr Kauffmann, and the stamped terra-cotta flasks of healing water or holy oil which were sold there. The remaining chapters 5–9 give the Ethiopic text and the translation of two interesting martyrdoms of St Menas—suggestive as to the purpose of these ampullas and the meaning of the camels so often figured on them—and the Ethiopic text of an antiphon of the same saint. The photographic plates represent three Menas ampullas in the collection of the British Museum, and finally the eighteen folios of the MS in very serviceable facsimile.

Although Dr Budge refers to the above-mentioned papers of Schäfer and Schmidt and states that the language of the MS is the same as that of the Berlin texts, he curiously enough describes the language as being at present unknown.

The following translation of the first text must be taken as only approximate. The grammar of the Old Nubian language is still highly obscure to me, and many words are unknown. But the narrative is clear and the text complete: it is thus an ideal text for decipherment, and the occasional Greek words and proper names act as sign-posts. Schäfer's conclusions and readings are for the most part confirmed by this excellent text. It may be noted that the horizontal line drawn over letters represents an s: e.g. \$\sin\$\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\overline{n}\over

(f. 1 b) Miracle done by the martyr of Christ the saint Mena: in the grace of God, Amen.

Beloved. A woman lived in a village in the confines of Alexandria. And she was barren and never bore son or daughter; while she served the poor and possessed wealth she had no heir; (f. 2 a) for this reason she zvas troubled in her heart. And moreover all who were in her house were childless, women of the family and cattle down to the fowls. And one day the woman heard the teachers of the Christians telling the wonders which the holy Mena was doing in the Church of Mariût. (f. 2 b) She said: 'If the God of S. Mena make one of my fowls lay, I will then dedicate the first egg it shall produce in his church.' When a long time was spent one of the fowls was impregnated and laid an egg: and the woman took the egg, and came down to the water (f. 3 a) with a woman of the family to find a boat and take the egg to the church of S. Mena placed in Mariût; and finding a boat starting for Philoxenite,2 the woman said to the sailor, 'Hail father sailor!' and he said, 'Hail also thou.' And the woman said, 'Verily whither goest thou forth?' The sailor said, (f. 3b) 'Verily if the Lord will protect me I shall depart to

¹ Italic type is used throughout the translation to mark the obscurest words and passages.

² Mr Crum points out to me the corresponding Λοξονήτα in the Greek miracles.

Philoxenite'. And the woman said, 'Fear not, make a plan with me and take me with thee to Philoxenite.' The sailor said, 'What dost thou desire there?' The woman said, 'I will go to the church of S. Mena.' The sailor said, 'But thou art pagan; (f. 4 a) being so what wilt thou do in a church?' The woman said, 'I shall dedicate this egg in that church, in order that the God of S. Mena may give me seed of conception: if I shall have progeny I will become Christian.' The sailor said. 'Woman, thou art courageous; but fear not, give me thy egg, for I will dedicate it. (f. 4 b) And do thou return to thy house that thy husband may not be anxious.' And the woman, believing (π̄στεγα) put the egg in his hand; and she returned to her house with her woman of the house-And the sailor took the egg and put it in the hold (lit. belly of water?) and laid it in the food, until he came to Philoxenite. And when many days had passed, (f. 5a) he came to the shore of Philoxenite; and the man forgot the egg and returned to the startingpoint. And on one of the days the sailor saw that egg lying in the boat's hold in the food—that which he had laid down and forgotten: he said to his son, 'Boy, whence is this egg?' And he said, 'Father, dost thou not remember this, (f, 5b) which a woman gave us that we might put them (sic) in the church of S. Mena?' And the father said to the boy, 'Is it true? cook it for me, that I may have food.' And his son cooked and prepared it and set food. And when the days of . . . had been spent, they came to a certain village and moored the boat to the bank of that village. (f. 6 a) And as it was Sunday the sailor came into the village to receive the sacrament. And in that village a church of the Holy Virgin Mary was built, and he entered therein to receive the sacrament, at the arrival of the Trisagion when all the people collected in the midst, that they might drink the waters of the Holy one: and the eye of the sailor was opened: he saw S. Mena plainly, coming mounted on a white horse (f. 6 b) and aiming a spear of flame at him. And when he saw, he came running to the image of the God-bearing Mary and cried, saying, 'Thou Mary who didst bear God wilt save me from the sins I have committed.' And S. Mena standing again, said to him, 'What shall I do with thee to-day...' And the Saint took that man (f. 7 a) and trod him upon the head. And the egg which he had eaten and stolen became alive as a fowl and descended beneath him and came forth and stood . . . and S. Mena sitting on the horse seized the fowl by one of its wings, took it and said, 'Go hither: be thus.' And S. Mena departed and came to the house of that woman, knocked at the door and called. And that woman (f. 7 b) quickly opened the door, and the Saint said to her, 'Woman, take this fowl, eat of thy fowls that they may make thee fruitful. And thou also, O woman, the son that thou shalt bear, call his name Mena. And the women of thy household also shall thus be fruitful and thy cattle.

And do thou, O woman, receive baptism for the remission of thy sins,' (f. 8 a) And having finished saying this, immediately the saint vanished. And the woman took the fowl and put it with her fowls and immediately they became fruitful, the women of the household, and the cattle. And she, the woman, likewise conceived, and bore a male babe, and called his name Mena, as the Saint had said to her. And the women of her family (f. 8 b) as they conceived brought forth son and daughter. woman when the days of her solitude were completed came out to the church of S. Mena, to Mariût: and when she came to the holy church she enquired for the priest that he might baptize them. And the priest took them and laid his hands on them, and baptized her and her husband and her son and her relations in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. (f. 9 a) And thus they continued every day of their life as Christians . . . , they continued as . . . of the church of S. Mena, offering their firstfruits to the church, until they died. And all seeing and hearing of this great miracle glorified God and S. Mena. Whose is glory (f. 9b) and might now and for all time unto eternity of ages. Amen.

On the next page (f. 10 a) is drawn a figure of S. Mena as he appeared to the sailor (?) armed with a spear and riding on a horse. The sailor below appears to be naked: over his left arm is a cloth, and his right hand grasps one of the horse's hoofs. The feet of the man are cut away by an injury to the leaf, but between the legs remains the head of a cock which must have been drawn standing on the ground.

Of the second text, somewhat shorter but far more difficult, I give a few key-passages which seem more or less intelligible and may help to the discovery of parallels in other languages.

These are the canons of the churches which the holy popes assembled in Nicaea... wrote and established ... 85...

(f. 10 b) Beloved: one said... this holy feast which is on the table bread... and wine...: in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost it comes forth from the church: in the time of ... and season of ... it comes. If a man dedicate a ... in the church (f. 11 a) either ... or ... and if the priest do not give one by exchange: speaking in his heart with the priest shall not ..., shall not ...: from heaven out of Jerusalem ... he shall not have ...

loving that which is of earth, hating that which is of heaven.

If a monk having said, shall have eaten ... offered in the church

¹ The Arabic Nicene Canons reach the numbers So and 84 in the two collections (Mansi, ii pp. 947 and 982). They are not related to the present document.

(f. 11 b) with the sons of the church, by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost he is out of the church.

If a man turn in his heart and offer a ... in the church or wheat or seed of ... and he, the Lord learning (it) shall receive through his holy angel. Have ye not heard that which is written (f. 12 a) ...

All men who work in the name of God they will not find one. And now, O man, those who do them in the name of God . . .

Let us seek peace and ensue it.

- (f. 12 b) without ceasing pray to God that he may give us remission of our sins.
 - (f. 13 a) If a λαικός ... the church ... priest ...
- (f. 14 b) When thou hast taken the sacrament, remain in the church until the dismissal. Remember what was done to Judas the traitor: having taken the sacrament he went out of the church not being dismissed, and Satan entered his heart and he hastened to the betrayal. And if thou departest from church which has not been dismissed...

Now with Judas . . . 1

- (f. 15 α) I see multitudes having taken the sacrament in church . . in their hearts.
- (f. 15 b) If one having eaten, having taken the sacrament, the dead body . . .

One who not having heard epistle or gospel hath taken the sacrament hath not taken it. One who hath not sung alleluia with psalms is a *mocker* of God his Maker.

aλλογια ειαπια φελκαφ μαριμαφ which is being interpreted (f. 16 a) let us glorify him that is above all gods.²

Woe to a man speaking in the church when the sacrament comes.

These are Jews who hanged the Saviour on the Cross . . .

(f. 16 b) Its name Jerusalem . . .

The priest on Sunday . . .

(f. 17 a) female 12 years . . . male 13 years . . .

(f. 17 b) and God shall try his heart in hell (EXERTE)³

and the priest on Sunday night

with our Lord Jesus Christ resurrection and grace . . . 4

Professor Schäfer and I hope to make a complete edition of the known writings in Old Nubian in the near future. My colleague's

- ¹ For this rather clear passage Mr Brightman has shewn me a parallel in 'Eusebius of Alexandria' Hom. xvi 2 (Migne P.G. lxxxvi 416 D: cp. Rev. de l'Orient Chrétien, 1908, p. 416).
- ² Mr Crum points out to me the parallel with the gibberish words in a Coptic text, Lacau *Mém. Inst. Fr. Caire* ix. 49.
 - ³ Coptic influenced the language of religion, but apparently less than Greek.
 - ⁴ The Doxology follows (f. 18 a) in the same form as after the Menas miracle.

wonderful success in reading the Berlin fragments justifies the hope that he will carry the interpretation of the British Museum volume far beyond the point here reached. It need hardly be said that any hints—whether from theologians or from students of modern Nubian—towards the better understanding of these curious relics of an extinct church will be exceedingly welcome to us.

F. Ll. GRIFFITH.

NOTES AND STUDIES

DR HARNACK ON LUKE x 22: NO MAN KNOWETH THE SON.

IN 1874 Lightfoot wrote of the author of Supernatural Religion: 'Why, when he contrasts the Christology of the Synoptic Gospels with the Christology of St John, does he not mention that "apologists" quote in reply our Lord's words in Matt. xi 27 sq., "All things are delivered unto me of my Father; and no man knoweth the Son but the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him"?... This one passage, they assert, covers the characteristic teaching of the fourth Gospel, and hitherto they have not been answered.'1

Since then the obvious reply has become a commonplace, though it involves a *petitio principii*,—that the passage does not belong to the earlier strata of the Gospels. But as it is found in almost identical language in Luke x 21-2, it is not easy to deny that it goes back to the common source known as 'Q', which is nowadays usually assumed as the explanation of the resemblances of Mt. and Lk. where they are not both using St Mark.

The nature of Q has recently been carefully investigated by Harnack.² He considers it to be of very early date, earlier even than Mk. But the passage in question is awkward. The MS evidence is almost unanimous in both Gospels. Yet how can a 'Johannine' passage of this kind belong to Q? Harnack has invented an ingenious answer to the difficulty. He supplements the MSS by the evidence of early citations, and concludes that the form in Luke was originally different, and represented the primitive Q exactly; and he believes that in this conjectural form the Johannine element is so far attenuated that there can be no objection to attribute it to a very early date.

The crucial verses run thus:-

οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τίς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, ὁ πατήρ, οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις ἐπιγινώσκει εἰ μὴ καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ πατὴρ εἰ μὴ ὁ ὁ υἱός, υἱός,

¹ Essays on 'Supernatural Religion', 1889, pp. 15-16.

² Sprüche und Reden Jesu (Leipzig, 1907). I quote from the English translation (The Sayings of Jesus, Williams & Norgate, 1908), but I correct it from the German and give the German pages in brackets.

καὶ ῷ ἄν βούληται ὁ υἱὸς ἀπο- καὶ ῷ ἃν βούληται ὁ υἱὸς ἀπο- καλύψαι. $(ἐπιγινώσκει C F H \Delta \ al^{25} \ fere.)$ (τίς ἐστιν ὁ πατὴρ . . . τίς ἐστιν ὁ υἰός, U and one cursive.)

Harnack's points are these: (1) that the earliest quotations of Luke have $\tilde{\epsilon}\gamma\nu\omega$ and not $\gamma\iota\nu\omega'\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$; (2) that they give the two τ is $\tilde{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ clauses in the reverse order as in U; (3) that this cannot be the original text, but that the clause τ is $\tilde{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ $\tilde{\delta}$ viòs ϵ i μ h $\tilde{\delta}$ $\pi\alpha\tau$ h $\tilde{\eta}\rho$ must be an interpolation of very early date into Lk. from Mt. It will be best to give this third point in his own words:—

- 1. One does not by any means expect to find the clause about 'knowing the Son' in this connexion, even though it is not positively unbearable; for this ascription of praise is concerned both in its beginning and its close with the knowledge of God.
- 2. The historic agrist $\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\nu\omega$ suits the Son's knowledge of the Father extremely well, but it does not so well suit the Father's knowledge of the Son. This has been noticed by thoughtful copyists, who have tried to overcome the difficulty in various ways.
- 3. The clause καὶ $\vec{\phi}$ ầν ὁ νίὸς ἀποκαλύψη only suits the clause οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τίς ἐστιν ὁ πατὴρ εἰ μὴ ὁ νίός, and not the other clause with which it is connected above in Luke (the Son is God's interpreter and not His own). This has also been correctly seen by the copyists who have accordingly overcome the difficulty by transposition, or even by changing νίός into αὐτός, which then refers to the Father.
- 4. In Cod. Vercell. of Luke we even now read the saying without the clause concerning 'knowing the Son'.

In my opinion we are almost forced to the conclusion that in Luke the words καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ υίὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ were originally wanting.

If they were wanting in Luke they were also wanting in Q.

We may pass over these assertions for the moment, for they have no basis until the textual question has been decided beyond all doubt in favour of $\xi\gamma\nu\omega$ and the reversed order in Luke. I think it is easy to shew that the evidence is unquestionably against Harnack on both points.

1. The textual evidence.

We have seen that Harnack appeals over the head of all existing MSS to the witness of early writers. Now it is in any case very precarious to go against all the MSS in order to follow patristic quotations, since these are usually very free. But in the case of a much quoted text it is a particularly hazardous proceeding, for every one is aware how often the popular form in which quotations are made is incorrect. Vergil did not write 'Uno avulso non deficit alter'; Mrs Malaprop never said 'Caparisons are odorous', nor did the people cry out in 3 Esdras 'Magna est veritas et praevalebit'. Lex orandi is a mistake for lex supplicandi. The reader will probably call to mind many examples.

To shew how much this warning is needed, I will begin by two later Fathers, to whom Harnack has not appealed. From these we may learn how to treat the more important evidence of the earlier centuries.

The form of the saying in Mt. is distinguished by the repetition of the verb, by the prefix $\hat{\epsilon}\pi\iota$ before $\gamma\iota\nu\dot{\omega}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$, and (far more noticeably) by the simple accusatives $\tau\dot{o}\nu$ $\upsilon\dot{i}\acute{o}\nu$, $\tau\dot{o}\nu$ $\pi\alpha\tau\dot{\epsilon}\rho a$, for the Lucan clauses $\tau\dot{\epsilon}s$ $\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ \dot{o} $\tau\dot{\epsilon}s$ $\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$ \dot{o} $\pi\alpha\tau\dot{\eta}\rho$. It will be easy to see which evangelist is quoted in each case, and to recognize a mixed citation.

We will begin by the citations in a single book, St Cyril of Alexandria's Thesaurus:—

- 1. Mt. A 2 p. 20 $(37)^1$ οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ $\ddot{\phi}$ αν ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψη.
- 2. Mt. A 2 131 (220) οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ ῷ ἄν υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψη.
- Mt. O B 137 (229) οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν υἰὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις ἐπιγινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ ῷ ἐὰν βούληται ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψαι.
- 4. Lk. A 2 148-9 (249) οὐδεὶς γάρ, φησί, γινώσκει τις έστιν δ πατηρ εί μη δ υίδς, καὶ ễ αν δ υίδς ἀποκαλύψη.
- 5. Mt. 1 222 (376) οὐδεὶς γὰρ οἶδε τὸν υίὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ.
- 6. Mt. Lk. O A 365 (620) in a series of extracts from Scripture: οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει τίς ἐστιν ὁ υἰὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ· οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις ἐπιγινώσκει τίς ἐστιν εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ ῷ ἀν ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψη.

Only two quotations out of six give both members. B only appears once. Mixture appears in 6, for $\epsilon \pi \iota \gamma \iota \nu \omega \sigma \kappa \epsilon \iota$ and the repetition of the verb are Mt., the rest is Lk. $ol\delta \epsilon$ in 5 is a free citation. We have O for Mt. and in a mixed form (3, 6).

The following quotations are all from a single chapter (Liber De Trinitate xi, Mai Bibl. nova Patrum ii 688, P. G. lxxv, 1161):—

- Mt. O B οὐδείς, φησίν, οἶδε τὸν υἰὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις ἐπιγινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ ὦ ἀν βούληται ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψαι.
- 2. Mt. Ο οὐδεὶς γάρ, φησί, γινώσκει τὸν υίὸν εί μὴ ὁ πατήρ· οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις ἐπιγινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ υίός.
- Mt. Ο Βοὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν υἰὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ· οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις ἐπιγινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ ఢ ἃν βούληται ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψαι.
- 4. Mt. O B οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν υἰὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ· οὐκ ἐπήγαγε 'καὶ ῷ ἄν βούληται ὁ πατήρ ἀποκαλύψαι'· εἰρηκὼς δὲ 'οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις ἐπιγινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός,' εὐθὺς προσέθηκε 'καὶ ῷ ἄν βούληται ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψαι.'
- 5. Μt. Ο οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν υίὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ· οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις γινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ υίός.

But if we turn to St Cyril's Comm. on Luke, we shall find R in a very free citation: καὶ οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς φύσιν ἀδιδάκτως, φησίν, εἰ μὴ ὁ νίος· οὐδὲ τὸν ὁμοούσιον αὐτῷ νίὸν εἶδέ τις εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ (p. 251, P. G. lxxii 672). How does he come to change the order? Hardly

¹ The pages are those of Aubert's edition (vol. V) with those of Migne ($P.G. \ln xv$) in brackets. The full conclusion βούληται ἀποκαλύψαι is marked B; the shortened form ἀποκαλύψη is called A. A quotation of knowing the Son without the parallel clause about knowing the Father is named 1, the citation of the latter clause without the former is named 2. It will be seen that these half quotations are particularly frequent. R will mean reversed order; the ordinary order is O.

because his MS was so written. Is it not simply because 'the Nature of the Father' is prior to 'the consubstantial Son', and he naturally mentions it first? For we find R equally in a free quotation from Mt., Lib. de Trin. 23, P. G. lxxv 1180 καὶ ισπερ τὸν πατέρα οὐδεὶς οἶδεν εὶ μὴ ὁ νίος, οὐδὲ τὸν νίὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ. Just as here οἶδεν is Cyril's own, so is ἔγνω where it occurs οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν νίὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ.¹ There seems to be no real evidence in Cyril for any but the reading of the MSS. Why does he use ἔγνω? Surely because this 'gnomic' aorist is both more idiomatic and more forcible. It says not merely 'no one recognizes', but no one has ever recognized or can recognize.²

Let us take an earlier Alexandrine, St Athanasius:—

- Lk. R vol. i p. 107. In illud 'omnia mihi tradita sunt' οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τίς ἐστιν ὁ πατήρ εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ υἰὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ.
- 2. Mt. O A p. 218. De decretis Nic. syn. 12 οὐδεὶς οἶδε τὸν υἰδν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις ἐπιγινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ ῷ ᾶν ὁ υἰδς ἀποκαλύψη.
- 3. Mt. 2 p. 286. Ad Epp. Aeg. et Lib. 16 οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υίός.
- Mt. 2 A p. 416. Oratio I c. Arianos 12 οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ ῷ ἀν ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψη.
- 5. Mt. 2 A p. 443. Ibid. 39 οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ ῷ αν ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψη.
- 6. Mt. 2 p. 593. Oratio III c. Arianos 44 οὐδεὶς γάρ, φησί, γινώσκει τὸν πατέρα εὶ μὴ ὁ υίός.
- Mt. 2 A p. 634-5. Oratio IV c. Arianos 23 οὐδεὶς γὰρ γινώσκει τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός . . . καὶ ῷ ἄν ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψη.
- Mt. R A vol. v 14. Sermo maior de fide οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ῷ ἐὰν ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψη.

Here I is Lk. R and 8 is Mt. R, whereas 2 is Mt. O. The rest are all Mt. 2, with the $\epsilon \pi \iota$ - left out in 4, 6, 7. We find $\delta i \delta \epsilon$ once. It is not likely, after what we saw in Cyril, that Athanasius had B in his text. It is a quite natural abbreviation, and there is no reason to doubt that he knew the longer form as Cyril did. Again, the fact that he uses R in

¹ De Incarn. Unig. vol. 8, 680 (lxxv 1193), and also De recta fide ad Theod. Imp. 5, vol. 5 (lxxvi 1141). The form οἶδε is much commoner in Cyril. It is not only found in Mt. citations (as above thrice) and fragm. in Matt. xi 27 (lxxii p. 404), but also in a Lk. passage, De Ador. in Spir. v, vol. i, 155 (381) οὐδείε γὰρ οἶδε τίε ἐστιν δ υἰὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, and in a mixed passage Comm. in Ioh. x 14, Book vi, lxxiii, 652 (1044) οὐδείε γὰρ οἶδε τὸν υἰὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, οὐδ αν τὸν πατέρα τις οἶδε τίε ἐστιν εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός.

² On gnomic and 'timeless' aorists, see J. H. Moulton's *Prolegomena* (1906) p. 134. Though the Fathers usually quote έγνω in this passage in a gnomic sense, we shall see some places (notably in Justin and the Marcosians, apud Iren.) where it is taken in a historic sense. But doubtless some thought it in the very frequent present sense of 'knoweth' (i. e. 'hath recognized'): for γινώσκω does not mean 'I know' but 'I come to know', and έγνων and έγνωκα often mean 'I know', like οίδα, a simple fact which Harnack has not noticed. But it is not likely that the Fathers in quoting the text were always aware whether they meant the present sense or the gnomic sense. In the N.T. ἐπιγινώσκειν means to recognize a person.

off 15.4 TOUNGE

both Lk. and Mt. will indispose us to believe that he found it in either case in his MSS; for he can hardly have found it in both evangelists.

We can now turn to the evidence adduced by Harnack. We have learned already that the text is likely to be quoted carelessly, and that a correct quotation outweighs the witness of many incorrect ones. We have also seen that it is not difficult to distinguish between Mt. and Lk.

It will be best to work backwards from the fourth century. Before taking more Alexandrines, Clement and Origen, we have to deal with the Origenist Eusebius. It should be premised that Eusebius generally employs a 'Western' text. So does Clement, and so also Origen very often.

- Mt. G R Dem. Ev. iv 3, 13 (149 b) 'τὴν γενεὰν γὰρ αὐτοῦ' φησί 'τίς διηγήσεται;'
 καὶ 'ὥσπερ οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, οὕτω καὶ τὸν υἰὸν οὐδεὶς ἔγνω εἰ
 μὴ μόνος ὁ γεννήσας αὐτὸν πατήρ.'
- 2. Mt. G (R) Dem. Ev. v 1, 25-6 (216 d) πολλάκις ήδη ἐπειπόντες 'τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγήσεται;'...'οὐδεὶς ἔγνω', φησί, 'τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός'. ῷ καὶ ἐπιλέγει 'καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν υἰὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ.'
- 3. Mt. G R Hist. Eccl. i 2, 2 την γενεὰν αὐτοῦ, φησίν, τίς διηγήσεται; ὅτι δὴ οὕτε τὸν πατέρα τις ἔγνω εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, οὕτ' αῦ τὸν υἰόν τις ἔγνω ποτὲ κατ' ἀξίαν εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ γεννήσας αὐτὸν πατήρ.
- 4. Mt. R Eccl. Theol. i 12 (Klost. p. 72, 4) ὅτι μηδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, μηδὲ τὸν υἰόν τις ἔγνω εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ γεννήσας αὐτὸν πατήρ.
- 5. Mt. 2 G A Eccl. Theol. i 16 (p. 76, 5) παρατίθεται μὲν (ὁ Μάρκελλος) τὰς τοῦ Σωτῆρος φωνάς, δι ὧν ἔφη ' οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰὸς καὶ ῷ ἀν ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψη,' ὥσπερ δὲ ἐπανορθούμενος αὐτὰς ἀντὶ τοῦ υἰοῦ Λόγον αὐθις ὀνομάζει ὧδε λέγαν'
 - Mt. 2 'οὐδεὶς γὰρ οἶδεν,' φησίν, 'τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, τουτέστιν ὁ Λύγος.'
- 6. Mt. 1 Eccl. Theol. i 20 (85, 32) διὸ προφήσας 'πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου' ἐπήγαγεν 'καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν υἰὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ'. σεσιγήσθω τοίνυν πᾶς ἀπόρρητος περὶ τοῦ υἰοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος, καὶ μόνφ τῷ πατρὶ παραδεδόσθω ἡ τῆς ἐξ αἰτοῦ γενέσεως αὐτοῦ γνῶσις.
- Mt. G 2 Eclog. proph. i 12 (Migne, iv 1065 Å) ἐπεὶ μηδ' είς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός.
- 8. Lk. B Comm. in Psalm. cx (ap. S. Athan. opp. ed. Bened. IV 704) έξομολογοῦμαί σοι, πάτερ. . . καὶ οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τίς ἐστιν ὁ υἰὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ πατήρ εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ ψ ἐὰν βούληται ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψαι.
- 9. Mt. G R Ep. ad Constantiam (Conc. Nic. ii, Sess. vi, Mansi, xiii 313) ὅτι οὐτε τὸν πατέρα τις ἔγνω εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός· οὐδ' αὐτὸν [τὸν] υἰὸν γνοίη ποτέ τις ἐπαξίως εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ γεννήσας αὐτὸν πατήρ.

The first four quotations and the last are not independent, as is shewn by the recurrence of the passage from Isaiah liii, and the

1 Though έγνω does not seem to occur in Athanasius, it is found once in Didymus. As Alexander of Alexandria is ante-Nicene, it may be of interest to add his two versions from the letter to Alexander of Constantinople (Theodoret H. E. i 3): Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔγνω τίς ἐστιν ὁ υἰός, λέγων, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, καὶ τὸν πατέρα οὐδεὶς ἔγνω εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός. Here we have G O, partly Lk. (τίς ἐστιν), partly Mt. (τὸν πατέρα and the repetition of the verb). Again: Οὐδεὶς οἶδε τίς ἐστιν ὁ πατὴρ εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ οὐτεὶς οἶδε τίς ἐστιν ὁ υίὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ. Here we have Lk. R, with οἷδε twice. There is evidently no sufficient reason for doubting that Alexander's MSS were like ours, but he is quoting freely.

ό γεννήσας. One guesses that Eusebius has some passage of Origen in his mind. (On the next page will be found Origen c. Cels. vi 17, which has suggested κατ' ἀξίαν in 3, 9, and ὁ γενν. in 1, 3, 4, 9.) Again, 5 is so near 4 in the same book that it is hardly independent.

In all these 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, and also in 7, we find $\xi\gamma\nu\omega$ (G), and in all cases the form $\tau \delta\nu$ $\pi a\tau \epsilon\rho a$ shews that Mt., not Lk., is in question. But 6 shews that Eusebius really read $\epsilon \pi \iota \gamma \iota \nu \omega \sigma \kappa \epsilon \iota$ in Mt., while 8 (not given by Harnack) is Lk. exactly. He attributes $\delta t \delta \epsilon \nu$ in 5 to Marcellus of Ancyra.

He gives R three times in Mt., but just when he is using Origen's form. Thus Harnack's conclusion is wrong that Eusebius found έγνω and the reversed order in Luke. He had Lk. exactly right; but borrowed Mt. GRA from Origen, though he probably read Mt. right in his Bible.

We now come to Origen himself :-

- Mt. 2 G contra Celsum ii 71 (Koetschau i p. 193, 14) τῷ 'οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός.'
- 2. Mt. O G A contra Celsum vi 17 (p. 88, 19) οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰό:, καὶ ῷ ἄν ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψη. οὕτε γὰρ τὸν ἀγένητον καὶ πάσης γενετῆς ψύσεως πρωτότοκον κατ' ἀξίαν εἰδέναι τις δύναται ὡς ὁ γεννήσας αὐτὸν πατήρ, οὕτε τὸν πατέρα, κτὲ.
- 3. A contra Celsum vi 64 (p. 135, 23) & αν αὐτὸς ἀποκαλύψη τὸν πατέρα.
- Mt. G A contra Celsum vii 44 (p. 194, 30) οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ ῷ ἃν ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψη.
- 5. Mt. 2 Comm. in Ioh. i 16 (Preuschen p. 20, 17) ώς νῦν μόνος ὁ υἰὸς ἔγνωκε τὸν πατέρα· εἰ γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς τις ἐξετάζοι, πότε γνώσονται, οἶς ἀποκαλύπτει ὁ ἔγνωκὼς τὸν πατέρα υἰός, τὸν πατέρα...
- Mt. 2 G A Comm. in Ioh. i 38 (p. 49, 8) ἀποκαλύπτει δυ ἔγνω πατέρα. 'οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ ῷ ἀν ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψη.'
- 7. Mt. 2 G Comm. in Ioh. xiii 24 (p. 248, 19) οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός.
- 8. Mt. 2 G Comm. in Ioh. xix 3 (p. 301, 26) = 7 (om. $\gamma \dot{\alpha} \rho$).
- 9. Mt. 2 G Comm. in Ioh. xx 7 (p. 334, 19) = 8.
- 10. Mt. 1 G Comm. in Ioh. xxxii 29 (p. 474, 16) γέγραπται· οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν υἰὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ.
- Mt. 2 G A Comm. in Ioh. xxxii 29 (p. 474, 33) οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ ῷ ἄν ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψη.
- Mt. 1 G Selecta in Psalmos (De la Rue vol. ii p. 537) οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔγνω τὸν υἰὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ (= 10).¹
 - ¹ The Latin translations supply the following passages: -
- 13. Mt. R De Princ. i 1, 8 (De la Rue, i p. 53) 'Denique ipse in euangelio non dixit quia nemo uidit patrem nisi filius, neque filium nisi pater, sed ait:
 - Mt. (G) O "Nemo nouit filium nisi pater, neque patrem quis nouit nisi filius".
- 14. Mt. (G) B De Princ. i 3, 4 (i p. 61) 'Sicut enim de filio dicitur, quia nemo nouit patrem nisi filius, et cui uoluerit filius reuelare'.
- 15. Mt.O De Princ. ii 4, 3 (i p. 86) 'Nemo nouit filium nisi pater, neque patrem quis nouit nisi filius, et cui uolucrit filius reuelare. Manisestum ergo est quia non dixit, Nemo uidit patrem nisi filius, sed Nemo nouit patrem nisi filius'.
- 16. Mt. (G) R De Prine. ii 6, 1 (i p. 89) 'Nemo nouit patrem nisi filius, neque quis nouit filium nisi pater'.

Among the Greek quotations there is not one instance of Lk. Except for $5 \ \ \tilde{\epsilon} \gamma \nu \omega \kappa \epsilon \nu$, every case gives $\ \tilde{\epsilon} \gamma \nu \omega$. A occurs five times, B never. But then only one Greek example is a full quotation, so that the use of the shortened form A is not very significant. Thus Origen may possibly have had A and G in Mt., but not R.

In the Latin translations we find R once (16), but O many times (13, 15, 19, 20, 21, 23). In 26 cognouit clearly stands for έγνω; but the nouit of all the other places is the ordinary O. L. and Vulg. word in Mt.; in 13 and 15, however, the parallel with uidit implies the aorist έγνω. In 24 scit represents γινώσκει. In 20–1 Origen for a wonder cited Lk.; and this makes assurance doubly sure that all his other quotations are Mt. We cannot trust the translators in details, and they are given to interpolating.

We next take Clement (see Barnard Texts and Studies v 5 p. 16):-

- Mt. 2 G A Protrepticus i 10, 3 (Potter p. 10; Stählin p. 10, 15) Θεόν οὐδεὶς ἔγνω
 εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ ῷ ἄν ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψη.
- 17. Mt. 2 (G) B In Leuit. Hom. vii (ii p. 223) 'Quomodo comedit? Nemo, inquit, nouit patrem nisi filius. Secundo in loco manducant filii eius, nemo enim nouit patrem nisi filius, et cui uoluerit filius reuelare'.
- Mt. 2 (G) B In Num. Hom. xviii (ii p. 340) 'Nemo nouit patrem nisi filius, et cui uoluerit filius reuelare' (= 14).
- 19. Mt. (G) O B In Cantica, Prologus (iii p. 31) 'Filium nemo nouit nisi pater, neque patrem quis nouit nisi filius, et cui uoluerit filius reuelare' (sic MSS, libri editi 'Scit enim nemo patrem nisi filius', De la Rue).
- 20. Mt. (G) O B In Cantica ii (p. 58 C) 'Cuius scientiae opus illud principale est, quod in eu. sec. Matt. quidem ita dicit: Nemo nouit filium nisi pater, neque patrem quis nouit nisi filius, et cui uoluerit filius reuelare';
- 21. LOB In Luca autem ita ait 'Nemo scit quid sit filius nisi pater, et nemo scit quid sit pater nisi filius, et cui uoluerit filius reuelare. Secundum Ioannem uero ita scriptum est: Sicut agnoscit me pater, et ego agnosco patrem (Io x 15). In quadragesimo uero quinto Psalmo dicit: Vacate et cognoscite, quoniam ego sum Deus'.
- 22. Mt. 2 (G) B In Matt. (Old Latin transl. iii p. 874 C) 'Qui confidit se cognoscere patrem, dicens: Nemo nouit patrem nisi filius, et cui uoluerit filius reuelare' (= 14).
- 23. Mt. (G) O B In Rom. Bk. i 16 (iv p. 472) 'Filium nemo nouit nisi pater, neque patrem quis nouit nisi filius, et cui uoluerit filius reuelare'.
- 24. Mt. 2 B In Rom. Bk. iii (iv p. 515) 'Nemo enim scit patrem nisi filius, et cui uoluerit filius reuelare'.
- 25. Mt. 2 (G) In Rom. Bk. viii (iv p. 642) 'Solus est enim filius qui nouerit patrem'.
- 26. Mt. 2 (G) Fragm. in Ioh. cviii (Preuschen p. 562, 23) 'Reuelat patrem, quem nemo cognouit, nisi ipse solus'.

In 20 Mt. is given acc. to Vulg. and O. L. In 21 quid for quis is not in any MSS given by Wordsworth, and is perhaps a slip of the scribe. The repetition of sait is not supported by MSS, as b l q, which repeat the verb, have nouit (b q) and cognosait (l). In the passage from John x 15 the Vulg. and some O. L. have nouit, though all have agnoses; only b e have agnoses.

- 2. Mt. 2 G A Paedagogus i 5, 20, 2 (P. p. 10; S. p. 101, 32): as 1.
- 3. Mt. 2 G Paedagogus i 8, 74, 1 (P. 142; S. 133, 7) καὶ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ ' οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα'.
- 4. Mt. O G Paedagogus i 9, 88, 2 (P. 150; S. 142, 1) 'οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν υἰὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ,' λέγων, 'οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός'.
- Mt.O G A Stromata I xxviii 178, 2 (P. 425; S. 109, 27) οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἔγνω τὸν υἰὸν εἰ
 μὴ ὁ πατήρ, οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ ῷ ἄν ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψη.
- Mt. 2 G A Stromata V xiii 84, 3 (P. 697; S. 382, 14) ἐπεὶ ' μηδείς', φησὶν ὁ κύριος,
 'τὸν πατέρα ἔγνω εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ ῷ ᾶν ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψη'.
- 7. Mt. 2 G A Stromata VII x 58 (P. 866) Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ εἶς καὶ μόνος ὁ παντακράτωρ, δν οὐδεὶς ἔγνω εἰ μὴ ὁ υίός, καὶ ῷ ἐὰν ὁ υίὸς ἀποκαλύψη.
- Mt. 2 A Stromata VII xviii 109 (P. 901) οὐδεὶς γάρ, φησί, γινώσκει τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ ῷ ἀν ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψη.
- 9. Mt. 2 A Quis dives 7-8, (P. 939, Barnard p. 6) ή δὲ ἐπίγνωσις αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκείωσις καὶ ή πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγάπη καὶ ἔξομοίωσις μόνη ζωή. 8. τοῦτον οὖν πρῶτον ἐπιγνῶναι τῷ ζησομένῳ τὴν ὄντως ζωὴν παρακελεύεται, δν οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ ῷ ἀν ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψη.

All but two are half quotations. Neither of these two gives R. A comes seven times. As in Origen there is no Lk. at all. Did Clement only in later life use a codex which read ἐπιγινώσκει? Or did he in later life discover that he had always been quoting by heart and incorrectly?

We may next take St Irenaeus:-

- Mt. R A Haer. ii 6, 1 'Nemo cognoscit Patrem nisi Filius, neque Filium nisi Pater, et quibus Filius reuelauerit'.
- 2. Mt. 2 G Haer. ii 14, 7 'Saluator ergo secundum eos (Valentinianos) erit mentitus, dicens: "Nemo cognouit Patrem nisi Filius". Si enim cognitus est a matre uel a semine eius, solutum est illud, quod "Nemo cognovit Patrem nisi Filius".
- ¹ I give in a note the citations in the Clementine Homilics because Resch and Harnack have given them. But I attach no importance to them. The reading is practically invariable; but all the instances occur in a very short space between Hom. xvii 14 and xviii 20. The writer did not wish to quote, as he meant it to be supposed that the Gospels were not yet written. I am inclined to suppose that he actually invented this particular form on purpose, and kept to it. Whether it is for the sake of euphony that he varies the verb from $\epsilon\gamma\nu\omega$ to $\epsilon\delta\nu$, or whether his strange form of Arianism (see Zeitschr. für N. T. Wiss., 1908, pp. 21-34, 147-59) finds some subtle distinction between the two verbs, I do not venture to guess:—
- ΗοΜ. ΧΥΙΙ 4 οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υίος, ὡς οὐδὲ τὸν υίόν τις οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, καὶ οῖς ἄν βούληται ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψαι.
- Hom. xviii 4 οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, ὡς οὐδὲ τὸν υἰόν τις οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, καὶ οἶς ἄν βούληται ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψαι.
- 3. Hom. xviii 7 καὶ οίς αν βούληται ὁ υίὸς ἀποκαλύπτει.
- 4. Hom. xviii 11 οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα.
- 5. Hom. xviii 13 οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, οὐδὲ τὸν υἱόν τις οἶδεν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, καὶ οἷς τὸν βούληται ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψαι.
- 6. Hom. xviii 13 οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα . . . οὐδὲ τὸν υίόν τις οἶδεν.
- 7. Ηοπ. xviii 20 οὐδεὶς έγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, ὡς οὐδὲ τὸν υἰόν τις οίδεν εἰ μὴ δ πατήρ.

- 3. Mt. O B Haer, iv 6, I 'Nemo cognoscit Filium nisi Pater, neque Patrem quis cognoscit nisi Filius, et cui uoluerit Filius reuelare'.
- 4. Mt. RA Haer. iv 6, 3 'Nemo cognoscit Patrem nisi Filius, neque Filium nisi Pater, et quibuscunque Filius reuelauerit'.
- 5. Mt. O A Haer. iv 7, 1 '[Nemo cognoscit Filium nisi Pater, neque Patrem nisi Filius], et quibuscumque Filius reuelauerit. "Reuelauerit" enim non solum in futurum dictum est, quasi tunc inceperit Verbum manifestare Patrem, cum de Maria natus; sed communiter per totum tempus positum est'.

The text is uncertain, and we cannot tell how far it has been doctored by the translator. As the evidence stands, it would appear that Irenaeus used O or R, B or A, indifferently. If so, we may assume that R and A are free quotations. We find only Mt., never Lk. In 2 the $\tilde{\epsilon}_{YV\omega}$ seems to be attributed to the Valentinians.

In two other passages we find ἔγνω (cognouit). In the former (below), i 20, 3, the Marcosians are the culprits; and St Irenaeus in stating that this is their reading, seems to disapprove of it. He adds that they use it to shew that no one knew their invented 'Father of Truth' before the advent of the Son. In the second passage, iv 6, 1, he first quotes the text as above (3), and then gives it again as it is quoted 'by those who wish to be cleverer than the Apostles', adding that these interpret it as though the true God had been unknown until the advent of Christ. Now in the whole of this latter passage he is attacking the Marcionites, and Harnack argues that the persons 'who wish to be cleverer than the Apostles' are the Marcionites. This seems very improbable. The text is, in fact, the same, and the argument from it is the same as in i 20, 3, and Irenaeus seems to have repeated both as being in favour of the Marcionite contention, since here Marcus and Marcion were at one. But there is no sufficient reason to make us suppose that he is actually quoting a Marcionite document and giving us the reading of Marcion's Luke. In fact, the quotation is from Matthew; and though we might suppose that here (as in other cases) Marcion's text had been assimilated to Matthew, yet we have the explicit witness of Tertullian that Marcion had the Lucan form, as we should have anticipated.

I subjoin below the citation by the Marcionite interlocutor in the Adamantius Dialogue, because Harnack has followed the Dialogue and Irenaeus as two independent witnesses to Marcion's text, and prefers them to Tertullian. But the Dialogue on one and the same page gives three different words, $\tilde{\epsilon}\gamma\nu\omega$, $\gamma\iota\nu\dot{\omega}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\iota$, and $o\tilde{\iota}\delta\epsilon\nu$; yet Eutropius, the speaker who gives the third form, shews no sign of wishing to correct the form cited by the Marcionite, and it seems clear that none of the three is

¹ But the Syriac, fragm. xv, of this passage gives 'Nemo cognoscit Patrem nisi Filius, neque Filium', &c., and Harvey has a note on the Syriac (ii p. 443) in which he remarks that 'the Clem., Ar., and other MS' transpose the terms in the same way. But he may be referring only to iv 6, 3, where he had altered the reading from that of the MSS.

intended to be more than a free quotation. Further, the *Dialogue* very probably gets its quotation from Origen's form, and it is Mt. not Lk.

- Mt. G R A. Marcosians ap. Iren. Haer. i 20, 3 οἰονεὶ κορωνίδα τῆς ὑποθέσεως αὐτῶν φέρουσι ταῦτα· Ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι . . . καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εὶ μὴ ὁ υἰός, καὶ τὸν υἰὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ῷ ᾶν ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψη.
- Mt. G R B. Heretics ap. Iren. *Haer.* iv 6, 1 'Nemo cognouit Patrem nisi Filius nec Filium nisi Pater, et cui uoluerit Filius reuelare'.
- Mt. (G) R. Adamantius, Dialogue i 23 (Bakhuysen p. 44, 1): Megethius, the Marcionist, says: ἐγὰ ἐκ τῶν γραφῶν δείξω ὅτι ἄλλος ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πατὴρ καὶ ἄλλος ὁ δημιουργός ... ὁ Χριστός ... εἰπών· οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα
- M 1 εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, οὐδὲ τὸν υἱόν τις γινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ. Same page, line 14, in the reply of Adamantius: οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, and line 29, the arbiter Eutropius quotes: οὐδεὶς οἶδε τὸν υἱὸν εὶ μὴ ὁ πατήρ.
- Lk. R A. Marcion apud Tert. c. Marc. iv 25 'Nemo enim scit qui sit pater nisi filius et qui sit filius nisi pater, et cuicumque filius reuelauerit'. (Rönsch's reading is wrong: patrem...et filium, Mt.)

With the last passage we must compare Tertullian's own citations (Rönsch N. T. Tertullians p. 103):—

- Mt. 2 G. c. Marc. ii 27 'Ceterum patrem nemini visum etiam commune testabitur evangelium, dicente Christo: "Nemo cognovit patrem nisi filius".
- Mt. 2. c. Prax. 8 'Solus filius patrem novit'. 19. 'Solus sciens sensum patris'.
 26. 'Hic quoque patrem nemini notum nisi filio adfirmat'.
- Mt. 2 A. Praescr. 21 'Quia nec alius patrem novit nisi filius et cui filius revelavit'.

All these are Mt. This shews that Tertullian in c. Marc. iv 25 was taking care to give Marcion's Lucan form accurately, and not from memory. His cognouit may be a free form of the ordinary Latin reading nouit; but it is also just possible that it represents έγνω.

Anyhow the case is clear with regard to Marcion. He had $\gamma \iota \nu \omega \sigma \kappa \epsilon \iota$ and not $\xi \gamma \nu \omega$. He had the Lucan form, but apparently the reversed order (R).

Tatian comes next:—

- Lk. O B. Arabic Diatess. xv 38 (Hamblin Hill p. 104) 'No one knoweth who the Son is save the Father, and who the Father is save the Son, and he to whomsoeverthe Son willeth to reveal Him'.
- Mt. R. Ephrem, Comm. on Diatess. (Moesinger p. 117; H. Hill p. 348) 'No man knoweth the Father but the Son, neither the Son but the Father'.
- Mt. R. Ibid. p. 216 'No man knoweth the Father but the Son, and no man knoweth the Son but the Father'.

We cannot follow Harnack in citing Tatian for $\xi\gamma\nu\omega$, as there is no authority for this; nor for R in Lk. Whether he read Mt. R or Lk. O is not clear. Ephrem is the better authority, and he is here against all the other Syriac witnesses, Sin Cur Pesh Hkl Aphraates, which all have O^1 But it is not certain that he is quoting carefully. On the other hand, if

VOL. X. O o

¹ See Burkitt Evangelion de Mepharreshe vol. i pp. 59, 315. Victor of Capua gives Mt. in Cod. Fuld. Diatess. c. 67.

Tatian really had Mt., one does not see why the Arabic should have substituted Lk.

In the last place we come to the earliest authority, St Justin Martyr:

- Mt. G R A. Apol. i 63, 5 οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υίός, οὐδὲ τὸν υίὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ οἶς ἄν ἀποκαλύψη ὁ υίός.
- Mt. G R A. Apol. i 63, 19 οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υίός, οὐδὲ τὸν υίὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ οἶς αν ὁ υίὸς ἀποκαλύψη.
- Mt. R A. Dial. 100, 5 οὐδεὶς γινώσκει τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἰός, οὐδὲ τὸν υίὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ οἶς ἄν ὁ υἰὸς ἀποκαλύψη.

Each quotation varies, so that Justin is not quoting carefully from his book. Every time he gives ois for ipsi; and this (we find it in the Clem. Hom.) was presumably never in any MS. All three times he uses Mt. R, not Lk. We have twice ipsi against a single $\gamma \iota \nu \omega \sigma \kappa \epsilon \iota$; but then the two ipsi are close together and count only as one witness. It is possible that Justin read ipsi but it is not impossible at all that he had ipsi ipsi but in his MS! We have really no means of dogmatizing.

2. Summary of textual evidence.

A. We are now in a position to estimate Harnack's summing up of the evidence he gave:—

p. 288 (German ed. p. 200): 1. A section of the Marcionites, the Marcosians, Justin (in the Apology) [Tatian], the Alexandrians (Clement, Origen [both practically always] and later writers also), and Eusebius (practically always) agree in reading $\xi\gamma\nu\omega$. Accordingly $\xi\gamma\nu\omega$ is the reading which has in its favour the most ancient testimony.

We must omit the Marcionites and Marcion, Tatian and Eusebius. The remainder are all doubtful witnesses. Against $\xi\gamma\nu\omega$ we have Marcion explicitly for Lk. and Irenaeus explicitly for Mt. But Justin is on the whole a witness against $\xi\gamma\nu\omega$ in his *Dialogue*.

Thus the possible evidence is reduced to

- 1. Mt. (Justin) and the Marcosians;
- 2. Mt. Clement and Origen.

Harnack continues:-

2. The reading ἔγνω stood in St Luke; [note: This is also the opinion of Blass, Keim, Meyer, and Schmiedel.] for this is suggested by the reading in Marcion's gospel, and the hypothesis is supported by the nouit of the very ancient Latin codices Vercellensis (a) and Veronensis (b) in St Luke, whereas the remaining O. L. codices, except q, read scit. The hypothesis finally receives very strong support from the other aorists: ἔκρυψας, ἀπεκάλυψας, ἐγένετο, παρεδόθη.

We have seen on the contrary that Marcion had the Lucan form with scit = γινώσκει, and that every single instance of έγνω was in Mt. ! As for the nouit of two solitary Latin MSS in Luke, we can oppose to it the

¹ I refer the reader to the judicious remarks of Dr Zahn Gesch. des N.-T. Kanons i 557. He notes that 'in Bezug auf diesen Spruch die umstaltende Kraft des mündlichen Gebrauches schon vor Justin's Zeit geschäftig gewesen ist'.

nouit of all the Latin MSS of Matt., both O. L. and Vulg., except three or four! Harnack's last sentence seems to have got into this paragraph by mistake, for all the four aorists are in Matt. as well as in Luke, and therefore provide no support for the notion that $\xi\gamma\nu\omega$ was in the one rather than the other.

But does *nouit* really represent $\xi\gamma\nu\omega$? *Nouit* is only a perfect in form, not in meaning, like $older{like}$, and is exactly equivalent to *cognoscit* or *scit*. It is therefore odd that Harnack, who takes $\xi\gamma\nu\omega$ to be a 'historic' aorist, should think that it was translated by *nouit*! But, in fact, $\xi\gamma\nu\omega$ in the sense of 'knoweth' is just as much a present as *nouit* or $older{like}$, and therefore it is possible that it underlies the *nouit* of the Latin versions of Matthew. If it did, that would be distinct evidence that it was really found in some Greek codices. Yet even so it would not be a very widespread 'Western' reading, for it is not in Irenaeus nor in any Syriac authority whatever, nor in such Greek MSS as D and the Ferrar group.²

B. It would seem that Marcion had Lk. R, and that the Marcosians had Mt. R; so possibly had Justin. Certainly Clement never had R; Irenaeus, Origen, and later writers sometimes use Mt. R and more rarely Lk. R out of carelessness. As we find R now in at least two MSS of Luke, so it may conceivably have stood in the second century in a few MSS of Matt. But this remains uncertain.

C. As to βούληται ἀποκαλύψαι against ἀποκαλύψη, the shorter form is as natural as it is common, and it may quite well have crept into some MSS of Matt. and Lk. (the evidence is mainly for Matt.), but we cannot be sure. But at least we know that it ordinarily appears in careless or abridged quotations in writers who give the longer form when quoting fully.

1 The Latin versions have in fact :-

Vulgate. Mt. 'Nemo nouit filium nisi pater, neque patrem quis nouit nisi filius, et cui uoluerit filius reuelare'.

cognoscit dff (cognouit Tert. $\frac{1}{3}$), agnoscit k

Lk. 'Nemo scit qui sit filius nisi pater, et qui sit pater nisi filius, et cui uoluerit filius reuelare'.

nobit a nouit b cognoscit c d e

repetunt uerbum blq nobit b cognoscit l nouit q.

² It is not a fact that novi usually stands for έγνων. On the contrary, in the Gospels, novi stands about 11 times for οἶδα, 7 times for γινώσκω, 3 times for έγνων (nosse for εἰδέναι once, and for γνῶναι thrice, in Mk. iv 11 and the parallels in Mt. and Lk.). Consequently Harnack's proof falls to the ground. On the other hand, ἐπιγινώσκω (never in John) is rendered by cognosco 14 out of 15 times in the Synoptists, 8 out of 12 in Acts, and all the twelve times that it occurs in St Paul. Hence it may be improbable that novit in Matt. represents ἐπιγινώσκει. Consequently it may after all stand for έγνω or οἶδε. The γινώσκει of Lk. is naturally translated by scit, a frequent rendering (in a b by nouit, perhaps from Matthew).



Lastly, even if we were to give full value to all the citations as if they represented contemporary MSS, the evidence would be insufficient to make $\xi\gamma\nu\omega$ more than an interesting 'Western' variant in Matthew, or R and A more than occasional corruptions in Mt. and Lk.

3. The parallelism of the verses.

We now turn back to Harnack's conclusions (numbered 1, 2, 3, 4), which were quoted at the beginning of this article (above, p. 553). The textual basis on which the assertions rested has been found insecure; but the assertions themselves need some examination.

Paragraph 2 says that 'The historic aorist $\xi\gamma\nu\omega$ suits the Son's knowledge of the Father extremely well';—this is true, if we take it as historic. 'But it does not so well suit the Father's knowledge of the Son',—true again, if we take it as historic. It is indeed used in the 'historic' sense by Justin and the Marcosians; but most of the Greek writers who use it intend the gnomic sense or the present sense, for they use it just as much when 'knowing the Son' comes first or stands alone.

Paragraph 4 scarcely needs comment. There is no significance in a's nouit, and we need not see in its omission of a clause anything graver than the ordinary oscitatio scribae.

Paragraphs 1 and 3 may be discussed together. It is evidently true that the final 'clause καὶ $\mathring{\psi}$ $\mathring{a}ν$. . . only suits the clause οὐδεὶς $\mathring{\epsilon}γνω$ τίς $\mathring{\epsilon}στιν$ $\mathring{\delta}$ πατήρ, and not the other clause', for 'the Son is God's interpreter and not His own'. But this cannot prove that the latter clause must be omitted; it only shews that the MS order, according to which the two clauses which suit one another come together, is the right one. The clause which rightly stands first οὐδεὶς $\mathring{\epsilon}γνω$ τίς $\mathring{\epsilon}στιν$ $\mathring{\delta}$ $\mathring{\iota}$ $\mathring{\iota}$

But a clause to this effect is actually to be found in the preceding verse: Εξομολογοῦμαί σοι, πάτερ...ὅτι...ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις. What has the Father revealed? Undoubtedly the things concerning the Son.

Thus the sequence and the balance of the whole passage is quite simple, though Harnack has unfortunately failed to see it:

- I. a. I thank Thee, Father, that Thou hast revealed these things [concerning the nature of the Son] not to the wise but to babes, for so it seemeth good to Thee.
- I. B. All that I have is from the Father, so that He alone knows the Son, and consequently He alone could reveal Him;
- II. B. Just in the same way, only the Son knows the Father,
- II. a. And can reveal Him to whomsoever He thinks good to do so.

The parallelism is perfect. It is obvious that the order of the clauses

in the MSS is necessary, and that β ούληται in the last clause is wanted to balance εὐδοκία ἐγένετο in the first.¹

It is very curious, after all this, to notice that Harnack's emendation has the result of retaining what is Johannine in the verses, and of rejecting what can be paralleled in much earlier authorities.²

The Johannine part is of course the statement that the Son alone knows and reveals the Father, e.g. John i 14, 18; xiv 6-9.3 This Harnack retains.

The converse of this, that only the Father can reveal the Son, is found almost word for word in

- 1. Matt. xvi 16, 17 Σὸ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἰὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος . . . Μακάριος εἶ, Σίμων Βαριωνᾶ, ὅτι σὰρξ καὶ αἷμα οὐκ ἀπεκάλυψέν σοι ἀλλ' ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, and in
- 2. Galat. i 15 "Οτε δὲ εὐδόκησεν [ὁ θεὸς] ὁ ἀφορίσας με ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου καὶ καλέσας διὰ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, εὐθέως οὐ προσανεθέμην σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι . . .

Harnack considers that not only in St Matthew (this was obvious), but even in St Luke, the whole passage from $E\xi o\mu o\lambda o\gamma o \hat{\nu}\mu a i$ $\sigma o i$ onwards is not in its original context. He has therefore to discover what is meant by $\tau a \hat{\nu} \tau a$, the things which God has revealed to babes:—

- p. 207 (E.T. 297). We must here notice the aorists: not what God always does, but what He had done on the present occasion—in the success of the ministry of Jesus—was the object of the thanksgiving. Hence some instance of success of this kind, notorious to all, which has not however been transmitted in history, must have preceded the thanksgiving. The ναί takes up the ἐξομολογοῦμαι, and the clause ὕτι οὕτως εὐδοκία ἐγένετο ἔμπροσθέν σου takes up the thought of the preceding clause. The overpowering glory of the experience in the soul most naturally constrained the tongue to such repetition in the thanksgiving.
- ¹ For convenience I give the whole passage from Mt. xi 25 'At that time Jesus answered and said: I thank Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because Thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to the little ones. 26. Yea, Father; for so it hath seemed good in Thy sight. 27. All things are delivered to me by my Father. And no one knoweth the Son but the Father: neither doth any one know the Father but the Son, and he to whom it shall please the Son to reveal Him'.
 - ² With the earlier verse Ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι, κτέ. Harnack has paralleled:—
- 1 Cor. i 19, 21 Γέγραπται γάρ· 'ἀπολῶ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν, καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν τῶν συνετῶν ἀθετήσω'... ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τἢ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἔγνω ὑ κύσμος διὰ τῆς σοφίας τὸν θεόν, εὐδόκησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τῆς μωρίας τοῦ κηρύγματος σῶσαι τοὺς πιστεύοντας.

Harnack 'mit aller Reserve' (p. 210, E.T. 301) suggests that St Paul is here thinking of the passage of Q. It is indeed just possible. But the passage of Isaiah xxix 14 is obviously referred to by Q, so that the likeness to St Paul may be merely accidental. The passage from Galatians is far nearer. Yet I think St Paul was more likely thinking of Matt. xvi 16 (as Resch has already suggested), whether we are to suppose that passage to have belonged to Q, or to some other early veriting or tradition.

3 In John x 15 both clauses are paralleled.

But this does not tell us the meaning of ταῦτα. The νήπιοι are obviously either the Apostles or some very close disciples of Christ, such as the Seventy, with whose return the passage is connected in It is implied that they have been able to understand and realize the Lord's teaching in some marvellous way, which involved a revelation from the Father. Now what point would imply the need of a revelation from the Father? Clearly there is but one such point mentioned in these terms in Scripture, and that in two passages which have just been quoted: Peter's declaration 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God' is one, and St Paul gave us the other 'to reveal His Son in me'. The revelation of the Divine Sonship is therefore most naturally to be assumed as the object of our Lord's thanksgiving. This is just what was demanded by the parallelism above formulated.1 The Father has revealed the Son to the disciples (as He did to St Peter and to St Paul); it was His good pleasure, for without such a revelation none could know the Son, whom the Father alone knows; similarly, the Father is only known by the Son, and by those to whom it is His good pleasure to reveal Him.

Harnack's conclusion was: 'The original version of the saying (as it stood in Q) may be defended on good grounds; but the canonical version in both Gospels is "Johannine" in character and indefensible' p. 210 (302). But the question is not in the least whether it is defensible or not (that is for theologians not for critics), but whether or no it was an integral part of Q! Now I think we have seen that there is no good reason to doubt that the 'canonical' text of both Matthew and Luke is perfectly sound. It will therefore be somewhat arbitrary to decide on a priori grounds that the source could not have been Q. Certainly Harnack is not wont to have recourse to a priori methods. It is his habit to ridicule them.

In thus disagreeing with a single point in a very valuable book, I must not be understood to be ungrateful for the rest of the carefully sifted matter which it contains. On this one point, however, I am convinced that Lightfoot's contention remains true,—that the 'apologists' have not been answered.

Further, the evidence has been to me very instructive as to the limits within which one may use quotations by the Fathers in a textual question.

JOHN CHAPMAN.

¹ If Harnack will accept the context in Luke as original, it will appear that the success of the Seventy has been a revelation to them of the Divine Sonship of their Sender.

A NOTE BY THE LATE DR HORT ON THE WORDS κόφινος, σπυρίς, σαργάνη.¹

The distinction between κόφινος and σπυρίς in Matt. xiv 20; xv 37; xvi 9 f (and the parallel Mark vi 43; viii 8, 19 f) cannot be made out to depend on size. It would seem that either kind of basket might be of different sizes, if we may judge by the uses mentioned in classical writers. So also when Chrysostom (on Matt. xv 37), perplexed at the seeming incongruity of the number of baskets with the number of loaves in the two cases, suggests hesitatingly $\mathring{\eta}$ τοῦνον τοῦνο ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι αὶ σπυρίδες τῶν κοφίνων μείζους $\mathring{\eta}$ σαν, $\mathring{\eta}$ εἰ μ $\mathring{\eta}$ τοῦνο κτλ.; he could not have spoken thus if a σπυρίς was either usually larger or never larger than a κόφινος. This is apparently the only passage in the Fathers which throws any light on the distinction; not even Origen Com. in Matt. xi 19 (ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἀπὸ ὀλιγωτέρων ἄρτων δώδεκα κοφίνους καταλείπουσιν, οὖτοι δὲ ἀπὸ πλειόνων ἐπτὰ σπυρίδας, τῷ χωρητικώτεροι εἶναι μειζόνων: cf. xii 6); Hil. Com. in Matt. xv 10; Aug. de cons. evv. ii 105 give any help.

On the other hand, no passages have been found in Greek literature where the words are used synonymously. The distinction appears to lie in the material, consistency, and use. Kó $\phi\iota\nu$ os is a word of very comprehensive use, but seems always to denote a stiff wicker basket, $\sigma\pi\nu\rho$ is always a flexible mat-basket made of such materials as rushes, and especially employed for carrying either fish or eatables generally. The Latin equivalents cophinus and sporta (sportula) correspond exactly.

In the O.T. κόφινος is hardly found, and σπυρίς not at all. The light bread-basket (50) of Pharaoh's baker (Gen. xl 16 ff), of the priests' offering (Exod. xxix 3, 23, 32; Lev. viii 2, 26, 31), of the Nazirite's offering (Num. vi 15, 17, 19), and of Gideon (Judges vi 19) is in the LXX κανοῦν (canistrum), for which B alone substitutes κόφινος in Judges, and Aquila in Gen. xl 16. The kindred of in Jer. vi 9, a grape-basket, is κάρταλλοs, cartallus: compare the anonymous fragment in Suidas (who defines κάρταλλος as κόφινος όξὺς τὰ κάτω) 'Αρχὰς ἄλωνός μου καὶ ληνοῦ προσφέρω Χριστώ, κάρταλλον δε βοτρύων τώ παρακλήτω. But κάρταλλος likewise represents two other Hebrew words NID (Deut. xxvi 2, 4; but ἀποθήκη xxviii 5, 17), the Israelite's basket of firstfruits 'of all the fruit of the earth', and הור This remarkable offering of firstfruits was itself called κάρταλος (Philo in Tisch. Philonea 69, cf. de Somn. ii 41, who says that εκαστος των άγροὺς καὶ κτήσεις έχόντων ἀφ' έκάστου των άκροδρύων είδους άγγεια πληρώσας, α προσαγορεύουσι καρτάλους, άπαρχην της εὐκαρπίας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν κομίζει): but Mai names it, query on what grounds,



¹ This note is supplied by Dr J. O. F. Murray. Mr J. R. Darbyshire has kindly verified the references.

Most of the distinct classical uses of κόφινος are agricultural. Thus it was employed for dung (Plut. Pomp. 48 p. 644 D; Xen. Mem. iii 8 § 6; Aristoph. Fr. in Meineke ii 1213: cf. κόφινον κοπρίων the strange correction of κόπρια by D and the Old Latin in Luke xiii 8); for stones (Aristoph. Coc. in Meineke ii 1093); for harvesting (Pollux x 129) and corn (Strattis in Meineke ii 768); for agriculture generally (Poll. i 245). It is the sapper's basket which according to Josephus (B. J. iii 5 § 5) every Roman soldier carried. It was used as a measure, containing 3 xóes (Hesych. s. v.), yet apparently not universally known as such (Strattis l. c. τί λέγεις; μέτρω έχρωντο κοφίνως;). It was set on Boeotian debtors in the market-place (Nicol. Dam. ap. Stob. Flor. xliv 41 p. 293). So in Latin. Isidorus (Orig. xx 9) defines cophinus as vas ex virgultis, aptum mundare stercora et terram portare, and refers to Ps. lxxxi 7; and Columella (xi 3 ad fin.) notices the use for dung. In Juv. iii 14, vi 542, and Sidon. Ap. Ep. vii 6, the Jew's cophinus is probably the cartallus borne on the back, about which more presently.

In Greek comedy the σπυρίς several times occurs as the basket in which eatables were carried about, as barley-cakes 'but not pease-soup' (Diph. in Mein. iv 403), ripe plums (Alexis ib. iii 504), peeled grain, χόνδρος (Antiph. ib. iii 18), eels (Aristoph. Pax 1005), and fish (ὀψωνιοδόκον (Aristoph. Amph. ap. Poll. x 92). Guests take it with them to a feast to which they contribute part (Aristoph. Triphal. in Mein. ii 1165; Apollod. Car. ib. iv 447); and from this custom arose the phrase ἀπὸ σπυρίδος δείπνα (Athen. viii p. 365, quoting σπυρίδιον from Pherecrates with a like application), afterwards applied (as Epict. Diss. iv 10 § 21) to the sportulae of the Roman empire. Four passages in the Anthology (vi 4 2; 5 4; 28 5; 29 3) shew further very distinctly that a pair of of σπυρίδες was part of the regular equipment of a fisherman. special name was φέρνιον (Menand. in Mein. iv 253), which is expressly defined as the σπυρίς for fish (Poll. vi 94; Eustath. Hom. 752 59; Arcad. s.v.) or for fishing (τὸ άλιευτικὸν σπυρίδιον Ammon s.v. φερνή). Of the same nature probably were the $\sigma \phi v \rho i \delta \epsilon s$, evidently not nets, which according to Herodotus (v 16) the inhabitants of Lake Prasias let down

from their pile-dwellings into the midst of the shoals of fish beneath. Greek authors say little about the material. Hesychius describes a σπυρίχνιον as woven of withs (οἰσυῶν); and a MS Glossary (quoted by Schmidt on Hesych. i 416) explains κάρταλλφ in Ecclus. xi 31, there apparently a birdcage, by κλόβφ [cage] ἢ ξυλίνφ σπυριδίφ (unless ἢ and ξυλίνφ have changed places); so that the diminutive may possibly have been occasionally used for some kind of wicker basket. But Aristophanes (Amph. l.c.) calls a σπυρίς woven rushes (πλεκτὴν σχοῖνον), and Theophrastus (Hist. Pl. ii 6 11) notices the leaves of a kind of palm as affording materials for σπυρίδες and mats (φορμοί) on account of their breadth and softness'. The flexibility of σπυρίδες seems also to be implied in the fact attached to Palladius (Hist. Laus. 31) that they were sewn up with the needle: ἐργαζόμενος τὰς σπυρίδας ἐν ἑσπέρα βαθεία οὖσης σκοτίας τὴν βελόνην ἀφῆκεν, ῥίψας ἐν τῷ ἐδάφει ἐν ῷ κατέρραπτεν τὰς σπυρίδας.

In the N.T. the Latins invariably render σπυρίς by sporta, and the Roman sportula becomes σπυρίς in Greek writers. Isidorus suggests a derivation for sporta from the fact that ex sparta fieri solet, the spartum here meant being doubtless the coarse Spanish grass Lygeum Spartum 'exported into all parts and especially into Italy' (Strabo iii 9 p. 160: cf. Plin. H. N. xix 26 ff; xxiv 65). The same material for sportae is named by Columella (xii 6 § 1), who also mentions rushes; and certain small hanging sportellae for ornamental cookery were made of palmleaves (Petron. 40; where Heinsius further cites Apic. i 4). Sportae were used for straining turbid liquors and similar purposes (Plin. H. N. xviii 77; xxi 83; Apic. l. c.; Cato R. R. 11; Colum. l. c.; viii 7 init.). They (sportae, sportulae, sportellae) were also receptacles of sesterces for private persons according to Asconius (on Cic. Verr. i 8), just as fisci, fiscinae, fiscellae were spartea utensilia for containing larger sums. the sporta or sportula must have been mainly used for carrying food (e.g. Plaut. Curc. ii 3 10) and especially fish (Plaut. Stich. ii 2 16; Mart. x 37 17; Appul. Met. i 24 f).

Κόφινοι and σπυρίδες are twice over named by Pollux in the same sentence (vi 94; vii 173) in his lists of woven (πλεκτά) utensils and, curiously enough, of receptacles of fragments of food after a meal. The same employment is attributed to κόφινοι in the Anthology (xi 207: cf. Plato Com. in Mein. ii 629) and to σπυρίδες in Alciphron Ep. iii 56; and to sportae by Varro (ap. Non. Marc. p. 177); as indeed also to κανίσκιον by Aristophanes (Gerut. ap. Poll. x 91). But the two classes of baskets appear to be never confounded, unless it be in the vague definitions of the Greek lexicographers; although each term is comprehensive.

In the Gospels the κόφινοι were probably of the form known as κάρταλλος or κάρταλος, used for carrying to Jerusalem the firstfruits of

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the seven products of Palestine referred to in Deut. viii 8, wheat, barley, grapes, figs, pomegranates, olives, and dates (Mishna Biccurim i 3). Each Israelite when he reached the temple mount raised his basket on his shoulders and carried it to the court of the temple, where he repeated the profession given in Deut. xxvi 2. Then he took it off his shoulders, and holding it by the edge, while the priest placing his hand underneath waved it to and fro, repeated the form of oblation 'A Syrian ready to perish was my father &c.' (ib. iii 4, 6). The rich brought their offerings in gilt or silvered baskets; the poor in baskets of peeled willow wands, which were not taken home again (ib. 8). The name κάρταλος was evidently not consecrated to the baskets used in this service, and there is no reason to suppose that they had any peculiar sanctity. probably chosen for their capacity and the facility with which they could be carried on the back; if indeed they were not the ordinary baskets of Jewish agriculture. Such baskets would easily be found among the multitude. At the same time they might fitly represent the land of Israel and its produce, of which the bread blessed by our Lord formed a part. The σπυρίδες might as easily be fish-baskets, such as must have been in constant use on or near the lake. With equal propriety they would correspond to the fishes of the miracles, and to the other aspect of the Apostles' work as fishers of men, having the world for their element. The language of the Evangelists strikingly bears out this distinction. In the first miracle St Matthew speaks of the bread alone without the fishes in the breaking and distribution; his words about the 'blessing' being ambiguous. St Mark describes the 'blessing' in similar terms, and then states that our Lord 'brake the loaves and gave to the disciples to set before them, and the two fishes he divided to all'; and again that 'they took up fragments twelve baskets full, and of the fishes'. In the second miracle St Matthew's words about the 'thanksgiving', breaking, and distribution are general, covering both the loaves St Mark notices a special 'blessing' of the fishes and the fishes. and command to distribute them (καὶ ταῦτα), after the 'thanksgiving' accompanying the breaking and distribution of the loaves. Thus in the second miracle, and not in the first, the fishes receive a separate benediction and are distributed through the hands of the disciples. change is too marked to be accidental; and it affords an additional reason for believing that the baskets of the second miracle are the implements of the fisherman, not of the tiller of the soil. In St Luke and St John the second feeding of the multitude is wanting: but the fisherman's craft, not noticed for honour in the O.T., is brought into yet greater prominence in the two draughts of fishes which they severally recount, and they alone (Luke v 1-11; John xxi 1-8; cf. Luke xxiv 42; John xxi 9-13).

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If σπυρίς is a fisherman's basket in the Gospel, it may as easily be the same in Acts ix 25. In 2 Cor. xi 33 St Paul himself says that he was let down through a window in the city-wall of Damascus in a σαργάνη. According to the Etym. Magnum a σαργάνη was woven of rushes and intended to receive fish. In nearly all the places where this rare word occurs the contents of the basket are slices of salt fish (Timocl. in Mein. iii 600 [606 ambiguous]; Cratinus ib. ii 41 [σαργανίς]; Lucian Lexiph. 6; Poll. vii 27). There is one remarkable exception. Aeneas Tacticus (Poliorc. 29), describing the various ways of introducing arms secretly into a city, mentions that pelts and small shields had been hidden in canvas bales [άγγεσιν: cf. the use of άγγεῖον in c. 35; Plut. Lys. 16 compared with Mor. 10 B; Diod. xiii 106; and of σκεθος in Acts x 11, 16; xi 5; xxvii 17] of bran and wool, and others of greater bulk [εὐογκότερα] in σαργάναι of raisins and figs; the bales and σαργάναι being presently ripped up (ἀνέτεμον) not 'opened' (ἀνοίξαντες) as said just afterwards of other receptacles. This language suggests that the σαργάναι no less than the bales were of a flexible material and closed by sewing, and also that they were of sufficient capacity to stow away large shields among the figs and raisins. It is therefore no wonder that they might on occasion conceal and carry a man. Some similar use of a sporta is implied in an obscure and perhaps corrupt fragment of Sallust's History preserved by Nonius l. c., E muris canes sportis dimittebant. Sporta is the Latin rendering of σαργάνη in 2 Cor. l. c. as of σπυρίς always.

In English there is no reason to change the rendering of $\kappa \delta \phi \nu \sigma s$. $\Sigma \pi \nu \rho i s$ might be rendered either 'mat-basket' or 'fish-basket'; the former being simpler, the latter more expressive of the significance of the word as used in the Gospels. Perhaps 'mat-basket' might with advantage be reserved for $\sigma a \rho \gamma \dot{\alpha} \nu \eta$.

ΠΡΟΣΚΑΡΤΕΡΗΣΙΣ (EPHESIANS VI 18).

The Dean of Westminster (ad loc.) notes truly that the verb $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\kappa\alpha\rho$ - $\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\hat{\nu}$ is common in the N.T., but he says that 'no independent reference for the noun is given'. I think one or two instances can be supplied.

In Böckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* vol. ii pp. 1005, 1004, and p. 155 (= no. 2114b) are given two interesting deeds of Manumission, from Kertch (Panticapaeum).

Let us remember that in ancient Greece a common form of manumission was to 'dedicate' the slave by a legal fiction to a deity, in his temple, and record the act of manumission within the temple precincts.

Hundreds of such inscriptions occur, e.g. at Delphi, belonging to the third century B.C. The custom survived long, and was adopted by the Jewish Diaspora, with the substitution of the Synagogue for a Temple. It passed finally into the Christian Church: Justinian (*Instit.* i. 5) says: 'Multis autem modis manumissio procedit: aut enim ex sacris constitutionibus in sacrosanctis ecclesiis, aut vindicta, aut inter amicos, aut per epistolam, &c.'

The more perfect of these two documents from the Crimea reads as follows:—

Χρηστή γυνὴ πρότε[ρον] | Νικί[α τ]οῦ Σ(ώ)τα ἀφείημι ἐπὶ τῆς π[ρο]|σευχῆς θρεπτόν μου Ἡρακλᾶν | ἐλεύθερον καθάπαξ κατὰ εὐχῆς | μου ἀνεπίληπτον καὶ ἀπα[ρ]ενό|χλητον ἀπὸ παντὸς κληρονόμ(ου), | τρέπεσ(θ)α[ι δ'] αὐτὸν ὅπου ἃν [β]ού|[λη]ται ἀνεπικωλύτως καθ[ὼς ηὖ]|ξάμην χωρὶς ἰς τὴν προσευ|[χ]ὴν θωπείας τε καὶ προσκα[ρτ]ε[ρ]ήσεως, συνεπινευσάντων δὲ | καὶ Ἑλικωνιάδο[ς] | συνεπιτροπεώσης δὲ καὶ [τῆς] | συναγωγῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

I have omitted the opening lines which give the date according to the Bosporan era: this fixes the document to A.D. 81. Böckh restores Περικλείδου as the name of one of the heirs, but Ἡρακλείδου is nearer the copy, and is confirmed by the name of the slave Heraklas.

I have restored confidently $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon\rho\dot{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\omega$ s. The Greek is barbarous in several places: e.g. $\kappa\alpha\tau\dot{\alpha}$ εὐχ $\dot{\eta}$ s for εὐχ $\dot{\eta}$ v, συνεπιτροπεώσης for $\tau\rho\sigma\pi\epsilon\nu\sigma\dot{\nu}$. So ἀφείημι, and is for εἰs. We also want της after χωρίs. But the sense is clear. Heraklas the house-slave is to be free once and for all, and therefore master of his own movements, with one reservation: he shall continue to be a reverent and constant attender at the $\pi\rho\sigma\epsilon\nu\chi\dot{\eta}$. For this context no word is so fit as $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\dot{\epsilon}\rho\eta\sigma\iota$ s. The word occurs in both the documents in the same connexion, the copies reading variously ΠΡΟΣΚ λ ΠΕΤΗΣΕΩΣ, or . . . ΕΡΗΣΕΟΣ, and . . . ΡΗΣΙΟΣ. Böckh writes: 'ex quibus lectionibus siquis melius exsculpere possit quam vocabulum novum hoc $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\tau\dot{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\omega$ s (which he suggests) accipiam libens.' It is strange that $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\kappa\alpha\rho\tau\epsilon\rho\dot{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\omega$ s did not occur to him.

He says of $\theta \omega \pi \epsilon i \alpha s$ 'certum est', for it is given in both copies without question. He considers it as a provincial and barbarous term for 'reverence'. If it were not too venturesome I should suggest $\theta \rho \eta \sigma \kappa \epsilon i \alpha s$: it would suit the *ductus litterarum*. ΘΡΗΣΚΕΙΑΣ or ΘΡΗΣΚΙΑΣ is not unlike ΘΜΠΕΙΑΣ. But Böckh's 'certum est' deters me.

Of course, $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\epsilon\nu\chi\dot{\eta}$ is the place of worship: $\sigma\nu\nu\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\dot{\eta}$ is the Jewish community that worshipped within it.

EDWARD LEE HICKS.

ΑΡΠΑΓΜΟΣ (Philippians II 6).

I VENTURE to doubt whether either the Authorized or the Revised Version of this passage represents the real thought of the Apostle. According to the former our Lord claimed equality with God; according to the other either He had it, but renounced it, or He did not seek to grasp forcibly at this prerogative and equality which was afterwards freely conferred upon Him as the reward of His self-humiliation and obedience.

It is admitted that $\delta\rho\pi\alpha\gamma\mu\delta$ s usually and naturally means the action of plundering; but that it may, and sometimes does, have the meaning of $\delta\rho\pi\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$, plunder, booty. The word is not found elsewhere in the N.T. or in the Septuagint; while $\delta\rho\pi\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$ occurs in the latter seventeen times, always in the sense of plunder, prey, booty, or stolen property. The probability is therefore that St Paul, who knew his Greek Bible well, would have used $\delta\rho\pi\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$ if he had not meant the action of plundering.

Now consider his readers. It has been maintained, on purely negative evidence, that there were few Jews in the Philippian Church. But such a city, on a great trade route from East to West, with all the advantages of a Roman colony, would be sure to attract the enterprising, trading Jews. St Paul thought it necessary to warn the Philippians against Judaizers, whose influence would be greater with believing Jews than with Gentiles. His boast of his own pure Hebrew descent and Tewish orthodoxy is out of place if only a small fraction of the church were Jews; indeed it would have been provocative of the faction and vain glory which he deprecates. It is not too much then to assume that the Philippian Church was familiar with Jewish conceptions of the Messiah as a conquering Davidic king who would attract the desirable things of all the nations to Jerusalem. The idea of άρπαγμός was inevitably associated with such a king. Did not all eastern kings and potentates assume that royal power and glory demanded that, so far as they were able, they should plunder their enemies and aggrandize themselves and their subjects? Even under the Roman Empire, the Philippian Christians, many of whom must have been in fairly good circumstances, some of them keen business men (ii 4), may have had good cause to grumble in private at the $\delta\rho\pi\alpha\gamma\dot{\eta}$ and $\delta\rho\pi\alpha\gamma\mu\dot{\phi}s$ of taxgatherers and praetors. The άρπάγματα did not come their way.

Very naturally then the Philippians would understand $\delta\rho\pi\alpha\gamma\mu\delta\varsigma$ in an active sense. But they would never imagine that St Paul spoke of robbing God, but rather that he was telling them that the Messiah, Christ Jesus, did not think that to be on an equality with God spelt

rapacity, plundering, self-aggrandizement; that on the contrary He gave all away, did not set up as an earthly king, but was among His disciples 'as one that serveth', with all the infirmities of our mortality, submitting at last to the most shameful death. And here was St Paul exhorting them to imitate His mind.

'A $\rho\pi\alpha\gamma\mu\delta$ s, in this sense, was just the temptation presented to our Lord, when in the wilderness the vision of all the kingdoms of this world and the glory of them was unrolled before Him. The same temptation recurred again and again, but He always put it away as the suggestion of Satan to whom by yielding to it He would have virtually bowed the knee.

Will the language bear this meaning? Compare such expressions as 'To me to live is Christ,' 'What things were gain to me, these I counted loss for Christ,' The kingdom of God is not eating and drinking,' 'Supposing that godliness is money-getting, πορισμός,' 'Account that the long-suffering of our Lord is salvation,' and the saying attributed to our Lord, Οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀρπαγμὸς ἡ τιμή.

The objections to taking $\delta\rho\pi\alpha\gamma\mu\delta$ s as equal to $\delta\rho\pi\alpha\gamma\mu\alpha$ seem to me insuperable. This latter does not mean a thing to be grasped in future, but one which has been grasped and carried off already. If a res rapienda were meant we should have had $\delta\rho\pi\alpha\kappa\tau\delta\epsilon$ 0 or $\delta\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu$ $\delta\rho\pi\alpha\hat{\iota}\xi\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha$ 0 or some such expression, which would have been unequivocal. Besides, the assertion is too weak. To say that He did not think equality with God a thing to be clutched at, to be retained or to be obtained by force, is far from saying that He willingly surrendered His claim. The more comprehensive the predicate is, the stronger is the affirmative statement, the weaker the negation.

If the Philippians were in some danger of being influenced by Judaizing Christians, no doubt they would have also many discussions with unbelieving Jews who boasted of the glory and dominion they would enjoy when their Messiah came, and scoffed at the Crucified. And they had many prophecies which they could quote. How could the Apostle help the Philippian Church? I can conceive of no better way than this exhibition of the Lord as voluntarily and gladly rejecting the earthly ideal for the spiritual, and thus winning the Name that is above every name.

John Ross.

EMPHASIS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE present paper comes necessarily as the complement of the last. As that was devoted to formulating the expression of emphasis by order, in the oblique cases of the pronouns of the first and second persons, so in this the oblique cases of the pronoun of the third person are dealt with.

A priori it seemed to me not impossible that the absence of enclitic forms might render the third person less susceptible of attraction. The results of the investigation, however, do not seem to justify any such modification of the principles previously arrived at. In the case of aὐτόν, aὐτούς, and the rest it seems to be equally true that when they stand alone before the verb they bear emphasis; when after it, or when following an emphatic word before it, they are unemphatic. It remains to give, in each case, examples of typical usages,—few out of many—but selected, as far as possible, so as to bring into evidence the different authors and books and the different cases of the pronoun.

I. Typical examples of Emphatic Usage.

A. Emphasis used to distinguish between persons or things.

Luke xiv 9 έλθων ὁ σὲ καὶ αὐτὸν καλέσας.

Phil. ii 27 οὐκ αὐτὸν δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμέ.

Rev. xi 2 μη αὐτην μετρήσης.

Matt. xviii 15 μεταξύ σοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ μόνου.

Luke xxiv 31 αὐτῶν δὲ διηνοίχθησαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ . . . καὶ αὐτός.

I Cor. i 2 τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν . . . αὐτῶν καὶ ἡμῶν.

B. Ordinary Emphasis.

Luke xxiv 24 αὐτὸν δὲ οὐκ εἶδον.

John ix 21, 23 αὐτὸν ἐρωτήσατε.

Rom. xi 36 έξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα.

Mark xii 12, Luke xx 19 ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν παραβολὴν εἶπεν.

Rev. xvii 16 καὶ αὐτὴν κατακαύσουσιν.

Heb. iv 8 εί γὰρ αὐτοὺς Ἰησοῦς κατέπαυσεν.

John i 3 χωρίς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν.

Eph. ii το αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐσμεν ποίημα.

1 Pet. ii 14 είτε ἡγεμόσιν ώς δι' αὐτοῦ πεμπομένοις.

Heb. xi 4 δι' αὐτῆς ἀποθανων ἔτι λαλεί.

Matt. v 3, 10 αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία.

Matt. xxiii 34, Luke xi 49 έξ αὐτῶν ἀποκτενεῖτε . . . καὶ έξ αὐτῶν μαστιγώσετε.

John xvii 19 ύπερ αὐτῶν [εγω] άγιάζω εμαυτόν.

576 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

Matt. iv 10, Luke iv 8 αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις.

Acts xvii 28 έν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν.

Rom. xi 36 αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα: so Eph. iii 21, 1 Pet. v 11, 2 Pet. iii 18, Rev. i 6.

Col. ii 6 έν αὐτῷ περιπατεῖτε: so I John ii 5.

1 Thess. iv 17 αμα σὺν αὐτοῖς άρπαγησόμεθα.

James iii 9 ἐν αὐτῆ εὐλογοῦμεν τὸν θεόν.

Rev. ix 19 καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἀδικοῦσιν.

II. The Unemphatic Usage.

No record is given here of the great number of passages, in which oblique cases of $\alpha \dot{v} \tau \dot{o} s$ come after the verb, this being obviously the ordinary order, and quite unemphatic. But though still unemphatic, it is found before the verb, by attraction, just as was the case with $\dot{\epsilon} \gamma \dot{\omega}$ and $\sigma \dot{v}$. The following are a few typical instances:

A. Attraction to another pronoun.

(i) τις.

Mark ix 50 ἐν τίνι αὐτὸ ἀρτύσετε; xiv 6 τί αὐτῆ κόπους παρέχετε;

John x 20 τί αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε;

2 Cor. vii 14 είτι αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κεκαύχημαι.

1 Tim. i 8 εάν τις αὐτῷ νομίμως χρηται.

Rev. i 7 οίτινες αὐτὸν ἐξεκέντησαν.

(ii) Other pronouns.

Matt. xxi 13, Luke xix 46 ύμεις δε αὐτον ποιείτε.

John iv 12 αὐτὸς έξ αὐτοῦ ἔπιεν.

ΧΧ 15 κάγὼ αὐτὸν άρῶ.

Acts xii 15 οι δέ πρός αὐτὴν εἶπαν, xxviii 21.

Matt. ix 18 ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος, Luke xxiv 36, John viii 30, Acts xxiii 7, &c.

Col. iii 4 καὶ ὑμεῖς σὺν αὐτῷ φανερωθήσεσθε.

B. Attraction to particles.

Matt. xxviii 7, Mark xvi 7 ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὄψεσθε.

Col. iv 17 ίνα αὐτὴν πληροίς.

Gal. iv 17 ΐνα αὐτοὺς ζηλοῦτε.

Acts ix 24 οπως αὐτὸν ἀνέλωσιν.

Eph. iv 21 εί γε αὐτὸν ἡκούσατε.

Heb. xi 13 πόρρωθεν αὐτὰς ἰδόντες.

John vi 66 οὐκέτι μετ' αὐτοῦ περιεπάτουν.

2 Tim. iv 16 μη αὐτοῖς λογισθείη.

- C. Attraction to words emphatic.
 - (i) By nature.

Ματκ νι 50 πάντες γὰρ αὐτὸν εἶδαν.
Rom. i 32 οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν.
Rev. xxi 3 αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτῶν ἔσται.
Ματκ xi 3, Luke xix 34 ὁ Κύριος αὐτοῦ χρείαν ἔχει.
Col. i 17 τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν.
Τitus iii 13 ἴνα μηδὲν αὐτοῖς λείπη.

(ii) Emphatic by order.

Matt. xiv 5, xxi 46 ώς προφήτην αὐτὸν εἶχον. Philem. 15 ἴνα αἰώνιον αὐτὸν ἀπέχης.

1 Pet. iii 6 Κύριον αὐτὸν καλοῦσα.

Acts ix 21 ἴνα δεδεμένους αὐτὸν βαλέτω.

John viii 7 πρῶτος ἐπ' αὐτὴν βαλέτω.

Luke vi 19 δύναμις παρ' αὐτοῦ ἤρχετο.

Rev. xxi 3 αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτῶν ἔσται.

Gal. ii 11 κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτῷ ἀντέστην.

1 Thess. v 3 αἰφνίδιος αὐτοῖς ἐφίσταται ὅλεθρος.

D. Between verb and dependent infinitive, though the pronoun often follows the infinitive.

Matt. xxi 46 ζητοῦντας αὐτὸν κρατῆσαι, Mark xii 12, Luke v 18, John v 18, Acts xxi 31, &c.
John vi 60 τίς δύναται αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν;
Mark vi 7 ἤρξατο αὐτοὺς ἀποστέλλειν.
Acts xxii 29 οὶ μέλλοντες αὐτὸν ἀνετάζειν.
John ix 27 θέλετε αὐτοῦ μαθηταὶ γενέσθαι;

Possessive Genitives.

E. In the case of the possessives $a \dot{v} \tau o \hat{v}$ and $a \dot{v} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$, emphasis is made, as usual, by the order. Instances have been given above. In its unemphatic uses also it generally follows the method of the other cases.

But as with $\mu o v$, $\sigma o v$, $\eta \mu \hat{\omega} v$, and $\vartheta \mu \hat{\omega} v$, numerous cases have to be noticed, in which the genitive following the verb immediately *precedes* the article and noun on which it depends. It becomes clear, on investigation, that no emphasis is implied; indeed, that this order is simply a matter of style, the possessive being attracted into close proximity to the verb because it is closely connected with it in *the sense*, and very often because, itself also, it shares indirectly in the government of the verb. The following are a few instances among many:

Matt. ii 2 εἴδομεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρα. Luke xxiv 45 διήνοιξεν αὐτῶν τὸν νοῦν.

VOL. X.

John xviii 10 ἀπέκοψεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀτάριον: so Matt. xxvi 51, Mark xiv 47. St Luke xxii 50, however, gives the other unemphatic order ἀφεῖλεν τὸ οὖς αὐτοῦ.

Acts xxiii 2 τύπτειν αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα.

I Cor. viii 12 τύπτοντες αὐτῶν τὴν συνείδησιν.

Gal. ii 13 συναπήχθη αὐτῶν τῆ ὑποκρίσει.

Titus i 15 μεμίανται αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ νοῦς.

2 Pet. ii 2 έξακολουθήσουσιν αὐτῶν ταις ἀσελγείαις.

John xi 32 έπεσεν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πόδας.

3 John 10 ὑπομνήσω αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα.

This construction is a special favourite with St John; nineteen instances, about one-third of the whole number in the New Testament, occur in his writings.

To sum up, it is believed that a comparison of these instances of $\alpha \dot{v} \tau o \hat{v}$, &c., with those recently given in the case of the other oblique personal pronouns, and a further study of the many similar instances which, for want of space, it has not been possible to print in extenso, will serve as a further corroboration of the principles that have been stated already. And that these may now be taken as formulating the usages of emphasis in the oblique cases of the personal pronouns in general.

Before concluding this branch of the subject, some further mention should be made of the evidence afforded by accents; since it is only as it bears upon the enclitic forms of $\epsilon \gamma \dot{\omega}$ and $\sigma \dot{v}$ that it affects the question of emphasis.

It was claimed in the previous paper that there is a mutual corroboration between the canons of emphasis here formulated and the accentuation as we find it in the Greek of our New Testament. That is to say, as the rules of emphasis gradually emerged from the mass of collated passages, it was found that in every instance the evidence of the accents on these pronominal forms pointed the same way. It seemed clear, ab initio, that accents would imply emphasis, and that words unaccented would have none. The accentuation, in this respect, always bore out the estimate that had been formed of the emphasis. There being in the case of $\tilde{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ a longer form to express emphasis, it appeared probable that $\mu\epsilon$, $\mu\nu\nu$, $\mu\nu\nu$ would never bear accents. And, in fact, they never do.

In general it was found that (with the exception of cases following prepositions) where there was emphasis there was accent and vice versa. It followed then that, if the theory of emphasis was true, it afforded an unanswerable guarantee of the accentuation; and that, on the other hand, to find the accents pointing the same way was a considerable testimony to the accuracy of the theory. And yet it is probably true that the first New Testament MSS extant (minuscule), in which regular

accentuation is found, must be dated no earlier than the twelfth century. Mr Kenyon, in his *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, chap. iv, plate ix, gives a specimen page of St Luke (xi 2-8) from a manuscript of that period. The pronouns in this bear the ordinary accents, e.g. σov , $\dot{\eta} \mu \hat{a}s$, $\dot{\eta} \mu \hat{\nu}v$, $\dot{\eta} \mu \hat{a}v$, $\pi \rho \acute{o}s$ $\mu \epsilon$, $\mu \acute{\eta}$ $\mu o\iota$, $\mu \epsilon \acute{\tau}$ $\dot{\epsilon} \mu o\hat{\nu}$.

Where did these accents come from?

The whole method of accents is attributed to Aristophanes of Byzantium (260 B.C.), and from that time to the end of the third century A.D. they are found pretty freely in secular papyri, e.g. the Harris and Bankes papyri of the *Iliad*. They were used, at first, not on every word, but chiefly on those which might present difficulty to the ordinary reader—'placed upon' those that are 'longer and more deceptive', on compounds and words liable to be confused from their similarity. Now the question naturally arises, Were such accents used in the papyri of the New Testament?

A negative answer to this question seems to be suggested by the Oxyrhynchus papyri. Dr Hunt says 'there are none—no accents—in the St Matthew or St John papyri, or, in fact, in any of the earlier theological papyri from Oxyrhynchus so far edited. There are, however, two instances in our new Gospel fragment (4th-5th century vellum), namely, $\hat{\omega}_{\nu} = \check{\omega}_{\nu}$ and $a\mathring{v}\lambda\eta\tau\rho (\delta\epsilon_{S})$. Even when accents occur they are by no means faultless, e. g. $\hat{\omega}_{\nu}$ above.'

On the papyri there ensued a period of uncial MSS (A.D. 300 to 900) in which, of course, accents found no place. It was when the minuscules superseded the uncials, from 900 A.D. onwards, that accents first began to form an integral part of the text. What, then, was their origin, and what is the basis of their accuracy? The difficulty, at first sight, increases when we face the fact that, so far as we have evidence, there never had been accents on the Greek of the New Testament, except to the very smallest extent. The conclusion seems to be forced upon us, then, that the accuracy of these accents is due not to the revival of any old accentual tradition; but to this rather, that these accents were imported into the text as a method of stereotyping an old, and apparently very sound, appreciation of the tone and emphasis of the Greek.

The main point seems clear, that the accents, as they have come down to us, are not dubious and artificial signs, arbitrarily inserted by grammarians, to express what they imagined the elocutionary force of the various passages ought to be; but that there was still present in the minds of New Testament editors a clear appreciation of the minuter force of the language, and it was this that the accents, imposed more or less *de novo*, at that time, were intended to represent.

AMBROSE J. WILSON.

OLD TESTAMENT NOTES.

I. THE 'SIGN' OF IMMANUEL.

THE aim of this note is to review the circumstances of Isaiah's 'Sign', as recorded in Isa. vii I sqq., and to suggest that a reconsideration of the evidence which lies at our disposal is likely to produce conviction that modern explanations of its character must be regarded as unsatisfactory, and that the traditional view that the 'Sign' was to be of the nature of a portent, and that this portent was a miraculous birth, has much that may be urged in its favour.

This view I have already suggested tentatively in an article on Messianic prophecy which appeared two years ago in *The Interpreter*.¹ After further consideration I have endeavoured to restate the evidence which seems to support it, and it is only since so doing that I have consulted Dr Gressmann's book on Eschatology, and have seen that the view which he proposes in this important work to some extent anticipates my argument.² It may not, however, be out of place to state the line of thought which has led independently to a somewhat similar result.

The grounds upon which the traditional interpretation of the 'Sign' was first abandoned are familiar, and need not be gone over at length. Observation of the fact that the term עלמה, which is used in Isa. vii 14 to describe Immanuel's mother, does not necessarily denote a virgin, but merely a girl who has arrived at marriageable age, led to the conclusion that, if the virginity of the mother had constituted the portentous character of the 'Sign', Isaiah would have used an unambiguous term to emphasize this fact, i.e. not בְּתוּלָה but בָּתוּלָה. Thus another explanation of the 'Sign' was sought, and more than one has been proposed. It has been maintained that the 'Sign' is not particular but general—any young woman of marriageable age may name her first-born son Immanuel in view of the near approach of the deliverance of Judah from her foes. Or, secondly, the suggestion has been made that under the title עַלְמָה Isaiah is referring to his own wife, elsewhere called 'the prophetess' (Isa. viii 3), and that Immanuel was to be the prophet's own son, bearing, like Isaiah himself and his other sons, a symbolical name.

Against both these explanations it has been rightly urged that they are inconsistent with the rôle which is assigned to Immanuel. He is a definitely pictured individual; not merely a token of deliverance, but

¹ 'The Christian Interpretation of Messianic Prophecy', Interpreter, April 1906, pp. 267 sq.

² H. Gressmann Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie pp. 270 sqq.

in some sense its embodiment. The land of Judah is spoken of as his land (viii 8), and the mere mention of his name inspires Isaiah with so extraordinary an enthusiasm as must make it clear to the sympathetic reader that the prophet's hopes are set upon the individual of his vision, and not merely upon the theme which is betokened by his name (viii 9, 10). Hence we are led to the conclusion that 'the language of Isaiah forces upon us the conviction that the figure of Immanuel is an ideal one, projected by him upon the shifting future—upon the nearer future in ch. vii, upon the remoter future in ch. ix, but grasped by the prophet as a living and real personality, the guardian of his country now, its deliverer and governor hereafter'.1 This is doubtless true, as concerns the figure of Immanuel; but, if it be contended that the remarkable character of the 'Sign' is satisfied by the fact of what the child was to become, presumably when grown to man's estate, then it must be replied that this explanation also is insufficient to account for the circumstances under which this sign was offered and given.

Let us consider briefly what these circumstances were. invitation to Ahaz to choose a sign for himself as a test of Yahwe's power and purpose had been intentionally couched in such a form as to indicate that nothing that human imagination could devise would be too miraculous to expect. No limits are set to the possibilities of the king's choice. He may make it deep as She'ol,2 or high as the height above. When, on Ahaz's refusal to accept the offer, Isaiah states that Yahwe Himself is about to give a sign unasked, it is surely inconceivable that this unsolicited sign is something less marvellous than Ahaz might possibly have demanded had he chosen to use his opportunity. Yet when full allowance has been made for all that Immanuel was to become as the future deliverer of his land and as endowed, we may believe, with superhuman attributes—since all this could not be realized until the child had grown up and proved himself in action,—there still remains in the 'Sign' itself something of a bathos. How could the expectation of what an unborn child might achieve in the far future have availed to convince Ahaz that it was unnecessary to take immediate steps to relieve his kingdom from the instant danger of the Syro-Ephraimitish coalition?

Thus the conclusion seems to be pressed home that there was something in the predicted birth itself which was of the nature of a portent. This seems to be the only solution which does justice to the circumstances in which the 'Sign' was offered.

Now though to us the terms in which the 'Sign' is formulated appear

- 1 Driver Isaiah, his life and times pp. 41 sq.
- ² Adopting the obvious emendation הַעֲמֵק שָׁאֹלֶה in place of the text הַעָמֵק שָׁאָלָה 'Make deep the request'.



to be ambiguous, this need not have been the case with Isaiah's contemporaries. May it not have been the case that the prophet was merely setting a time to the realization of an expectation which was already in the air, and that thus the meaning of his words would be immediately obvious even to the least intelligent of his hearers?

It is natural to enquire what evidence can be adduced in favour of the probability of such an hypothesis.

On looking back over the old narratives of the early history of Israel -narratives which must, at least in substance, have been familiar to the men of Isaiah's age—it can scarcely escape notice that a large number of the outstanding characters in early times were born under exceptional circumstances. In the cases of the births of Isaac (Gen. xi 30 J, xviii 9 sqq. J, xxi 2, 6, 7 J), Esau and Jacob (Gen. xxv 21 sqq. J), Joseph (Gen. xxx 1, 23, 24 JE), Samson (Judges xiii), and Samuel (1 Sam. i) it is related that the mothers were previously barren, and that the births took place markedly through divine interposition, and wholly beyond human expectation. Moses, though not related to have been born in an exceptional manner, was believed to have been preserved from death in his infancy through a remarkable interposition of divine providence. With this story of the preservation of Moses we are bound to compare the legend of the birth and infancy of Sargon of Agade, the founder of Babylon (circa B. C. 2800?). It is related that Sargon, after having been born in unusual circumstances, was placed by his mother in a basket of reed-grass and committed to the river. Here he was found by chance by Akki the irrigator, who drew him out and brought him up as his own son.² Whether we have in the case of Sargon the suggestion that he was of reputed human parentage on his mother's side only is not clear. If the term used to describe his mother, enitum, means 'priestess' or 'vestal', then the inference to be drawn from the statement abi ul idi, 'my father I knew not,' seems obvious. His mother being attached to a temple, the assumption was that her child was the offspring of But is such an explanation tenable in view of the immediately following statement, 'the brother of my father inhabited the mountain'? Possibly this may mean that Sargon, though not recognizing his father, was acquainted with his father's clan. Be this as it may, it is sufficient for our purpose to note the fact that we have here from Babylonian sources evidence for the antiquity of the view that the circumstances attending the birth and early days of a great personality were expected to form the object of an extraordinary providence; and in the close

¹ This point has been seized and ably handled by Gressmann op. cit. pp. 273 sq.

² Cf. Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek III i pp. 100 sqq.; Jeremias Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients pp. 410 sqq.; King, Chronides concerning early Babylonian Kings ii pp. 87 sqq.

analogy between the story of Sargon and that of Moses we are bound to trace a common 'motive' which cannot be merely accidental.

In view of these facts it seems altogether probable that, if the expectation of a future Messianic ruler was current in the days of Isaiah, something of the nature of a remarkable portent in connexion with his birth may have found a place as the initial token of the greatness which he was destined to achieve. That such an expectation was current at the time is indicated by the words of Isaiah's contemporary Micah (v 2 sqq.). Micah, in predicting the birth of a Messianic champion at Bethlehem Ephrathah, says that 'his goings forth are of old, from everlasting', a statement which, whether it refers to 'the pre-existence of the Messiah in the eternal purposes of God', or to 'his descent from the ancient Davidic family',1 at any rate seems to indicate that the expectation thus formulated was not something new, but would be immediately recognized by those to whom the prophet's words were addressed. The same inference is to be drawn from Micah's succeeding statement, in which he predicts that Yahwe will deliver up His people into the hands of their foes 'until the time that she who shall bring forth hath brought forth', a period which is to be marked by the moral and spiritual restitution of Israel. This allusion can scarcely be independent and unconnected with Isaiah's 'Sign'; and the most satisfactory explanation of this connexion seems to be, not that Micah was drawing upon the teaching of his contemporary, or that the verse as it stands in Micah's prophecy is a later insertion based upon Isaiah, but that both Isaiah and Micah were giving shape to a popular expectation, and that this fact would be immediately recognized by their hearers. The Micah passage, like that of Isaiah, appears ambiguous apart from an acquaintance with the thought of the time, and the reference to her that shall bring forth at least suggests that some exceptional function is attached to the mother. If this is not so, it is not clear why she should thus be specified, rather than the father of the destined deliverer.

Supposing, then, that it is true that Isaiah, in formulating his 'Sign', is fixing the occurrence of an event of which there was a popular expectation, his choice of the term עַּלְּמָה to describe Immanuel's mother need no longer excite perplexity. Had his prediction of a virgin-birth been a hitherto unimagined phenomenon, he must have chosen in preference the term עַּלְמָה ; but, granted the existence of such an expectation, he may well have used עַלְמָה which, though it does not necessarily imply virginity, yet is most naturally used with reference to a virginwoman. The use of the term is not unlike our English use of 'maiden' and 'damsel', terms which do not in themselves connote virginity, yet would scarcely be used of any but an unmarried woman. That such is

¹ Cheyne Camb. Bible ad loc.

the case with the occurrences of עַּלְּמָה in Hebrew which come under consideration may be accidental, but the fact cannot be doubted. Thus in each of the passages, Gen. xxiv 43, Ex. ii 8, the particular עַלְמָה mentioned is certainly a virgin. In Prov. xxx 19 the term is used of one who is at least unmarried, and the same must be the case in Cant. vi 8 where the עַלְמוֹת in Solomon's harem are distinguished not only from the queens but also from the concubines. So also the reference in Cant. i 3 is clearly to unmarried girls.

We have also, on this theory, an explanation of the definite article prefixed to עַּלְמָה. She is הָּעֵלְמָה, 'the maiden,' because she was expected, and the part which she was to play was understood.

If the view here advocated be correct, the import of Isaiah's 'Sign' lay in the fact that he actually ventured to set a time—and that in the immediate future—for the advent of a portent which was currently, though vaguely, expected. It may be said that, from the point of view of his contemporaries, his prediction was a failure. In a sense this is true, not merely of this 'Sign', but of the picture of the suffering Servant as portrayed by Deutero-Isaiah, and of many other Old Testament prophecies. Those, however, who believe that the prophets were endowed in a special sense with the spirit of Him with whom 'one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day' will not doubt that such predictions, though springing out of merely local and temporal circumstances, were divinely directed towards a wider and more glorious fulfilment.

II. RHYME IN THE SONG OF SONGS.

So far as I am aware, the use of rhyme in the poetry of the Song of Songs has hitherto passed unnoticed. The first instance which attracted my attention was ch. viii 1-3. That this little poem is intended for the bridal song seems clear from ch. vii 12-14, which leads up to it, and also from the succeeding poem ch. viii 5 sqq. in which the Shulammite and her lover are united in wedded happiness. In a sense, then, ch. viii 1-3 is the culmination of the drama, and the author has marked the occasion by the construction of an elaborately rhymed poem of great beauty.

Mí yittenká ke'aḥ lí
yonéq shedế 'immí
'emça'nká baḥúç 'eshshaqeká
gám lo yabúzu lí
'enhageká 'abi'nká
'el bếth 'immí telammedéni
'ashqeká miyyên haréqaḥ
mé'nṣiṣ rimmoní
semólo táḥath roshí
wíminó teḥabbeqéni.

Here the rhyme of lines 1, 2, and 4 is repeated in line 8, and into this scheme there is woven the rhyme of lines 6 and 10. A subordinate rhyme or assonance may be found in the repetition of the suffix $-k\acute{a}$ in lines 3, 5, 7.

The following is an attempt to reproduce rhyme and rhythm in English:—

Would that thou wert my brother
Who sucked at the breasts of my mother!
When I found thee without I would kiss thee,
Nor fear the reproach of another;
Would lead thee, would bring thee
To the house of my mother who trains me,
Would give thee to drink spiced wine,
Pure pomegranate, none other.
— His left arm is under my head,
And see! his right arm enchains me.

The poem of ch. vi 1-3 is complete in itself, and makes use of the masculine plural termination -im to furnish a rhyme in lines 2, 7, 8, 10.

'Ána halák dodék háyyafá bannashím 'ána paná dodék ún°baqshénnu 'immák dodí yarád l°gannó lá'arugáth habbósem lir'óth bagganním w°lilqót shoshanním 'aní l°dodí w°dódi lí haro'é bashshoshanním.

Whither went thy love,
Thou whom beauty dowers?
Whither turned thy love?
Let us seek him with thee.
My love has gone down to his garden,
Down to the bed of the spices,
To tend in the bowers
And gather the flowers;
I am my love's and my love is mine
Who tends among the flowers.



י The ambiguous לרעות is here taken to mean 'to tend his flocks'. An analogous ellipse of the object is found in Hos. xii ובאשה שמר 'and for a wife he kept [sheep]'.

These two poems by no means stand alone as illustrations of the author's partiality for rhyme. Other instances of its employment may be gathered from all parts of the book. Thus in viii 6 we have

Siméni kahothám 'al libbéka kahothám 'al zero'éka ki 'azzá kammáweth 'ahabá qashá kishe'ól qin'á reshaféha ríshfê 'ésh shalhébethyá.

Here we notice that the system of the rhyming lines 3, 4, and 6, with a non-rhyming 5, is the same as that of viii 1 rhyming lines 1, 2, and 4, with non-rhyming 3, and vi 1-3 rhyming lines 7, 8, 10, with non-rhyming 9. This reminds us of the scheme of rhyme in the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam. Perhaps this scheme is also illustrated in viii 8:—

'Aḥóth lánu qetanná weshadáyim 'ên láh manná'ase lá'aḥothénu bayyóm sheyyedúbbar báh.

Here, however, it may be objected that line 1 does not rhyme accurately with lines 2 and 4. This is a matter of uncertainty.

In iii 11 the daughters of Zion are invited to go forth and look at king Solomon in the crown:—

she'íṭṭera ló 'immó beyóm ḥathúnnathó beyóm simháth libbó.

Here I have excised the prosaic conjunction 1 at the beginning of line 3.

In v I every word in each line rhymes with its corresponding word in lines I to 4, and there is a similar correspondence between 5 and 6:—

Báthi leganní 'aḥothí
'Aríthi morí 'im besamí
'Akálti ya'rí 'im dibshí
Shathíthi yêní 'im ḥalabí
'Iklú re'im
Shethú dodím.

Here the omission of classical classical classical classical at the end of line <math>r is demanded both by metre and rhyme. The word appears to have been inserted in imitation of iv 9, 10, 12. Similarly imust be omitted from line 6. Probably shikru was first a marginal suggestion in place of shethu, as rhyming in both syllables with 'iklu.

Instances of rhyme formed by use of the plural termination in are

too numerous to quote. Such may be seen in ii 16, 17 (reading b'samim 'spices' in verse 17 c in place of bether viii 14), iv 13, 14, v 9–16. In ch. ii it should be noticed that the scheme -im, -oth, im of verses 2, 3a is repeated in verses 8 b, 9 a, while in verse 9 c we have the reversed arrangement -oth, -im.

The question suggests itself whether this use of rhyme in the Song of Songs has any bearing upon the date of the work; but this is improbable. Since the Song stands alone as a representative of this class of Hebrew literature, we can base no inferences upon the poetical devices employed by the author. All that can be affirmed is that the ease and grace which the device assumes in his hands—well marked, yet not insisted upon with that desire for a hard and fast system which stamps the prosaic mind—proves that the use of rhyme must have long been familiar in the popular songs of Israel. One illustration, dating undoubtedly from ancient times, is preserved in the triumph-song of the Philistines over the captive Samson in Judges xvi 24:—

Nathán 'elohếnu beyadénu 'eth 'óyebénu we'éth maḥaríb 'arçénu wa'ashér hirbá 'eth halalénu.

í

This is popular doggrel, and not poetry; yet the intentional production of a rhyme is evident.

The only other instance of rhyme which I have noticed in the poetry of the Old Testament occurs where perhaps we should least expect to find it—at the close of the first poem in Lamentations. Here, if we excise יָּבֶּינֶי in verse 21a (as is demanded by the qîna-metre), and read sing. יַּבָּינִי for pl. יַבָּיי in verse 21b, we obtain a very regular rhyme:—

Tabó kol rá'athám we'olél lámo ka'ashér 'olálta lí 'al kól pish'í kí rabbóth 'anḥotháy welibbí dawwáy.

III. Who were the hosts of the Egyptian Sinuhe?

Can anything be ascertained as to the tribe which hospitably received Sinuhe, the political exile from Egypt during the reign of Sesostris I (1980-1935 B.C.), and among whom he made his home for so many years?

The district to which he fled is called Kedem (Kdm), a name which,

1 See Petrie Egyptian Tales, first series pp. 100 sqq.; Breasted Ancient Records of Egypt i §§ 486 sqq.



if it corresponds to the Hebrew DJD, should denote the district to the East of Canaan. After spending a year and a half in this district, Sinuhe fell in with the sheik of Upper Tenu, which, according to Breasted, is an error for Upper Retenu, 'the usual designation in the Empire for the higher portions of Palestine.' The district occupied by this Sheik is thus described:—

'It was a goodly land, named Yaa;
There were figs in it and vines,
More plentiful than water was its wine,
Copious was its honey, plenteous its oil;
All fruits were upon its trees.
Barley was there, and spelt,
Without end all cattle.'2

This description of the fertility of the land would be appropriate to a district in the middle part of the Palestinian hill-country.

The name of Sinuhe's host, as given by Petrie, is Amu-an-shi, or, as transcribed by Breasted, Emuienshi. The purpose of this note is to make a tentative suggestion as to the clan which was headed by Amu-an-shi, based upon consideration of the name of the sheik.

The first portion of the name, Amu, suggests the Semitic Ammu, 'kinsman,' which enters into the names of the first Babylonian dynasty Ammurabi, Ammiditana, Ammisadugga, and into the Hebrew names Amminadab, Ammizabad, &c.

The remaining portion of the name, an-shi, can scarcely be originally Semitic, but has the appearance of being Sumerian. Now the Sumerian ideogram which denotes the ass is pronounced AN. SHU. Some time ago my friend, Mr C. J. Ball, called my attention to the fact that in a syllabary published in Brit. Mus. Cuneiform Texts XI, pl. 3, col. iv, l. 19, we find the pronunciation AN. SHI. The Babylonian equivalent of this ideogram is, of course, imēru, i. e. the Hebrew מְּבְּי מְבִּילִּהְ hamōr. Is it, then, beyond the range of likelihood that the name Amu-an-shi may denote 'kinsman of the ass', and that the bearer of the name was sheik of the מְבֵי חֲבִיל, the sons of Ḥamōr, who were probably so called because the ass was their clan-totem? The district of Shechem inhabited by this clan (Gen. xxxiii 19, xxxiv, Josh. xxiv 32, Judges ix 28) would seem to answer exactly to the land of Yaa as described in the Egyptian story.

It may be questioned whether it is probable that the name would have been pronounced with one element Semitic and the other Sumerian. This is a point which my slender acquaintance with Assyriology does not permit me satisfactorily to elucidate. I imagine, however, than an illustration of such a combination may be found in the fact that the

¹ Breasted op. cit. p. 238 n. b. ² The translation is that of Breasted.

name of the goddess NIN. KI. GAL was pronounced also as Ereshkigal. It seems even possible, in view of the fact that we have numerous instances of the Semiticizing of Sumerian words (e.g. KI. GAL, kigallu; E. GAL, ekallu) that anshu, anshi may have been taken over into Semitic. A parallel may be found in the fact that the Sumerian ideogram for 'lion', UR. MAG ('great dog'), is read in Babylonian neshu, but there also exists a Semiticized Sumerian name urmahhu, so that neshu and urmahhu stand side by side, just as, upon this theory, anshi and hāmōr would do.

It would be interesting to hear what professed Assyriologists have to say as to this suggestion.

C. F. BURNEY.

ST JOHN AND ST JAMES IN WESTERN 'NON-ROMAN' KALENDARS

THE Dean of St Patrick's (in the Irish Ch. Quarterly Jan. 1908) and the Dean of Westminster (in a note appended to his Advent Lectures, published during the course of 1908) have recently discussed the supposed corroboration of St John the Evangelist's alleged martyrdom from ecclesiastical Kalendars. They quote the Syriac martyrology (of the early fifth century) and the Carthaginian martyrology (of the early sixth) to shew that St John the Evangelist was at one time associated with his brother St James the Great for commemoration on December 27 as 'martyrs'. A certain amount of homiletic evidence is also adduced by them, with which I am not now concerned. conclusion is that the Evangelist was only called 'martyr' in the broader and earlier sense, which included those who were afterwards distinguished as 'confessors' from those who actually were slain for the Faith: and that thus 'the general tradition of the second century which assigns to St John the Apostle a peaceful end cannot be set aside by 'the 'slender evidence' (attributed to Papias) 'for a martyr's death': and few will be found to reject such a conclusion.

It is rather interesting to carry the investigation into the connexion of the two sons of Zebedee with the Christmas festival a little further. The closing days of December appear from an early date to have been associated with a group of commemorations containing (1) St Stephen, the first martyr, (2) St Peter and St Paul, (3) St James and St John, the sons of Zebedee: to these were rather later added (4) the Holy Innocents. Pairs (2) and (3) in this group were not always in this order, and in the West the winter commemoration of St Peter and St Paul soon gave way, if it ever was observed, before the more favoured

midsummer commemoration on June 29. It is to be noted that this group of leading apostles and martyrs was commemorated on Dec. 26 and following days not only before the Nativity of Christ came to be observed on Dec. 25, but even where it never has been so observed.

Another consideration is this that two other saints prominent in connexion with our Lord bore the names of John and James, and were in some churches commemorated about this season of the year, viz. John the Baptist and James the Lord's brother (who for liturgical purposes may be reckoned as identical with James, the son of Alphaeus). The Baptist is, according to Duchesne, commemorated on the first Friday after the Epiphany by the Nestorians, and the Kalendar of Perpetuus of Tours (fifth century) places his Nativity between the Epiphany and the Chair of St Peter (Feb. 22): possibly this may partly account for the scribe's mistake in writing 'Baptistae' for 'Evangelistae' in the Carthaginian Martyrology on Dec. 27. The Lord's Brother is commemorated with David, His Royal Ancestor, on Dec. 25 by the Armenians who do not keep the Nativity of Christ; and by the Nestorians on the Friday after Christmas. Duchesne adduces evidence to shew that this is a festival of Palestinian origin: and certainly one might expect that the first Bishop of Jerusalem would be primarily honoured by a place in the Kalendar amongst his own countrymen.

When we turn to 'non-Roman' Service-books in the West, this latter point helps to explain the confusion and other phenomena that we meet with: for evidences are abundant that such Service-books derive much of their observances from Eastern sources.

- (1) The Missale Gothicum recognizes Dec. 27 as the Natalis Apostolorum Iohannis et Iacobi. The formulae given speak freely of their 'martyrdom' in the sense claimed by the Deans of St Patrick's and Westminster, but do not specify in what it consisted. The Sacramentarium Gallicanum gives an abbreviated form of the same Missa but inserts it after that for the Holy Innocents: possibly this dislocation is accounted for by what will be said further on.
- (2) The Mozarabic Books (both Breviary and Missal) as reprinted by Migne provide services for St John the Evangelist alone on Dec. 27 and refer copiously to the usual traditions about his trials and death, but make no allusion to him as a martyr. Incidentally here I may draw attention to one of the prayers in the Breviary for this day (col. 130 Migne) because it contains two interesting clauses: (1) it begins thus 'memores praeceptorum tuorum Dne Iesu Xre quibus nos

¹ We find a slight trace perhaps of the double commemoration in *Leon. Sacr.* (p. 166 Feltoe) the postcommunion in the second Missa for St John Evang. ('nos continuis caelestium martyrum non deseris sacramentis'). The compiler, who is hardly 'non-Roman', nevertheless drew from all kinds of sources.

memoriis scorum communicare praecepisti': this is of course a quotation of Rom, xii 13 with the Western reading uveias for vocias, which is understood to have given rise to the clause 'Communicantes et memoriam venerantes' of the Roman Canon: (2) soon after we have 'coronam, quam nominis sui interpretatione (? add. non) promeruit. privilegio sanctitatis obtinuit': this reminds us of Greg. Nyss. The exκλησιαστικής εὐδοξίας στέφανοι quoted by Dr Bernard, just as the concluding clause in the *Inlatio* for the day in the Missal (col. 203 Migne) 'splendifico apostolorum in choro refulgens' suggests his λαμπρὸν ἀπαστράπτοντες τὸ κάλλος τῆς εὐσεβείας . . . τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἁρμονίας ἔξαρχοι. To return, however, the Kalendar prefixed to the Mozarabic Missal (col. 104 Migne) gives 'Translatio sci Iacobi apostoli' for Dec. 30: the Missal itself contains only a Missa for St James the Lord's Brother, and therefore, of course, has no reference to the Compostella legend, which the word translatio seems to suggest, while it specially describes the Saint in the ad pacem oratio (col. 214) as 'a Pharisaeis ex alto praecipitatum' (cp. Syncellus p. 634 Ι ύπὸ Ἰουδαίων . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ πτερυγίου καταβληθέντα), and thus translatio can hardly mean transitus (μετάστασις, Men. Bas.) or assumptio (see below). I take it therefore that the word 'Translatio' is another instance of a scribe's confusion, and that the entry in the Kalendar printed in Appendix II (Migne col. 1056) for Dec. 30 'Iacobi fratris Domini' is the more correct one.

On the other hand the Breviarium Gothicum both in the Kalendar, and in the Breviary itself seeks to distinguish the two Saints accurately. The Kalendar gives Dec. 29 Iacobi fratris Dni, Dec. 30 Iacobi fratris Iohannis ap. et evang., while offices are fully provided for both these days, one in the Temporale (col. 150 ff), and one in the Sanctorale (col. 1506 ff). In Spain, therefore, there is all the same a certain amount of evidence that both James the Great and James the Less were separately commemorated within the Octave of Christmas.

(3) It is interesting to draw attention next to the evidence of two Kalendars quoted in full by Delisle in his Mémoire sur d'anciens Sacramentaires: (1) on p. 310 from the eighth-century Sacramentary (Reich. MS 30) now at Zurich 'vi Kal. Ian. Iohannis Apostoli et Iacobi Alfei fratris Domini', and (2) from the ninth-century Sacramentary of Senlis (Lat. BB 20), where the Kalendar itself (p. 323) gives 'vi Kl. (Jan.) in basilica montis Oliveti, natale sancti Iohannis, apostoli et evangelistae', but a 'special annotation on the feasts of all the apostles' gives this (p. 324) 'v Kl. Jan. ordinatio episcopatus sancti Iacobi apostoli fratris Domini... cuius passio ipso die Hierosolima magna colitur veneratione. et in basilica montis Oliveti, sancti Iohannis evangelistae.'

¹ Alphonsus II ordered the Saint's body to be removed upon its discovery in 800 A.D. to Compostella.

- (4) In the 'Ambrosian' Rite according to Beroldus (p. 14 Magistretti) St John the Evangelist was commemorated on 'vi Kal. Ian. ad concam' (i.e. in St John the Baptist's church, Milan) and *Ordinatio S. Iacobi apost.* on 'iiij Kal. Ian. ad S. Sebastianum'. Magistretti tells us (p. 171) that St John the Baptist's church (which was the male baptistery, St Stephen's being the female) was destroyed in 1410, and (p. 193) that the Ordination of St James was removed from the 'Ambrosian' Breviary by Cardinal Friderico Borromeo in the sixteenth century.²
- (5) All the Keltic Martyrologies are derived from the so-called Hieronymian Martyrology, which is a strange mixture of Eastern and Western elements. That collection assigns to Dec. 27 the Assumption of St John the Evangelist and the Ordination to the Episcopate of St John the Lord's Brother, the original Eastern association of the two sons of Zebedee being thus wrecked through the confusion of the two Jameses. And this confusion reappears in the Martyrologies of Oengus, Tamlaght, Gorman, and the Drummond Missal: that of Tamlaght even enters it thus 'Assumptio, et Ordinatio Iacobi Apostoli fratris Iohannis,' as if James the Less was not only confused with James the Great, but was also reckoned to have 'passed away' (i. e. without ordinary death) like John the Evangelist: but surely this can only be once more a scribe's mistake in omitting 'Iohannis' after 'Assumptio'.

This investigation does not, I admit, carry us very much further, but, so far as it goes, it serves to throw a little light on the Deans' arguments by means of Western service-books, and at any rate suggests a partial explanation of the dire confusion that reigns between the two Saints who were called James.

C. L. FELTOE.

LITURGICAL COMMENTS AND MEMORANDA.

TT

The canon of the Roman Mass has long been an object of curiosity in some circles; indeed of puzzled curiosity. At present it seems to form the centre of interest in what may be called the Neo-German Liturgical School. The seed sown by the solitary Probst in 1870 took a long time—the space of a generation—to germinate; but the progress made since 1900 is quite astonishingly rapid. The stages are marked by Professor Drews 1902 (Entstehungsgesch. d. Kanons in der röm.

¹ Cf. Ebner Quellen und Forschungen Iter Italicum p. 474.

² Apparently this was in the revision published in 1588; cf. Bäumer Geschichte des Breviers p. 464. Friderico was cousin of the more famous Carlo Borromeo.

Messe), Dr Anton Baumstark 1904 (Liturgia Romana e Liturgia dell' Esarcato), Drews again 1906 (Die clementinische Liturgie in Rom). Professor Buchwald 1907 (Die Epiklese in der römischen Messe). Professor Rauschen 1008 (Eucharistie und Busssakrament). while the late Professor Funk consistently maintained in face of all this activity and learning the defensive attitude of criticism. Circumstances have made it necessary for me in the last week or two [February] to undertake a task of which I had (for reasons of my own) steadily hitherto kept clear: that is to read and examine the tract of Professor Buchwald. himself belonging to that Catholic Faculty of Theology at Breslau, of which the really learned and industrious, if not too critical or clearheaded, Probst was a generation ago an honoured member. Having accomplished the task, the heavy task as I think it, of sifting and analysing the work of Professor Buchwald, and, I trust, not without profit, I feel disposed to turn aside and ask others to give a few moments' attention to it also; not to the tract in general, but to dwell for a while on one single small point in it.

Nothing, I think, would be easier than to bring the writers named above into play against each other, bring out their contradictions, not merely each with the other, but of the same writer with himself. I am in no disposition to do so; but would rather, before we begin, emphasize the utility there is in reference to so difficult and uncertain a subject as ancient liturgy, in pursuing, exhausting, lines of enquiry that may in the event prove to have been conceived in a quite wrong-headed way. This may not only have the negative virtue of saving others, in certain directions, from going and doing likewise; but, in the labour oneself may expend on mastering the productions of these teachers, and in examining and testing their methods and conclusions, almost inevitably (such, at all events, is my experience) we come to acquire not merely a better knowledge of the Liturgies themselves, but also come to see and understand things which otherwise we might, but for such workers, have overlooked altogether; although I readily admit the grave difficulty there is for the reader who would profit by the writers named above, viz. the difficulty there is in keeping a clear head among them all.

But this will make no difference here, since we are going to examine only a single point; even so slight an excursus, however, will (I fancy) shew by an example in what way I think the method followed by these writers is defective, without their having seemingly any consciousness of deficiency in the matter. Still, I should probably not have written the Memorandum that follows merely for this reason; the moral, the use, of it is, to my mind, all gathered up in a page at the end.

And now à l'œuvre.

VOL. X.

It is well known that the prayers Supra quae and Supplices in the Roman canon of the Mass are profoundly troubling elements to the scientific liturgiologist; this trouble may be said to lie at the heart of the several treatises enumerated above. Prescinding from the accounts and ideas put forth by his companions let us take here Professor Buchwald's account of the history of Supra quae and Supplices, to which his whole tract is devoted; and he writes with the benefit of the light thrown on the subject by his predecessors.

This, then, according to their latest historian, is the history of these two prayers, beginning from the last stage and proceeding upwards to their primitive origins.

- (1) They were thrown into their present form when Gregory the Great, cancelling the Epiklesis of the Holy Ghost which had formed part of the Roman canon that had come down to him from those that went before, distributed shreds of it in various parts of the canon that he constructed (the present Roman canon); and some such shreds he assigned to the Supra quae and Supplices, revised in the form in which we have them at present.
- (2) Before Gregory's time these two prayers stood in the canon in the form in which they are found in the *de Sacramentis* (see the text in e.g. Duchesne, *Origines*, La messe romaine, 7°), and in this form they had been borrowed by Rome from Aquileia. This borrowing happened at a date at any rate earlier than about 370-80. That this is so appears from the author of the *Quaestiones V. et N. Test.* (cf. Duchesne *ubi supra*).
- (3) But in Aquileia these prayers were not originals, were not native; Aquileia had borrowed too; but she had also (as is perceptible even now in the Roman canon by the change of grammatical construction) added eight words of her own invention: 'et quod tibi... Melchisedech.' The particular church from which Aquileia had borrowed in its turn was Alexandria.
- (4) The particular part of the Alexandrine Mass (St Mark) in which the Aquileian church had found the material it wanted was the prayer for the 'offerers' in the Markan Great Intercession (Brightman, *L.E.W.* 129. 20-32; Coptic 170. 32-171. 11).
- (5) But this prayer for 'offerers' in 'St Mark' was itself a derived form; for originally its substance was part of the original Markan Epiklesis—an Epiklesis, be it noticed, which (taking account of the borrowings as above) must have been discarded, it would seem, as early as the close of the third century or the beginning of the fourth. But even so we have not done with the case yet; for there was a primitive use of the material of the prayer for 'offerers' at a period earlier than the constitution of the discarded Epiklesis. The earliest primitive use of this

material is be to found in the prayer of incense of 'St Mark', Θυμίαμα προσφέρομεν (Br. 118. 26-31).1

Taking breath now for a moment to survey the ground thus rapidly traversed we observe how entirely at one in his method and his conceptions is Professor Buchwald with Professor Drews. They both carry us along as it were with a rush up into the obscurity of the most remote and primitive antiquity. It is thus that Professor Drews lets us see (1906) how the primitive Roman canon (which was derived from the Clementine Liturgy in the course of the second—or is it the first? century) had, by somewhere about the year 200, received an accession of elements derived from the Hierosolymitan Liturgy that we call 'St James'; whence (as he observes, Die clem. Lit. in Rom p. 160) 'this Liturgy ("St James") must be of a much higher antiquity than is commonly allowed'. What is more, Professor Krüger has pronounced (Theol. Jahresber. xxvi, 1906, p. 336) that this 'Hauptresultat' of Drews's investigations 'wird sich schwerlich erschüttern lassen'. Here some chance reader, who may be able to carry back recollections of his interests in these subjects to the sixties of the last century, may recall the days when that great (and now, I think, unduly depreciated) scholar Dr Neale used to rejoice (with Dr Littledale) in the discovery that St Paul in one of his epistles actually quoted the Liturgy of Jerusalem (our actual 'St James'). Truly things seem to have their appointed courses in this world, and there is nothing quite new under the sun.

And now let us take up again the threads of our investigation.

We are not to suppose that all that Professor Buchwald has told us of the history of liturgical texts in Alexandria is solely matter of inference from the texts themselves. No; but external witness comes to our aid. Origen actually attests the existence in his day of portions of the prayer for 'offerers' as now found in 'St Mark'; that is to say as early as the first half of the third century he witnesses to the stage of development indicated at (4) above.² At this point we must have

¹ The two MSS of 'St Mark', both early cent. 13, have different incense prayers; this naturally escapes Professor Buchwald, who seems to use, exclusively, Mr Brightman's volume.

² Buchwald is not wholly original here; or indeed elsewhere sometimes also. I endeavour to refrain from giving more references than those absolutely necessary. But persons further interested may refer for earlier stages to Baumstark (1904) p. 59; Drews (1902), pp. 20 sqq. Probst Liturgie der drei ersten Jahrhunderte 1870 (pp. 155-156) had only called attention to the passage in Origen, putting it in its place in his account of Origen's liturgy without bringing it into connexion with 'St Mark'. For Drews 1906 and the Supra quae and Supplices see Clem. Lit. in Rom pp. 147 sqq., and for Rome and the Alexandrine liturgy, p. 142 n. 1.

before us the relative passages of Origen and the Liturgy of 'St Mark':--

ORIGEN 1

alτεῖτε τὰ ἐπουράνια καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια ὑμῖν προστεθήσεται (a quotation by Origen, source not identified; Origen on Prayer, ed. A. Koetschau, p. 333. 9, and p. 299. 20, 21).

'Quapropter surgentes oremus Deum ut . . . pro terrenis caelestia largiatur' (Homil. in Luc. xxxix in Migne *P. Gr.* xiii, 1901 seq.; in Buchwald, p. 20).

'ST MARK'

καὶ ἀντίδος αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν φθαρτῶν τὰ ἄφθαρτα, ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων τὰ οὐράνια, ἀντὶ τῶν προσκαίρων τὰ αἰώνια (Br. 129. 30–32, cf. p. 559; Swainson, 42 col. 1).

Professor Buchwald, who is nothing if not ingenious, seizes on that word 'surgentes' in the Homil. in Luc., and points out how in the Coptic (Mr Brightman's 'Liturgy of the Coptic Jacobites', pp. 170-171, Dr Swainson's 'St Cyril') this prayer for 'offerers' is said by the bishop in response to a $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\phi\omega\nu\eta\sigma\iota$ s of the deacon; but it is, as we know, of the nature of such prosphonetic form of prayer that during the $\pi\rho\sigma\sigma\phi\omega\nu\eta\sigma\iota$ s the people are on their knees or deeply bowed, and for the prayer itself that follows they stand erect: as witness the familiar example of the Flectamus genua and Levate of the Roman Liturgy. Hence, too, as we are bidden to observe, the words of Origen 'surgentes oremus' seem pretty clearly to indicate the anteriority and genuineness of the Coptic as compared with the Greek; an indication which (as Professor Buchwald points out) finds confirmation at other stages of his enquiry.

There is a certain charm in thus being led back by the hand, as it were, into a remote antiquity, and to have this knit up before our eyes with the present by a practice obviously remote from modern sense and feeling, and yet observed by us still; and the idea of this conjuncture of Origen and modern Catholicism has about it something almost savoureux. But we must not be led aside from our simple and single purpose by any of the good things Professor Buchwald has the art of so seductively preparing for us by the way.

Having simply followed him up to this point, viz. just to the point where Origen is adduced to witness to the great antiquity of a passage of 'St Mark', it is disconcerting to be met in one's own mind by one of those inconvenient things—facts—which my guide does not see standing in his path. It is this: that the very passage (though with an inversion of the first two of its three members) of the Liturgy of St Mark

¹ For these texts I rely on citations in the books quoted; Origen is not accessible to me.

cited above occurs in three out of the four texts of St James printed in parallel columns in Swainson, pp. 288-289. The passage is absent, however, from the 4th MS, Paris 2509, and is therefore not to be found in Mr Brightman's volume; nor is it in our recently recovered earliest text of St James, a text possibly as early as about the year 700, now (since 1905) available in Cozza-Luzi's tenth volume of Mai's Patrum Nova Bibliotheca, part 2, p. 82.

An interpolation from 'St Mark' into late texts of 'St James' is naturally the first reflexion. But this will not do: for there is something more.

In the same prayer for 'offerers' of 'Mark' there is another passage that occurs in all five texts of 'James', and therefore has a claim that can hardly be contested to be considered an integral and genuine part of the Liturgy of St James itself.

'MARK'

καὶ τῶν ἐν τῆ σήμερον ἡμέρα τὰς προσφορὰς προσενεγκάντων (Br. 129, 24–25; Sw. 42).

'JAMES'

καὶ τῶν τὰς προσφορὰς ταύτας προσενεγκάντων ἐν τἢ σήμερον ἡμέρα (Br. 56. 16–17, cf. μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας 57. 15; Sw. 288–289; Cozza-Luzi 2 p. 82).

Moreover, this is no mere isolated case; the verbal resemblances between the Anaphora of 'Mark' and that of 'James' are frequent; and not resemblances with 'James' only, but with other liturgies also. Let us take, for instance, the prayer for the emperor in the Great Intercession of 'Mark', Br. 128. 8-21. It shews these curious features:—

'MARK'

l. 10 βασιλέως . . . $\gamma \hat{\eta}$ s = Intercession of Basil, Br. 333. 6-8.

ll. 10-11 ἐν εἰρήνη . . . διαφύλαξον = Intercession of Syriac 'James', Br. 168. 31-32.

ll. 11-12 καθυπόταξον . . . πολέμων cf. Basil, Br. 333. 15-17.

l. 13^* ἐπιλαβοῦ . . . αὐτοῦ = 'James' Br. 55. 16–17.

l. 15* ἐπισκίασον . . . πολέμου = Basil 333. 10-11.

ll. 17-19 λάλησον . . . λαοῦ = Basil 333. 19-22.

ll. 20-21* ίνα . . . σεμνότητι cf. James 55. 18-19.

In this last case the words $\kappa \alpha i \dot{\eta} \mu \epsilon \hat{i} s \dot{\epsilon} \nu \tau \hat{\eta} \gamma \alpha \lambda \eta \nu \delta \tau \eta \tau i \alpha \dot{\nu} \tau o \hat{i}$ are not found in Mr Brightman (= Paris MS 2509), nor in the ancient text of Cozza-Luzi, nor in Paris MS 476 in the fourth column of Dr Swainson, p. 285; but they are in the two Sicilian MSS (Sw. p. 284); here, then, is a case very similar to that of the passage $\dot{\alpha} \nu \tau (\delta o s)$ from which we started. Moreover, the three passages marked with an asterisk are (= entirely) scriptural quotation. But every possible deduction that can be made

does not do away with, indeed, hardly affects, the character of this passage of 'Mark' as a cento of passages found in other liturgies.

Or, to take another case which shews another character, that of consistent resemblance between 'Mark' and 'James', viz. the Recital of Institution and Epiklesis. When these are thrown in parallel columns and compared, it seems clear, as regards the Recital of Institution, either that one has copied from the other wholesale or that the Churches of Jerusalem and Alexandria have both carefully and verbally preserved a single primitive tradition. Which of these views is the just one? The two texts of the Epiklesis that follow leave, I imagine, no room whatever for doubt that 'Mark' has copied 'James'; and that in a wholesale way, and at a relatively late period. To convince ourselves of this it is only necessary to draw out in parallel columns the epithets applied to the Holy Spirit in both; adding in a third column the parallel passage from the normal Syriac St James (Brightman, p. 88), and (as confirmatory of the latter), a fourth column for the Liturgy of 'Cyriac of Antioch' (of the Syriac St James type) mentioned above in the first of these Memoranda (p. 448) as recently printed in Oriens Christianus.

The recension of 'James' in Cozza-Luzi is attested by about the close of the seventh century, or in the first half of the eighth; whilst the recension afforded by Syriac 'James' and Cyriac of Nisibis may conjecturally be taken as representing the developement of the Epiklesis of 'James' at about the middle of the fifth century. And, so far, a presumption is raised that the 'Mark' Epiklesis was borrowed from 'James' some time between A. D. 450 and A. D. 700.

The point we have arrived at, then, is this: a perception that the text of 'Mark' as we have it is not to be relied on, perhaps at any part, except for reasons that can be definitely stated, as evidencing the text of the Alexandrine Liturgy of the third century. And now let us recall the question from which we started: that is, whether the passage $\kappa a \lambda a \nu \tau i \delta o s$ (Br. 129. 30–32) quoted above (p. 596) is witnessed to by Origen as a text of the Alexandrine Liturgy in his day.

The analysis made above of the prayer for the Emperor in the 'Mark' Intercession by its mention of 'Basil' suggests a clue. The rite of an imperial city, a royal capital, a Residenz, may always be expected to be intrusive. Let us consult, then, the Intercession of Byzantine 'Basil'. Here is what we read: 'Remember, Lord, them that bring forth fruit and do good works in Thy holy Church, and are mindful of the poor; requite (ἄμειψαι) them with Thy rich and heavenly graces; χάρισαι αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων τὰ ἐπουράνια, ἀντὶ τῶν προσκαίρων τὰ αἰώνια, ἀντὶ τῶν φθαρτῶν τὰ ἄφθαρτα' (Br. 332. 25–28).

But since we are in company with writers of the Neo-German School, who are continually bidding us go back and carrying us up higher into

the gloom of a dim past, let us follow their example. There seems to be a liturgical text that stands behind 'Basil'. In the first diaconal Litany of the Mass of the Faithful in the Clementine Liturgy are the following suffrages (Br. 11. 5-12):—

Υπέρ τῶν καρποφορούντων, κτλ.

Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς προσφερόντων... ὅπως ὁ πανάγαθος Θεὸς ἀμείψηται αὐτοὺς ταῖς ἐπουρανίαις αὐτοῦ δωρεαῖς... καὶ χαρίσηται αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν προσκαίρων τὰ αἰώνια, ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων τὰ ἐπουράνια.

Before closing the enquiry let me follow the example of Professor Buchwald, and adventure myself in drawing up a brief outline of the story of the clause καὶ ἀντίδος as it appears to me.

- (1) This text καὶ ἀντίδος... αἰώνια now in Mark (Br. 129. 30-32) was originally no part of the Liturgy of 'St Mark', nor does Origen refer to this in the passages cited from him.
- (2) Of course, the ideas embodied in it are a mere commonplace of Christian thought; as Mr Brightman points out so well (p. 559) in that invaluable part of his book, pp. 553-567, thus: '129. 31: 1 Cor. ix 25; Jo. iii 12; 2 Cor. iv 18.'
- (3) Its first liturgical expression (be this said with all due reserve) is in the diaconal Litany at the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful of the Liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions; we can therefore carry it up presumably, at all events, to the fourth century.
- (4) Counter to the views of some writers (and, I suppose, the accepted view also) I knit up in my own mind the Clementine Liturgy with 'Basil'; and the early Antiochene Liturgy with the Byzantine, rather than with Jerusalem and 'St James'. From this point of view there is no reason to be surprised at finding the passages of the Clementine Litany utilized in the Intercession of 'St Basil'; a liturgy which there is ground for thinking had assumed its present form generally at all events by the sixth century.
- (5) From Constantinople the passage may easily and naturally enough have been introduced into either the Liturgy of St Mark or into western recensions (e.g. Sicilian) of St James; whether independently or by way of one copying from the other must, here at any rate, be left an open question.¹
- 1 The whole prayer for 'offerers' in the Intercession of 'Mark' shews traces of late and unskilled compilation (cf. Baumstark, pp. 115-124). In part it relates to the bread and wine brought by the 'offerers'; in part to alms, money. But even in the former part ideas are expressed (viz. the carrying up on to the heavenly altar of the bread and wine offered by the people) which naturally seem appropriate only for the consecrated Gifts. And indeed this distinction is carefully observed in the Clementine Liturgy. This Liturgy has a petition before the consecration for the requital of the earthly gifts brought by the offerers by a divine bestowal of

Page 53

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the Holy Spirit. Cyriac of Nisibis A.D. 793-817 (Or. Chr. v 187	et mitte	spiritum tuum sanctum						την οὐσίαν et aeternitate tibi	qui sià rov vópov	et per prophetas	et per apostolos locutus est,	qui super D. N. I. C.	in Iordane flumine apparuit.		illum qui in linguis igneis	super apostolos requievit		ut obumbrans		efficiat
Spithets, &c., applied to Syriac 'James' (Br. 88)	and send	Thine holy spirit	the Lord and Lifegiver	who shareth Thy Thronc God and Father and	shareth the Kingdom			who is of one substance	who spake by the Law,	and the prophets	and Ihy new testament,	the likeness of a dove	upon our Lord J. Chr.		who descended upon the Apostles in the likeness	of fiery tongues,		that coming down		hc may make
The Epiklesis of 'Mark' compared with that of 'James'. Epithets, &c., applied to the Holy Spirit. (Br. pp. 53-54) (Br. 133-134) (Br. 133-134)	ραβς πιε 133 32 έξαπόστειλον 134 - 1 πλη προσκηνιτον		τὸ κύριον, 2 τὸ ξωοποιόν,	τδ ἐν νόμω	καὶ προφήταις κοὶ ἐποστέλοις λολθισου	3-5 το πανταχού παρόν ευδοκία	5-6 τὸ ἀπλούν πηγήν,	6 το σοί όμοούσιον,	τὸ ἐκ σοῦ ἐκπορευόμενον,		7-8 το συνθρονον της βασιλείας σου	Χριστοῦ	0-10 έπιδε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ζέξαπόστει-	λου/ έπί τους άρτους τούτους	καὶ έπὶ τα ποτήρια ταϋτα		το τὸ πνεύμά σου τὸ ἄγιον	ίνα αύτα		11-12 ἀγιάση καὶ τελειώση
The Epiklesis of 'Mark' ' 'James' (Br. pp. 53-54)	21 καὶ ἐξαπόστειλον	22 το πνεύμά σου το πανάγιον	24 τδ κύριον καὶ ζωοποιόν	τὸ σύνθρονόν σοι τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ	25 τῷ μονογενεί σου	τὸ συμβασιλεύον,		τὸ ὀμοούσιόν τε οδ. καὶ συνοίδιου	τό λαλήσαν ἐν νόμφ	και προφήταις	27 καί τη καινη σου διαθηκη τδ καταβόν έν είδει περιστέρδε	28 επί τὸν κύριον ήμῶν	Ίησ. Χρ. ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνη ποταμῶ καὶ μείναν ἐπ΄	29 αὐτόν,	τύ καταβάν έπὶ τούς ἀγίους σου ἀποστόλους ἐν είδει	30 πυρίνων γλωσσών 32πεντηκοστής	1-2 αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ πανάγιον	έπι τά δώρα	άγαθη και ενδύξφ αυτού παρου- αία	6 άγιάση καὶ ποιῆ

Dom de Puniel's restoration of the text in Revine Bhieldiue, January 1909, p. 45; and, indeed, it is a subject of gratulation for liturgists that this piece should here fallen for publication and illustration first of all to one so careful and discreet as Dom de Puniel. The paperus itself is supposed to be of the seventh century. Here at any rate is the simple text of its Epiklesis: wa were allowny seathers and any rate is the simple text of its Epiklesis: wa serve the best of the seventh century. And the paperus itself is supposed to be of the seventh century. Here at any rate is the simple text of its Epiklesis: wa serve the serve the serve the paperus itself make the restoration that the respective text of the paperus itself make the may have butter subject on the paperus itself make the may the hatter subjection less promible. And with all these we may compare the recently published 'Liturgical papyrus of Oxford'.

And now to come to the end, the practical matter. The subject of our consideration in the beginning was the 'Neo-German Liturgical School'. Up till now it has taken one line, adopted one method, and that method is described and characterized by Professor Drews himself (Die clem. Lit. pp. 9-11). There is also a Neo-French school of whom Monsignori Duchesne and Batiffol are the recognized and brilliant chiefs. There is, however, another French school, that which has been called in the past the School of Solesmes; will it in the future be true to the primitive liturgical method of Dom Guéranger, or (as I trust with all my heart) prove on that particular point simply faithless, only to be in itself and for others the more faithworthy? Time alone can shew; but indications seem to promise that the School of Solesmes (now Quarr-Farnborough) intends to profit by the lessons of its own past. There is room alongside of all these for an English school that looks to the future, not to the past. The English school that, speaking generally, has prevailed until now is to be traced up to the ex-Lutheran Grabe and that little coterie of Non-jurors who mixed themselves up with the study of Liturgy, not in the grand style of a Renaudot or a Richard Simon, but really for the sake of an intrigue that failed. Twenty-five years ago there was some one who pointed out a new way; I mean the late Dr Swainson. I have heard his book, The Greek Liturgies, depreciated; and, in some respects, it would seem to be a good deal neglected. If I may speak from my own experience I should say that any real knowledge of, or insight into, those Liturgies I may have gained is due to that particular book. Indeed, I venture to think that it may prove to mark the beginning of a new era in these studies. But it needs to be followed up; the case of the Neo-German school, with its long neglect of Probst, shews that such neglect is no necessary cause for discouragement. But Dr Swainson's work is to be carried on not by imitation, but by progress in the direction he indicated. A textual investigation of the Liturgy of St Mark would be a specimen of just the sort of work that should attach itself as a continuation of Swainson's. I should not have the courage to say so much if I had not attempted a little essay of that kind myself—for strictly personal purposes of trying to learn; an essay, so to speak, merely for 'workshop' use. But it has been enough to teach me how profitable such a piece of work would be for liturgical studies, for the understanding of the history of divine

heavenly gifts (Br. 11.9); whilst it is the consecrated Eucharist which this Liturgy prays may be received by God on the heavenly altar (Br. 23. 15-17). Here we are in touch with ideas that lie at the root of early Christian liturgical development (see Fr. Wieland, Mensa und Confessio, München, Lentner, 1906, pp. 45 sqq., 108 sqq.; and for a contrary view, Fr. Wieland, Die Schrift 'Mensa und Confessio' und P. Emil Dorsch S.J. in Innsbruck, 1908, pp. 32-50).



worship and the forms in which it has clothed itself, and how honourable it might even be for English scholarship. I will not end without indicating what I think might probably be the upshot of such a work. Something like this: that whilst our present text of 'Mark' contains buried in it most precious and ancient remains of the early Egyptian and Alexandrine Liturgy, this primitive element has been also largely overlaid by foreign elements, chiefly Hierosolymitan, either adopted almost verbally, or worked up in a literary manner; finally a third element, a quantity, and that not inconsiderable, of tawdry rhetorical embroidery, the work of some self-complacent 'scholasticus'. It is just in regard to this third element that the greatest care and discretion would have to be exercised. I have spoken of it as a whole in a somewhat contemptuous manner; and that is the result of the impression it makes upon me as a whole; but the liturgist will always do well to treat nothing of the material that is found between the two covers of Dr Swainson's book, as 'commune et immundum'; we may sift and sort as finely as we can, and yet it is necessary always to remember that among the rejected scoria there may be still elements of pure and precious metal unrecognizable only because we happen, as yet, to be unable to remove the surface impurities with which it has become encrusted in long lapse of time.

Perhaps before ending this Memorandum I should add one word more; except on one, and that a most important point, which, however, he dismisses in a few lines, I believe the thesis Professor Buchwald propounds, and its demonstration too, to be, both of them, thoroughly mistaken.

It had been intended by me that Memorandum II should have related to something quite different; an accident as explained at the beginning of it has made II to be as it is found above. But it will be as well to mention here at once what is the subject the treatment of which is now deferred. A reference, mediately by way of Hefele, in Mgr Mercati's article 'More Spanish Symptoms' to Helfferich's Der westgothische Arianismus (J.T.S. vol. ix p. 424 n. 2), reminded me how there was a book that had stood on my 'list' for the last thirty years, and was still not looked at. A copy was soon obtained. What was now my surprise on opening it to find that nearly fifty years ago—to be precise, forty-nine—Helfferich had actually printed the very Toledan prayers which Elipandus had cited in the Adoptianist controversy, thus verifying Mgr Mercati's perspicacity and sound historical sense when

¹ Such surprise was quite out of place, for the existence of these prayers in Helfferich had been already clearly indicated (1904) in M. G. Concil. II. 1 p. 113 n. 5.

(J.T.S. p. 425 n. 2) he put in a plea for the common honesty of that simple old man whose last years were spent in especial bitterness through his very simplicity and unadvisedness in defence of orthodoxy against the hair-brained Migetius and his coadjutor the Frankish bishop Egila who, bent on mission work, had thrust himself into Southern Spain. There is one prayer which Helfferich says (p. 97) that he could not find, viz. that from the Mass for the dead. But this happens to be just the prayer which now some seven years ago I pointed out (see Book of Cerne, p. 270; cf. pp. 252-253 No 25 and Liber ord. ed. Férotin, 1904, coll. 110-111) as worked up in the non-Roman set of Masses for the dead now found at the end of the Gelasianum, and as used also in its entirety in the Mass for the dead in the Stowe missal. Although calling attention to this at once, I propose to deal with the matter in detail on another occasion.

EDMUND BISHOP.

REVIEWS

BOOKS ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The Beginnings of Gospel Story, by BENJAMIN WISNER BACON (Yale University Press, 1909).

PROFESSOR BACON'S new book is a Commentary on the Gospel according to Mark, and deserves notice as a serious attempt to exhibit the results of the higher criticism in some detail to the intelligent layman. Professor Bacon is well known as a student of early Christianity from his articles in the more or less technical theological journals—I take this opportunity of calling attention to his judicious remarks upon Papias, Irenaeus, and Eusebius in the Journal of Biblical Literature for 1908, pp. 1-23,—but in the book before us he sets forth his view of the Ministry of our Lord and of the earliest account of it that we possess with as little parade of technical scholarship as is possible from the nature of the case. It is a sign of the times. The interest of New Testament study is rapidly shifting from the textual and literary to the historical side, and it is characteristic of Professor Bacon's book that it steadily keeps in sight the main problems. 'The real interest of our time', says Prof. Bacon, p. vii, 'lies no longer in the exact apprehension of the sense the writer of 70-90 A.D. may have given to the evangelic tradition. We no longer attempt to say, Thus the sacred writer conceived the event to have been, therefore thus it was; for we have four sacred historians, no two of whom conceive the event in just the same way. The point of real interest for our time is at least a generation earlier. What was the event that gave rise to the story? Through what phases has the tradition passed to acquire its canonical forms? Such have been the burning questions of modern scholars in respect to the historic origins of the Christian faith, and the intelligent layman is entitled to expect that he shall not be put off with mere exegesis.'

The three main sources, therefore, which Prof. Bacon recognizes as our authorities for the Gospel history are not Matthew, Mark, and Luke, but (1) Mark, (2) Q, (3) the special source of Luke. He appears to accept in the main a reconstruction of Q similar to that of Harnack, while considering that the form of this 'Teaching Document' used by Matthew (QMT) was slightly different from that used by Luke (QLK). As a rule, however, he prefers to describe the source or sources of the peculiar parts of Matthew and Luke as X, the nature and contents of these sources being practically unknown. Mark itself, according to Prof. Bacon, has had a complicated genesis. In its present form it is

due to a Redactor (R), an anti-Judaistic, ultra-Pauline Roman Christian. writing about 70-75 A.D. (p. xxxiii). R 'has used the ancient common source of Matthew and Luke (Q) to embellish and supplement an earlier and simpler narrative, which not from tradition only, but from its intrinsic characteristics, we may appropriately designate as Petrine (P). At the same time the use of O thus made 'is by no means characterized by sympathetic and appreciative insight' (p. xx). Further, 'it is impossible successfully to maintain that the compiler has that insight into the real factors of the history, the necessary progress and concatenation of events, which we should justly expect from one who had had even a modicum of personal acquaintance with one of the Twelve. In very high degree Mark's narrative is dominated by theoretical considerations, often manifestly derived from the Pauline Epistles, especially Romans' (p. xx). 'The Paulinism of Mark is supremely manifest in this evangelist's whole conception of what constitutes the apostolic message' (p. xxviii).

Here we reach fundamental differences. Prof. Bacon and St Mark have, as a matter of fact, totally different conceptions of the Ministry of our Lord and of His general aims. It is the great merit of Prof. Bacon's book that it expresses in English, in clear and popular form, a view of our Lord, the general features of which are widely accepted among 'liberal' thinkers, however greatly they may differ in particular details. Further, Prof. Bacon is so candid and is so familiar with what our documents actually set before us, that he sees the difficulties far better than most of his party, and makes serious and noteworthy attempts to overcome them.

Here is Prof. Bacon's point of view:—'The apocalyptic figure of the Son of man could not be Jesus' "favourite self-designation". He was not a visionary and fanatic, who believed himself destined within the lifetime of his followers to be brought back from the underworld as the Danielic "Son of man" on the clouds of heaven. Such apocalyptic fanaticism is the characteristic not of the sane and well-poised mind of the plain mechanic of Nazareth, but of the Pharisaism in his own time and of the later generation of his followers' (p. 108).

Here are Prof. Bacon's difficulties:—'For some reason Jesus did go up to Jerusalem, and throw down the gauntlet in the face of the priestly hierocracy in the temple itself. For some reason he did follow a rôle that led to his execution by Pilate as a political agitator. For some reason his followers, very shortly after, did ascribe to him not mere reappearance from the tomb, but exaltation to the place of the Messiah 'at the right hand of God'—attributes so exalted that it is difficult to believe they had no other foundation than mere reverence for an admired Teacher' (p. 106).

This is well and fairly put, and the issue thus raised is not allowed to be slurred over. Prof. Bacon's special solution is that the Cleansing of the Temple was 'a supreme effort for God and the people' against what he calls the 'usurpation' of the priestly aristocracy (pp. 104, 161). He speaks of 'the unchurched masses' of Galilee (p. xxxix). But were the Sadducean Priesthood usurpers? Prof. Bacon calls even the Wicked Husbandmen in the Parable 'usurpers', though the Gospel distinctly states that the Lord of the Vineyard had let it out to them. And does the Gospel narrative suggest that Jesus accused the Temple traffickers of extortion? Is it not much more likely that the formulas about 'apocalyptic fanaticism' and 'the plain mechanic of Nazareth' are inadequate? Is it not possible that what Prof. Bacon regards as Paulinism in Mark is part, and a vital part, of the original texture of the Gospel? It may have been 'apocalyptic fanaticism' for Jesus of Nazareth to have regarded Himself as the 'Son of Man' spoken of by Daniel and Enoch, and in that belief to have gone up to Jerusalem, believing that He would give His life a ransom for the many who were waiting so long for the kingdom of God. But does not the enthusiasm of the first Christians make it likely that the inner circle at least of the Master's friends had reason to believe that He had been animated by And after all, was not the desperate venture such a conviction? justified by its success? The journey to Jerusalem, with all that it entailed may have been 'foolishness', but where would Christianity have been without the folly of the Cross?

Nevertheless English students of the New Testament have reason to be grateful to Prof. Bacon for the emphasis he has laid on the fact that the special doctrine characteristic of the Gospel according to Mark is the doctrine of the Cross.¹ In a noteworthy phrase he calls the section upon the Following of Christ (viii 27-x 45) Mark's Sermon on the Mount. Only he regards it as the doctrine of Paul rather than the doctrine of Jesus, and bids us contrast it with the doctrines characteristic of the non-Marcan portions of Matthew and Luke. This of course is a serious argument, that deserves thorough investigation, though it is a little difficult to carry out. We do not possess Q as a whole; we only have those portions of it that Matthew and Luke have incorporated in their Gospels, works which are actually founded on Mark, so that the doctrines in question are well represented in sections taken from Mark itself. Yet even so, enough remains, as I venture to think, to shew that O represented our Lord as the coming Messiah, and also that He demanded from His disciples not indeed asceticism, but the renunciation of everything that hindered them from following Him.

No doubt we cannot press such a text as Lk xvii 25, though it occurs

¹ See especially p. xxvii f.

in the middle of an undoubted Q-passage, because it may perhaps be treated as an addition by the Evangelist derived from Mark.1 But Lk. xiv 27 (= Matt. x 38) speaks of bearing the cross after Jesus, Lk. xvii 33 (= Matt x 39) speaks of losing one's life to gain it. We may not press passages like Matt. xxv 31-46 or Lk. xvii 22 or xviii 8, because we may be told that 'the Son of Man' there spoken of may originally not have been identified by Jesus with Himself. But what are we to make of Lk. xiii 23-30, and the fragmentary parallels to it in Is there anything in the Four Gospels which more clearly bears the stamp of genuineness? The 'Son of Man' is not mentioned by name, but who is the 'master of the house' who rises and shuts the door? Those who find themselves shut out declare that He has taught in their streets. It is such sayings as these that make it impossible to believe with Prof. Bacon that 'the historical significance attached by Jesus himself to his mission' was 'purely religio-ethical and humanitarian' (p. xxxviii).

F. C. BURKITT.

In Les Procédés de Rédaction des Trois Premiers Évangelistes (Librairie Fischbacher, Paris, 1908) Dr Firmin Nicolardot accepts the Two-Sources hypothesis as a matter of course; with B. Weiss and others he decides for an equal dependence on Q—the 'täuschendes Nebelbild' of Müller—in the case of Mark; he finds no reason to suppose that the Mark used by the later Evangelists differed perceptibly from our Second Gospel. It is ruled outside the scope of his enquiry to determine the exact amount of historical truth contained in the Synoptic records; he is concerned with one question only. What he will attempt shall be stated in his own words:—'à chercher comment le dernier rédacteur de chacun des évangiles a fait passer la tradition, du stade où il la rencontrait, au stade où nous la trouvons. Quelle est sa part dans l'adaptation et l'évolution progressives des données transmises? A quel travail s'est-il livré sur ces documents? D'après quels procédés, en un mot, les a-t-il traités?'

As Dr Nicolardot himself points out, his task is free from serious difficulty in the case of the First and Third Gospels. Here Mark and Q are available for comparison, and the painstaking and singularly minute scrutiny to which, in Parts i and ii, Matthew and Luke are subjected is productive of results of which all are interesting while many will doubtless find general acceptance. The position is altogether different when, in Part iii, the question is of the 'procédés rédactionnels'

¹ All the same, Wellhausen (Ev. Lucae, p. 96) says: 'der bei Mt fehlende Vers 25 passt sehr gut in den Zusammenhang.'

of the Second Evangelist. Dr Nicolardot recognizes that with Mark he can no longer go to work on the same lines: 'Nous ne connaissons aucun évangile antérieur à celui-là. Nous n'avons pas de livre strictement parallèle, avec quoi le comparer.' He will, however, turn for help to the Marcan Gospel itself, and, paradoxical as it may appear, to the very gospels which are so largely based on it. The assumed dependence of Mark on Q will account for doublets in Matthew and Lukefound in Mark, they have been met with also in the lost document; it will account further not only for agreements between the later Synoptists but for their common divergence from Mark in sections to which there are parallels in the Second Gospel. Inasmuch as there is no dependence of Luke on the canonical Matthew the conclusion will be that Luke and Matthew have adhered with greater fidelity than Mark to that which really stood in the 'recueil des Discours' from which all three have drawn; the manner of Mark's divergences will be suggestive of his methods of adaptation and redaction generally. Such, in the main, are Dr Nicolardot's premisses; it must suffice to give two illustrations from the equally exhaustive examination to which he subjects the Second Gospel through carefully marked-out sections. In Mk. iii 1-7 a Healing on the Sabbath is recorded; inasmuch as Lk, vi 6 ff simply follows Mark, it throws no light on the original form of the narrative; in Lk. xiv 1-7 (cf. Lk. xiii 10-18) we find a combination of elements directly taken from the Source and details borrowed from the Marcan section. What, then, really stood in the Source? In all probability a parable about care for domestic animals even on the Sabbath Day; and this parable, in the hands of Mark, has been turned into a mere abstraction—into the question which, ill-adapted to the occasion, is placed by the Second Evangelist in the mouth of Jesus. Thus again where the section Mk. iv 10-14 is discussed with special reference to 'La théorie des paraboles';—here Dr Nicolardot conjectures that the original reading survives in the Mt. and Lk. parallels: δμιν δέδοται γνωναι τὰ μυστήρια της βασιλείας των οὐρανων (τοῦ θεοῦ); Mark, bent on elaborating this theory of a deliberate blinding, has made an alteration in what he found to hand; his έμεν τὸ μυστήριον δέδοται της βασιλείας τοῦ θ εοῦ is a generalization—' une explication sur le mystère de l'évangile insérée dans le cadre plus ancien d'une explication sur les paraboles'. Dr Nicolardot adds: 'on aurait donc ici le très curieux exemple de quatre étapes, encore bien discernables, dans l'histoire d'un seul morceau.' At the end of each Part, and in his closing pages, we have a succinct statement of general conclusions, and to these I can only refer with brevity. It is said of the First Evangelist that 'il possédait l'imagination ordonnatrice de l'architecte', the history of Jesus as conceived and composed by him might have come from an earlier Taine;

that which differentiates Luke 'c'est l'art et l'âme de l'évangeliste'; Papias's authority was ill-informed as to the real sources of the Marcan Gospel, to refer it to a disciple of Peter is impossible, its author was 'catéchiste sous les dehors d'un historien'. Yet one quotation more:— 'Le Jésus de Marc a plus de force, celui de Matthieu plus de majesté, comme celui de Luc plus de grâce. L'allure de l'évangile diffère également. Marc catéchise, Matthieu disserte, Luc, dans ses bons instants, cause, chante, ensorcelle.'

It may be said unhesitatingly that Dr Nicolardot has produced a valuable, not to say brilliant, work. Whether he proves himself throughout a safe guide is another question; to assume a number of written sources behind our Mark might appear hazardous, it will be urged that it is unsafe to make so much depend on a conjectured but disputed use of Q by all three synoptists. But his reading has been immense, his grasp is masterly, his criticism acute, his arrangement admirable, in respect of lucidity and vivacity his style precisely what might be expected of an accomplished French scholar. His book demands the attention which it will assuredly receive.

H. LATIMER JACKSON.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE GOSPELS.

The Background of the Gospels. Cunningham Lectures. By WILLIAM FAIRWEATHER, M.A. (T. & T. CLARK.)

This book falls naturally into three unequal parts. The first (pp. 1-215) gives the general history of the Jewish people and the Jewish religion in the post-exilic period down to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. The earlier part of this history is very lightly touched on, the Samaritan schism is dismissed in a few lines, and the author's fuller narrative begins with the Maccabean struggle. The second part (pp. 219-311) will perhaps be found to be the most useful portion of the book. It gives a pretty full account of 'the Apocalyptic Movement and Literature'. Good summary descriptions are given of the contents of the Book of Enoch, the Psalms of Solomon, and of several apocalvptic writings, e.g. the Syriac Baruch and the Latin Assumption of Moses, whose claims to importance have now of late been admitted. The third part (pp. 315-361) is an account of 'Hellenistic Judaism'. It is concerned chiefly with the origin of the Septuagint, with the teaching of the Book of Wisdom, and with Philo and his doctrine.

Mr Fairweather writes in a popular style, which might perhaps have been more severely pruned when his lectures were put into the form of VOL. X.

R r

a book, e. g. Simon the Maccabee might have been spared the Shake-spearean tag,

'The elements

So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up And say to all the world, "This was a man!"

Of the astute Simon it would assuredly have been truer to say that he was a 'successful man'.

When a second edition is called for, it would be well to correct the English spelling of some Hebrew words, e.g. on p. 108 n. 4, and p. 193. Also the references to the Psalms of Solomon on pp. 231-232 might be accommodated to Dr Swete's edition of the Septuagint. On p. 13 n. 4, reference might be made to ii (iv) Esdras vi 55. Perhaps the 'legalism' of the Jews might be less mercilessly described on pp. 11-21. Finally might not the long German extracts in the Appendix ix, Notes 4, 6, 7, al. be given in English, Mr Fairweather's book being plainly intended for English readers? The book is good, but it might easily be made better by a revision of certain parts of it.

W. EMERY BARNES.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

K. F. NÖSGEN. I. Der heilige Geist, sein Wesen u. die Art seines Wirkens. II. Das Wirken des heiligen Geistes an den einzelnen Gläubigen u. in der Kirche. (Trowitzsch & Sohn, Berlin, 1905, 1907.)

This learned work by Professor Nösgen of the University of Rostock somehow raises hopes which it fails to satisfy. There is no more urgent problem in the whole range of Christian doctrine than the need to restate the teaching on the Person and Work of God the Holy Ghost, which is assailed both from Unitarian and Binitarian points of view.

Dr Nösgen's first chapter on the Being of the Spirit in general is a careful and scholarly study of the meaning of the Hebrew word $ru^{\alpha}ch$ and the Greek word pneuma. It ends with the conclusion that what we have to say about Spirit is, 'not only the bare negative, that it is something immaterial and supernatural, but also that it is something positive, that it is an efficacious force possessing mastery over itself, and therefore conscious of itself, and in consequence bearing within itself the pledge of its permanence and durability' (i p. 50).

Passing on to discussion of Spirit as the Being of God, he then comes to his main subject—the Holy Ghost, the oneness of His Being, the manner and method of His working, and the means through which His working reaches its perfection. Dr Nösgen certainly redeems his

promise to give us a methodical survey of all the passages in Holy Scripture which bear on the subject. He follows his path severely, and draws the ordinary orthodox conclusions from the usual premisses But at the present time it is not enough to dismiss the theories of Schmiedel and von Dobschütz and others with an airy statement, 'Therefore there is as little reason to conclude from John 14–16 that the Risen Christ and the Holy Spirit are identical as from Matt. 12 31 ff' (i p. 115).

Orthodox theologians must grasp the nettle of unsatisfying speculation firmly if they don't wish to be stung by it. We must begin with the admitted epistles of St Paul, and the teaching of the Lord about the Holy Ghost in the Synoptic Gospels, before we can proceed to discuss the drift of the teaching in the fourth Gospel, however firmly convinced we may be that there is no impossible progression of thought involved in the passage from the undisputed to the disputed Scriptural evidence.

It is bold to say in the following passage: 'The fundamental mistake in all the representations hitherto considered of the way in which salvation is appropriated lies in the fact that the bringing into existence of saving faith is looked upon entirely as an act of perception of the importance of certain historical events or occurrences in history on behalf of the human soul. But an action of the Spirit of God, or a work of God in the souls of men, can only first be spoken of when these themselves are openly acknowledged as the object which is influenced. That in accordance with their creative powers they, through such an operation of God by means of His Spirit, are brought to a real victory over themselves, and to a true freedom from all that is evil, and that they also become the subject of their developement in the intention of God, is a point which beside the question of the method of the working of the Holy Ghost can only be regarded as secondary' (i p. 201).

The second volume begins with an interesting but subjective criticism of the teaching of Schleiermacher, who is said to have imposed his own religious consciousness too much on his readers as judge in his discussion of the teaching of Apostles and Prophets (p. 3). We feel that Dr Nösgen has honestly faced the danger of falling himself into the same pitfall of subtle pride and has escaped it. But we cannot say that his treatment of the subjects of the calling of the Holy Ghost, or His work in justifying, is marked by any originality. Then follow chapters on His sanctifying work and His work in the Church, on charismatic gifts, on the Charisma of Prophecy, and finally a review of the light thrown by these considerations on the Being of the Holy Ghost.

A. E. BURN.

CHRISTIAN ETHICS.

A Handbook of Christian Ethics, by J. CLARK MURRAY, LL.D., F.R.S.C. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1908.)

This book by an Emeritus Professor of Philosophy in M'Gill University fulfils admirably the object it professes. It is a Handbook. Smaller than Martensen, or Strong, or Newman Smyth, it yet goes well over the ground. It is divided into four parts, the Supreme Ideal of Christian Life, the Ideal in its subjective aspect, in its objective aspect, and Methodology of Christian Ethics. The position of the author is that Christian Ethics though they cannot be separated by any hard and fast line from philosophical Ethics, yet differ in that they are founded upon the ideal of Christ. This is a datum. The relation of Ethics to Dogmatics is admitted. 'It is sheer intellectual confusion,' says the author, 'to talk of a creedless morality.'

The Christian Ideal is thus stated:—'Christian morality consists in loving our fellow-men as we love ourselves, such love being a rational habit of life, which is revealed in Christ as the realization of God's will with regard to man, and therefore of man's love to God.'

The author proceeds to trace the evolution of the Christian Ideal through the Hebrews and the Greeks, up to its revelation in the New Testament. The feature in Christ's teaching which the author regards as peculiarly prominent is the infinite value He attaches to the individual soul, the moral personality. The position of man with regard to morality is that 'he is what he is by virtue of the habits which he himself forms', while his nature is a thing given. The view that human nature is intrinsically favourable to morality should be combined with the converse opinion. 'Christian character is the trained will embodied in these habits which form the virtues of Christian Life.' The author on this theory naturally finds difficulties with Original Sin. For an action is only moral 'when it becomes an independent act of volition'.

Part III discusses the relation of the individual to the Church, the the Family, the State, that being the obvious Christian order. The most striking thing in the book is the last chapter on 'Special Methods of Moral Culture'. It is here that the greatest independence of view is found. Throughout I feel that the author is most anxious to be fair, and to examine the merits of everything. Balance is quite the dominant characteristic. As you read you realize that you are in contact with a mind that is reverent, thoughtful, well-stored, and earnest. And yet there is a feeling of limitation, of something lacking. One is tempted to say it is imagination that is to seek, and yet the author has a high appreciation of poetry, and quotes it frequently and with effect. It is

more, perhaps, a sense of what Newman calls the 'dread depths of grace' that we do not find here. The book hardly suggests, as even such a short sketch as is to be found in Sidgwick's 'Outlines' suggests to one, that Christianity is able to produce virtues of that 'heroic' type which, as we have recently been reminded, must be proved before saintship can be allowed. There does not seem room for those whom Pater has described as 'certain distinguished, magnifical, or elect souls, vessels of election, épris des hauteurs, as we see them pass across the world's stage, as if led on by a kind of thirst for God'.

Is not the ultimate explanation to be found in two causes themselves interdependent? Christian virtue is regarded from too subjective a point of view. It is in fact a form of culture. This is clearly seen in chance references to worship, from which it would appear that the sermon was the principal activity in that department of Christian life. Prayer seems to be hardly more than an intellectual discipline. Again, the influence of Kant is strong in the book, and though, as I have said, the connexion between dogmatics and ethics is referred to, as a matter of fact, we find that they are hardly more than bowing acquaintances. is true as the author says 'that the dogmas of Christian faith find their vindication in practical tests'. It is hardly true that you can pragmatically reconstruct the dogmas that are necessary from the practical life of to-day. For many of the dogmas of the faith are not in the realm of ideas, but of history. Certain things having happened, the relations between God and man are different. It was not mainly because Christ was a teacher, almost the only light in which He appears in this book, that He has made saints.

Even though the 'Saint' is not the normal type, yet it remains true that the characteristic Christian attitude is that of the man who finds his inspiration in the thought not of personal culture, but of what God has done for him, and if he love his neighbour, the importance of which is rightly and well emphasized by Dr Murray, it is as one $\delta i'$ $\delta \nu \times \chi \rho \iota \sigma \tau \delta s$ $\delta \pi \delta \theta a \nu s \nu$.

A. S. DUNCAN JONES.

THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS.

Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions. (2 vols., 1908, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 21s.)

THE International Congress for the History of Religions which met at Oxford last September was the third of the series, its predecessors having been held at Paris in 1900, and at Basel in 1904. It is understood from those who attended that the Oxford Congress was highly

successful in its immediate purpose—the bringing together of students for the comparison of results, and the development of personal sympathy among fellow-workers dispersed over a wide field and resident in many countries. And it is understood further that the general tone of the meeting was such that the mutual regard which is proper to scholars was in no way obstructed or diverted by the highly sensitive character which naturally belongs to questions of religion. And yet it was not that the historical temper reduced interest to the coolness of indifference; there was warmth, zeal, enthusiasm; but the attitude of mutual respect personally, and of tender regard for the religious life of the past, pervaded the whole atmosphere, and made superciliousness and arrogance quite impossible. The Oxford Congress may well reassure any who have hesitated as to the possibility of controversy of a distasteful kind arising if people of very diverse views should venture to assemble to discuss religious history; and if future Congresses are to be designed and conducted as carefully and in such a spirit as this has been it is to be hoped that many who have hitherto stood aloof will see their way to share in such Congresses, whether at rare intervals, as is proper for international gatherings, or more frequently if, as is to be desired. meetings more local in character should be devised in the future.

The field of the History of Religions had been mapped out into nine sections, viz. Religions of the Lower Culture; of China and Japan; Egypt; the Semites; India and Iran; the Greeks and Romans; the Germans, Celts, and Slavs; the Christian Religion; and the Method and Scope of the History of Religions. Of these, the last was added for the Oxford Congress. It is designed for those whose interests are general rather than special; who are concerned with synthetic treatment, central conceptions, the unification of results; and its success justified its establishment. The president of this new section was the well-known Belgian scholar, Comte Goblet d'Alviella; its vice-presidents were Dr Garvie and Dr F. B. Jevons, and papers were contributed from Germany, Sweden, America, and Canada, besides those by British students.

The contents of the volumes before us fall into three divisions: the addresses of the presidents of sections; some forty papers printed in full; and abstracts of sixty-five others, with some brief communicated notes. Perhaps the most valuable feature is the collection of presidential addresses. In each of these we find a review of the recent literature of that part of the subject, with indications of notable results of recent research or investigation, and in some cases further indications of problems now being studied or awaiting study. Students must be grateful for having placed in their hands such reviews of the situation as are given by the following leaders in the respective sections, Hartland,

Giles, Petrie, Jastrow, Rhys Davids, Reinach, Rhŷs, Sanday, and D'Alviella.

The address of Sir Alfred Lyall, president of the Congress, dealt with the relation of the State to religions, in ancient times as well as modern, in Asia as well as in Europe, in a masterly manner, and presented a conspectus such as is nowhere else to be found, it is not very venturesome to suppose.

In the Abstracts we find either summaries of results of recent researches of all kinds, or new suggestions as to the significances of the religious ideas and customs they deal with. Many of the abstracts are distinctly tantalizing as they raise questions or present conclusions of which we should be only too glad to have the full treatment. But doubtless all will be published in due course, and these summaries are memoranda to us as to what to keep looking out for in forthcoming literature.

Of the forty papers printed in full no one can profess to take equal interest in all, but probably every one will mark out some half-dozen at least which he will be glad to have by him. If we indicate a few it is simply by way of illustrating the variety from which choice can be made. For example, in & I we have Mr Marett's 'Conception of Mana', as a positive counterpart to the negative Tabou, and Seligmann on The Vedda Cult of the Dead; in § II De Groot on The Origin of the Taoist Church, and Revon on The ancient Rituals of Shinto (in French); in § IV Orelli, Religious Wisdom in Old Israel; in § V Hillebrandt, Vedic Mythology, Poussin, Faith and Reason in Buddhism; in § VI Miss Harrison, Bird and Pillar Worship; Mr Warde Fowler, Latin meaning of Religio; Mr A. B. Cook, Cretan Axe-Cult; in § VII Mr Anwyl, Celtic Religion; Anitchkoff, Old Russian Cults; in § VIII Loofs, The Descent into Hell; Dobschütz, and Peabody, Eschatology; and in § IX Söderblom, Holy Triads, and Mr Webb, Recent Philosophy in Relation to Religion.

A survey of the varied contents of these volumes confirms the judicious observations of the late Jean Réville in an inaugural address on assuming the Professorship of History of Religions at Paris, which was, alas! his final utterance, that when we have studied for ourselves a part of the field of history we are able to appreciate the work done in other parts. This is so: over a wide expanse each separate worker is enabled by force of sympathy to appreciate and to enjoy the fruits of the labour of his fellows. If every International Congress succeeds in issuing to the world a group of papers as varied and as full of interest as those contained in these volumes not even the most solitary of workers will be secluded from the broad stream of this advancement of learning.

We cannot refrain from asking one question. What part are our British Universities taking in the active developement of this new study? Has any of them as yet seen that the time has come when not to take part in it is to be standing still where others are in movement? This is not the place for answering the question: all that can be said here is that while not a few notable papers were contributed to this Congress by British scholars engaged in teaching in our Universities, their contributions were due to labours lying very largely outside the limits of their University curricula. These are not studies appropriate for the undergraduate period of studentship, of course; but there are other ways in which the Universities may take part in fostering and directing them, if it be judged that the time has arrived for so doing.

A. CALDECOTT.

The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the second millennium B.C. in the Light of Archaeology and the Inscriptions. By Stanley A. Cook, ex-Fellow and Lecturer in Hebrew and Syriac, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge (Constable & Co., London, 1908—in the series called 'Religions: Ancient and Modern').

A COMPACT and trustworthy account of what is at present known of the religion of Canaan in the second millennium B.C. from (in the main) Egyptian records, the Tell-el-Amarna letters (c. 1400 B.C.), and excavation in Palestine itself. The character of the book will be best learnt from an outline of its contents. An introductory chapter gives a general survey of the period, and a description of the land and people, as disclosed by the sources at our disposal. In chap, ii the author describes the sacred places found at Gezer and elsewhere, and points out how even now sacred shrines are still venerated by the peasants of Palestine, and become the centres of story and legend. Chap. iii deals with sacred trees and stones, ancient rock-altars, figures of Astarte, and other sacred objects which have been discovered. Chap. iv contains an account of various rites and practices, such as modes of burial, the cases that have been found of newly-born infants buried in jars, in or near some sacred place,-pointing very strongly to the sacrifice of the first-born, such as Micah (vi 7) alludes to,—and the instances, as it seems, of 'foundation sacrifices', or of human beings sacrificed at the foundation of a new building, according to a practice well attested elsewhere, to propitiate the numen of the place. Chap. v, on 'the world of spirits', deals with charms, oracles, prophets, the supernatural powers attributed to the dead, and the divinity of kings, especially the kings of Babylon and Egypt. Chapters vi and vii treat of the gods, illustrating, for example, the relation held to subsist between a country and its national god, the manner in which national gods were regarded as guaranteeing the observance of treaties and covenants, the recognition of Egyptian and Babylonian gods in Palestine, as Shamash, the sun-god, and Hadad or Ramman (Rimmon), the weather-god. In his last chapter, Mr Cook describes some of the prevalent ideas of the period—the veneration, for instance, paid by the Palestinian and Phoenician vassals of Egypt to the Egyptian king, and the common principles which found expression in the religions of Western Asia; and points out rightly that, though there are undoubted traces of the influence of Babylonia upon Palestine, 'archaeological evidence shews very clearly that Palestine' preserved its independence, and 'was not absorbed by Babylonian culture, still less by that of Egypt'.

Mr Cook's command of his subject, the skill and insight shewn by him in marshalling his facts, and the sobriety of his judgement, are apparent upon every page. He is always careful to point out, so far as it can reasonably be determined, the underlying idea expressed by the usage or institution referred to. He is dominated by no theory; he does not explain everything by 'astral mythology'; he simply seeks to interpret the facts in the light supplied by the facts themselves, and by analogous facts attested elsewhere. His book, to those interested in the subject, will be invaluable. Our only regret is that it was not written on a larger scale; and that the limits prescribed for it did not even permit him to quote his authorities for the many interesting statements made by him on the strength of inscriptions or other ancient records, or deduced from the results of recent excavation or research.

S. R. Driver.

The Religious Teachers of Greece; being Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion delivered at Aberdeen, by James Adam, Litt.D. Edited, with a memoir, by his wife Adela Marion Adam. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1908.)

This book will be valued not least as the permanent memorial of one who possessed, perhaps more than any one in his University, the secrets of enthusiasm and sympathy which make a great teacher. The short memoir at the beginning, written as no one but its author could have written it, it would be impertinent to praise. But no one will read it without gratitude for the portrait which it gives not only of the Author of these lectures, but of a man whose personality produced upon those who came under his influence an impression that will not easily die.

The purpose of the lectures, as is clearly stated at the outset, is not to

criticize or to construct systems of philosophy, but to 'reproduce, as far as may be without prejudice or passion, the kind of answers which the religious teachers of Greece were able to supply to those spiritual problems which are not of to-day or yesterday, but of all time'. And by a strict adherence to this purpose the character of the book is determined. It is a descriptive guide rather than a philosophical interpretation of the subject; but the description is by one who was a master of the art as well as of the subject in hand, and while it has not the sometimes ambiguous brilliancy that attaches to the necessarily partial exposition of a theory, it gains both in clarity and completeness, and is throughout inspired by the obvious enthusiasm of its author.

The religious teachers of Greece are of course the poets and the philosophers, representing two distinct and generally antagonistic traditions and modes of thought. Of these the poets, who stand for what may be called the Old Testament type of Greek religion, are for us far behind the philosophers in interest and importance. The aristocratic polytheism of homeric religion, the difficulties of the old mythology, and even the deeper problems of Divine Justice and human responsibility propounded by Aeschylus and Sophocles, however great the religious value of much that is in them, have yet a far-off sound, and their language is not ours. We feel more sympathy with the fiery protestantism of Euripides in his wholesale attack upon the traditional beliefs than with the gentle piety and εὐφημία of Sophocles, whom Dr Adam calls 'the most religious of the poets'. But with the philosophers it is For them the bonds of the old religion were loosed: they were explorers in new regions, and many of their discoveries are of immortal interest and value. The earliest figure of surpassing interest is Heracleitus, the first who 'lived in company with the Logos', to whom two lectures are allotted: the exposition of his sayings, so brilliantly clear in general purport, so obscure in detail, is illuminating and suggestive. The chapter on Socrates is quite excellent. Plato is the subject of the last five lectures. It is impossible to criticize in detail the treatment of so fertile and controversial a field. The method adopted is still that of examining the answers given by these thinkers to certain questions—notably the problems of the Divine Nature, of sin, and of immortality—rather than attempting a systematic interpretation of their religious theories. Platonists will perhaps feel that the chapters on their favourite author lack something in definiteness and power for this reason; a wealth of detail tends rather to destroy the emphasis on those points which are most important for religion: but this is inherent in the general plan laid down for the book, with which it would be difficult to quarrel; and Dr Adam's account is, as always, suggestive and stimulating. The book ends with Plato and moreover is not a manual of Christian Theology, so no attempt is made to discuss the vexed questions of the historical relations of Greek to Christian theology in later times. But the lectures are rich in comparisons and parallels drawn between the two, and those on Plato in particular are full of quotations from St Paul. Dr Adam's own view of the matter may be drawn from a letter quoted in the memoir: 'If only Paul had been a little more Hellenic! quem te Paule reddidissem!' and 'You really must devote a year or two to the exclusive study of his [Plato's] works, if you mean to do anything for the interpretation of religious thought'. This is advice which few who have followed it will not echo. It is impossible to 'christianize' Plato, but he remains the master of those who have sought to make the fuller knowledge and understanding of the highest objects of religious and mystical intuition—a true δμοίωσις θεω—the goal of all rational activity; and a church must in many respects always be a platonic institution. Of the religious side of Plato's thought there have been few exponents at once so sympathetic and so reasonable as Dr Adam.

A. C. TURNER.

CHRONICLE

OLD TESTAMENT.

The Ritual of the Tabernacle: a devotional study, by the Rev. E. H. Archer-Shepherd, M.A. (Rivingtons, London, 1908), interprets 'the not least important part of the Old Testament—the ritual of sacrifice—in terms of the New'. Its object is to explain the symbolism underlying the description of the tabernacle, its furniture, the priesthood, and the Pentateuchal ritual. With much zeal and no little ingenuity the effort is made to present an adequate and consistent interpretation; but although there is no doubt that a religious meaning was often attached to the details of ancient Oriental temples, that of Jerusalem included, a study of the subject in its relation to genuine old Hebrew thought would often have led to very different results.

In Bible Lessons for Schools: Exodus (Macmillan, London, 1907) Miss E. M. Knox of Toronto brings forward those lessons of the book which, being connected with and illuminated by New Testament teaching, have the undoubted stamp of truth upon them (p. vii). Her standpoint is that Exodus displays the divine teaching given to a childnation whose mind had been confused and darkened by centuries of slavery and sin, and its teaching is consequently in the simplest and most rudimentary form. Exodus is taken as a trustworthy record, and all questions of criticism are deliberately omitted. The book, therefore, is intended for purely elementary purposes.

Christ in the Old Testament: being short readings on some Messianic Passages by the Rev. B. W. Randolph, D.D. (Longmans, London, 1907). The opening chapter on 'the message of the Old Testament' strikes the keynote: the Bible is of antiquarian interest, a storehouse of archaeology, a record of history, an example of sublime morality—but none of these makes wise unto salvation; Christ is the clue to the Old Testament and its fulfilment. The author wishes to readjust the balance between a too mechanical view of prophecy and the denial of all predictive elements in the Old Testament. Here, again, we have an earnest and sincere book, the very nature of which precludes criticism. On one occasion the writer states that Ps. cx 'may indeed

be of a very late date', but there is 'no serious reason on critical grounds why it should not be a very early one' (p. 86). To many readers this will be quite sufficient evidence of the writer's standpoint.

A Layman's Notes on Old Testament Criticism, by J. P. HEAWOOD, M.A., Mathematical Lecturer in the University of Durham (Stock, London, 1908), is a reprint from The Churchman (March-June 1908). Mr Heawood writes from the devotional point of view as 'a layman interested in Theology'. Modern criticism, while respecting this attitude, at the same time regards the Old Testament as the work of an Oriental people to be understood from Oriental literature, history, life, and With this Mr Heawood apparently has no sympathy and certainly has no acquaintance. His remarks are devoted mainly against Prof. G. A. Smith's 'Lectures on Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the Old Testament', and have not the value which would belong to those of a writer who had equipped himself for the purpose. Mr Heawood does not seem to understand the nature of the most elementary principles of biblical research, and in all probability would pay little attention, in his turn, to adverse criticisms on the part of laymen who betrayed an obvious ignorance of technical mathematical study.

Distinctly serviceable is Mr Montgomery Hitchcock's Suggestions for Bible Study (Stock, London, 1908), which freely recognizes that sound critical research is the instrument of truth and cannot ultimately prove mischievous, and that 'as a matter of fact it is not doing injury to the Christian faith'. The book commends itself by its sensible and straightforward tone, and is to be read carefully by those assailed by grave doubts and perplexities at the tendencies of modern criticism. It very properly points out that specialist study has not yet spoken its last word, and it has some excellent remarks on the 'highest criticism' which should by no means be overlooked by professed critics. The 'highest criticism' is the combination of textual, historical, archaeological, philosophical, and experimental research (pp. 128-130). This is a stage which Old Testament criticism has scarcely reached, and the value of this book lies in its open recognition that there are problems and difficulties which have to be faced, and that the critical standpoint is an indispensable one.

Light from Egyptian Papyri on Jewish History before Christ (Williams & Norgate, London, 1908), by the Rev. C. H. H. WRIGHT, D.D., contains chapters on the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine, the three schismatical temples (Elephantine, Leontopolis, and Gerizim), the events

in the Maccabaean age to which he finds no allusion in Daniel, the history of subsequent years down to the Christian era and its sources, and a chapter on critics and criticism. The writer urges once again the authenticity of Daniel, but his reasons why Daniel could have written the book which bears his name cannot stand before those which tell against this view.¹

Dr J. KRÄUTLEIN has written an interesting contribution to the question of linguistic criteria in literary criticism (*Die sprachlichen Verschiedenheiten in den Hexateuchquellen*, Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1908). The pamphlet consists of a concise discussion of the legitimacy and limitations of this department (pp. 9–18), and a very useful survey of the characteristic linguistic variations in the sources of the Hexateuch (pp. 19–64). Only in the case of P does he commit himself to the recognition of decisive criteria, but his intention is to present evidence from the point of view of *Sprachpsychologie*, and his remarks are worthy of careful notice.

Die Ethik des Deuteronomiums, by Dr G. Sternberg (Trowitzsch, Berlin, 1908), is a useful study of the ethical standards of Deuteronomy, their foundation and practical application. The evidence is carefully classified and the monograph is valuable for any consideration of Israelite religion and history. His critical position is relatively conservative, like that of his teacher Oettli, and it is very instructive to observe his arguments for placing Deuteronomy in the age of Solomon. This is the earliest date for the main conditions: the existence of the temple, the representation of a united Israel, and the internal economic conditions in the book of Deuteronomy, which, moreover, has points of contact with the history of Solomon. It is obviously hazardous to formulate such a theory without studying either the Deuteronomic passages elsewhere, or even the sources for Solomon's reign, and it is very significant to find the familiar compromise that Deuteronomy was a private work which awaited a favourable opportunity for publication (p. 8 sq.). Some of his arguments hold good against the usual view that Deuteronomy belongs to the seventh century B.C., but to ascribe the book to the tenth is to fly in the face of much independent evidence. not to mention the fact that it forms the obvious introduction to the Deuteronomic history which extends from Joshua to the fall of Jerusalem —the natural terminus a quo.

1 (Since the notice of Dr Wright's book was written the veteran Hebraist has passed away. His sturdy personality shewed itself in this as in his numerous other works, and he will not readily be forgotten even by those who found themselves unable to agree with the opinions he vigorously championed.—S. A. C.)

Le Livre d'Amos, by Prof. Touzard of the Institut Catholique, Paris (Bloud, Paris, 1908), is a scholarly little commentary suitable for all classes of readers. An introduction deals with the historical conditions of the age of Amos, the personality of the prophet, the contents and criticism of the book, its teaching, and bibliography. A translation is given with a commentary which is reliable and, considering the modest size of the book, adequate. The writer is acquainted with the best literature, and although his position is conservative, he states his case in a manner that can be readily understood and estimated. He upholds, for example, the authenticity of Amos ix 8-15, a view for which he could claim the support (since the appearance of Gressmann's Eschatologie) of such scholars as Dr Ed. Meyer and Dr E. Sellin. But his arguments are quite insufficient and the evidence in favour of an optimistic conclusion does not remove the real difficulty—the antecedents of the restoration anticipated do not enter into the historical background of the prophet's oracles. This of course does not exclude the theory of a rewriting of the original conclusion.

La Composition du Livre d'Habacuc, by Firmin Nicolardot (Fischbacher, Paris, 1908), is a careful piece of study, useful as much for its analysis of prevailing opinions as for its clear treatment of the problems of composition and date. A good bibliography gives a brief outline of the leading views, a translation of Habakkuk handles the numerous textual difficulties; one chapter examines the arguments of those who do not split the book up into a number of different fragments; another is from the analytical point of view, and is followed by Dr Nicolardot's own theory. According to him the oldest nucleus i 5-10, 14-17 dates about 604 B.C., and was supplemented towards the middle of the sixth century by ii 5-17 perhaps by the Habakkuk of tradition; later are i 2-4, 13, ii 4 and ch. iii which take us down to the age of Artaxerxes III.

Dr W. Staerk's Ausgewählte Poetische Texte des alten Testaments, part ii (Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1908), prints Amos, Nahum, and Habakkuk in metrical arrangement. In a preface he replies to the adverse criticisms of Dr Beer directed against the first part of this publication, defending himself against the charge of neglecting the aid of the Septuagint for textual emendation, and generally substantiating his position. The pamphlet will be useful to those who are following the present efforts to solve the metrical problems of the Old Testament.

Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs, by G. C. MARTIN, M.A., B.D. (Jack, Edinburgh, 1908). The volume belongs to that excellent little

series 'The Century Bible' which is now rapidly nearing completion. The text of the Revised Version is printed with a brief commentary and concise introduction to the several books. The present volume is carefully compiled. It is characterized by its treatment of the books as literature, and by its abundant illustration from oriental and also from occidental sources. In this respect it is more popular, more human, and more readable than some of the other volumes in the series where fuller attention is given to the discussion of purely technical questions. It would probably be impossible to produce a satisfactory commentary upon the three books which 'may be said to constitute the lighter side of Jewish literature' (p. 3); but, considering the limited amount of space, the writer has succeeded in presenting these examples of Jewish philosophy and passion in a manner which brings out their interest for present-day readers.

The Book of Esther, by L. B. PATON, D.D., Hartford, U.S.A. (T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1908). This volume belongs to the 'International Critical Commentary' and fully maintains the high standard of thoroughness which has made the series indispensable to students of the Old Testament. The author is already well known in this country for a useful history of Syria and Palestine, and for his recent account of Jerusalem in Bible times. The strongest feature in his commentary is the careful attention paid to the text and versions. There are some helpful sections on these in the Introduction (pp. 5-47), and throughout he includes translations of the more interesting or important passages from the related Targumim and Midrashim. A very sound discussion of the Feast of Purim concludes with a cautious verdict in favour of a Babylonian origin-perhaps indirect, by way of Persia. The notes are always scholarly. They are also sensible, for the book of Esther, as Luther declared, 'has too much heathen naughtiness'; it is non-religious, has not a noble character, and belongs to that class of literature which extolled the triumphs of the Jews over their enemies. The book had few attractions for early Judaism and Christianity; the wonder is that it should subsequently have become so highly esteemed.

Isho'dadh's Kommentar zum Buche Hiob i, Text and Translation, by J. Schliebitz, Dr.Phil. (Giessen, 1907), belongs to the Beihefte to the Z.A.T.W. (no. xi) and continues the study of Isho'dadh as an exegete which Dr Diettrich commenced (1902). The Syrian is not without some interest as a commentator; one may refer especially to his remarks on the pre-Mosaic date of Job (pp. 50, 78), elephantiasis (p. 8), spinning (p. 24), the kissing of one's hand (p. 56), thunder as

a punishment for sinners (p. 62), Behemoth (p. 76), and the Phoenix (pp. 78 sqq.). A few critical and explanatory notes are included, but in the well-known difficult passage xxxix 13 (p. 68) Dr Schliebitz does not observe that the problematical Neleesa, Asida and Neessa, represent the Alexandrine νεελασα, ασιδα and νεσσα, which merely transliterate the Hebrew נעלסה ... חסירה ונצה.

The Decline and Fall of the Kingdom of Judah, by the Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, D.D., D.Litt. (A. & C. Black, London, 1908), consists of a discussion of the history of Judah from the reign of Josiah to the destruction of Jerusalem, and a study of the Israelite law-books, the Priestly Code excepted. His point of view is one which 'while recognizing both direct and indirect Babylonian influence on Palestine, finds in the extant evidence a large amount of reference to North Arabian influence'. A detailed introduction sums up the present position of a theory which to call 'Jerahmeelite' is too exclusive and misleading (p. xi), and replies to those who have criticized it without a sufficient knowledge of the position attacked or of the evidence. The present tendencies among critics of the Old Testament are undeniably complex, and the ordinary reader sees but little to choose between writers of the 'Babylonist' school who find original traditions or propose reconstructions which depart very widely from the canonical history (e.g. Winckler, Erbt, Burney, &c.), and the elaborate reconstructions of Dr Cheyne based upon his recovery of the assumed original text. The serious redactions or reshapings which both sides assume bring with them similar dangers (see J. T. S. ix 118-121). On the other hand, recent research certainly justifies Dr Cheyne when he remarks 'it seems to me impossible that [the N. Arabian theory] should be wholly wrong', and that 'the present condition of the study of the Old Testament is far from satisfactory'. Some of the fundamental problems of biblical history and religion are at the present day under reconsideration, and only the 'highest criticism' (p. 621, above) will shew precisely what form the North Arabian theory will ultimately take. In the meanwhile it must be added, that even those who deny the theory in its most moderate form will find in this book a large store of valuable and suggestive material.

The History of the Hebrew Nation (sixth ed.), by SAMUEL SHARPE (Stock, London, 1908). This reprint, perhaps, should not be read without a perusal of Clayden's biography which explains the merits and the faults of a broad-minded student, who to a great extent was ahead of his age. The author will always be entitled to credit for his championship and popularization of biblical criticism at a time when it VOL. X.

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was fighting for recognition, and the Colenso controversy was at its height. Throughout a long and busy life (1799-1881) Sharpe was distinguished for his shrewdness, assiduity, and entire independence of thought, qualities which mark this History, written, we must not forget, by a septuagenarian. He very rightly perceived that the constituent portions of the Old Testament must be compared with the political and religious history of Israel, but his historical criticism far outstrips the necessary preliminary literary criticism, his judgements are intuitive rather than discriminating, and they sever themselves too much from the criticism of his day. Sharpe was mathematician, banker, Egyptologist, and in close touch with contemporary scholars and travellers. But he stood outside the development of biblical research. and astonishes us as much by his anticipation of some of the more recent conclusions as by his adherence to views behind the criticism of his age. Apart from some eccentric ideas (e.g. the Israelite origin of the Sinaitic inscriptions) and the drawbacks due to the paucity of external evidence, Sharpe's popular book is still to be read by discriminating readers.

Histoire Comparée des Religions Païennes et de la Religion Juive, by Dr Albert Dufourco, Bordeaux (Bloud, Paris, 1908). This is the third edition of the first volume of a large work on the future of Christianity. It is confined to the 'Oriental epoch'. It comprises sketches of the religions of Egypt, of Babylonia and Assyria, of the Aryans (Greece and Rome), and of Jewish religion in the Old Testa-There is a brief general introduction, and a few concluding pages sum up the results of comparison, and point out the superiority of Hebrew monotheism and its steady doctrinal development. writer aims at presenting an impartial and objective statement, and naturally admits that so vast a field cannot be covered by the independent research of a single individual. He has, however, made himself acquainted with the technical literature and 'un hébraïsant éminent' has revised all that bears upon the history of Israel. The chief importance of the book lies first in the serviceable and very readable account which it gives of the subject. No less valuable is the bibliography and the numerous bibliographical references, and the two combine to make the volume a useful introductory handbook. Exception might be taken to the indiscriminating manner in which the literature is sometimes cited: for example, among the works dealing with Old Testament literature, Vigouroux is placed between Driver and Cornill! Nor can one avoid the feeling elsewhere that the numerous and sometimes conflicting studies which Prof. Dufourcq cites, have not always been carefully compared or analysed, although this, one freely

admits, would have been the work of a lifetime or so. It is a greater pleasure, however, to praise the grasp which he has of the more striking characteristics of the old religions, the clearness and ease with which he describes them, and the zeal with which he has undertaken his great task.

Jahwes Wohnstätten nach den Anschauungen der alten Hebräer: eine alttestamentliche Untersuchung, by Dr Gustav Westphal (Beihefte to the Z.A.T.W. no. xv, Giessen, 1908). This is a searching investigation of the Old Testament beliefs regarding Yahweh's abode. It begins with a close analytical study of Yahweh's relation to Sinai or Horeb, chiefly on the basis of Exod. iii, iv, xix, xxiv, xxxiii (pp. 1-46), and surveys the history of this belief in subsequent ages when Israel was in Canaan (pp. 46-74). It then turns to the evidence which links Yahweh with the land of Canaan, with particular attention to His association with the old sacred sites (pp. 74-118). Next comes a very elaborate survey of Yahweh's abode in the temple of Jerusalem and all that this meant for the religion of Israel (pp. 118-214). Finally, he examines the conception of Yahweh as the God of Heaven, and the interconnexion among the varying aspects of the God of Israel (pp. 214-273). This admirable piece of research merits a fuller notice than our space allows. Dr Westphal is a methodical and independent thinker, his work is along the lines of recent critical investigation, and his keen remarks always deserve the closest attention of Old Testament scholars. task has involved the treatment of numerous subsidiary questions, and one will read with great interest his discussion of the ark, the doctrine of the inviolability of Jerusalem, the remains of old Hebrew mythology, the meaning of the terms 'Lord of Hosts', 'the Face of Yahweh', and other points. The main weakness of the book is the manner in which the results of criticism are applied to the investigation of Old Testament religion and history. It seeks to recover from the complex sources the progress of certain religious conceptions in the course of Israelite history, but underestimates the difficulty of treating on historical lines those periods where the historical evidence is extremely incomplete. Dr Westphal's historical framework is only a possible one. Though he is alive to the traces of different circles of Israelite religious thought, he pays insufficient attention to the conflicting and contradictory historical views which have left their mark upon the Old Testament. Although he recognizes the relative lateness of the Hexateuchal sources and the presence of mythological and unauthentic material here and elsewhere, he builds none the less upon a reconstruction for which there is no controlling evidence. Dr Westphal will have the credit for clearing the ground in these valuable studies

of his, but the work of tracing the development from the age of the Canaanite deities to the predominant worship of Yahweh involves a more thorough consideration both of the older religion, and of the invasion and settlement of Israel. But this defect is one which his book shares with most critical literature of the Old Testament.

Mélanges de la Faculté Orientale: Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth, Syrie (1906-1908). These three bulky volumes, amounting in all to 1,300 pages, redound to the credit of a University, whose labours in Oriental research are already familiar to readers of Al-Mashrîk, where some of the present contributions have already appeared in The first place must be given to the study of the reign of the Umayyad Caliph Mu'awiya by Père Lammens, S.J.; it runs through the three volumes, and has since been printed separately (448 pp. + 34 pp. indexes, &c.). The same writer contributes notes on Syrian geography and ethnology (i 239-283, ii 366-407); they deal with the Arab sources, the Lebanon district in Crusading times, the Nosairis, Yezidis, Maronites and the Masonites. Of geographical interest, also, are the account of the Roman road from Antioch to Ptolemais (P. René Mouterde, ii 336-345), and an admirable record of excursions in Arabia Petraea (Dr Moritz, iii 387-436, with seven good plates). P. Mallon describes a school of Egyptian savants in the eleventh to fourteenth centuries (i 109-131, ii 213-264), especially important for Coptic studies, and M. Bouyges edits a portion of the lexicographical Kitâb an-Na'am (iii 1-144). Numerous Greek and Latin inscriptions, many of them new, are discussed by P. Jalabert (i 132-188, ii 265-320, iii 313-322, and 437-477), and P. Ronzevalle describes some rock-cut sculptures in Coele-Syria (i 223-238). P. Cheikho contributes articles on mediaeval Cypriote history (i 303-375), and on the archbishops of Sinai (ii 408-421), the Rev. E. Power estimates the work of Umayya the contemporary of Mohammed (i 197-222), and the Rev. A. Hartigan writes on the poet Bishr ibn Abi Khâzim (i 284-302). P. Chaine gives a preliminary account of Ethiopic MSS with apocryphal stories of the Virgin. Of the purely biblical studies, that of P. Dillenseger upholds the authenticity of 2 Peter (ii 173-212); P. Joüon discusses a number of Hebrew terms (ענג), חִּשּׁׁנְקָה, חִּשִּׁנְקָה, הַּשִּׁנְקָה, הַנְּוֹח, הַבְּוֹח, הַבְּוֹח, iii 323-336); Wiesmann deals with the apparently anti-sacrificial Psalms (ii 321-335), and with those marked by a refrain (Kehrverspsalmen, iii 337-386). Finally, P. Neyrand investigates the phrase צדק מו (Job iv 17), and concludes that it means to have more right on one's side (ii 346-365). Only the first part of the third volume has as yet appeared; the second part is to include some criticism of recent Oriental literature.

Cambridge Bible: the Wisdom of Solomon, by the Rev. J. A. F. GREGG, M.A. (Cambridge, 1909). Wisdom is one of the most interesting specimens of Jewish philosophical literature and possesses many attractions for its relation to Philo and the theory of the Logos, for the various allusions to contemporary popular and official religion, and for the evidence it furnishes of the continued developement of Old Testament tradition outside the Old Testament itself. In a full and useful Introduction Mr Gregg upholds the homogeneity of the book, and shews that it is the work of an Alexandrian Iew, well acquainted with Greek literature, who probably flourished about the beginning of the second century B.C. The notes which accompany the Revised Version are careful and proportionate. It may be observed that a strenuous endeavour is made to associate ii 24 (death due to the envy of the devil) with the murder of Abel by Cain. This is scarcely an improvement upon the ordinary view which refers to the serpent and the fall (so, e.g., G. B. Gray, Ency. Bib. col. 4298). Apart from minute criticism of this character the introduction and commentary form a welcome addition to this series.

A Short Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, by the Rev. G. H. Box, M.A. (Rivingtons, London, 1909), belongs to the Oxford Church Text Books, and is intended to form a companion volume to Dr Ottley's Hebrew Prophets, of the same series. In spite of its small compass it contains a great deal of helpful information on the Canon and Text of the Old Testament, and brief special introductions to the several books. It does not, in any sense, attempt to be exhaustive; but it puts the most important matter in a nutshell, with frequent bibliographical references to the fuller handbooks (especially of Driver and Cornill), to which it will form a very handy introduction. The material has been carefully brought together, and in recommending this little book to beginners, it will be understood that its very brevity and conciseness have often precluded a proper discussion of views which are open to dispute.

The Hebrew Prophets for English Readers: vol. i, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah i-xxxix, and Micah (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1909). This is the first of a series of four volumes by the Rev. F. H. Woods, B.D., and the Rev. F. E. Powell, M.A., intended to present to the reader, rather than to the student, the prophetic literature of the Old Testament in such a form that it may be read intelligently. The Revised Version is printed, and an obelus is placed outside those marginal readings which appear to the Editors to be distinctly preferable. The text itself is arranged in stanzas, paragraphs, &c., and headings are

630 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

introduced to give a general drift of the subject. A few short notes are added to explain the meaning or contents, and to each prophet is prefixed a brief introductory sketch. The general aim of the editors will appeal strongly to those who would see the charm and beauty of the writings of the Hebrew prophets more widely appreciated. Whatever modern research has accomplished, their intrinsic value is entirely independent of all problems of criticism, and the practical effect of their moral and spiritual teaching is not bound up with technical questions. In the volume before us two main criticisms suggest themselves. First, more care should be taken with the text. To notice only one example, it is surely important that readers should know that in Amos vi 12 'will one plough with oxen?' becomes, by a mere division of the consonants, 'will one plough the sea with oxen?' The change has had the best support since the time of Michaelis, and removes internal difficulties. Secondly, the general introduction popularizes a perspective which can hardly continue to commend itself to biblical scholars. For example, we read of 'the rise of the literary prophets' (p. xiii), and the attempt is made to estimate the development of prophecy, prophets, and 'schools of the prophets' from the times of Samuel. All we can safely say is that Amos is the earliest prophet whose writings are preserved, and to estimate the earlier developement we have to rely upon narratives which must be treated critically (so e.g. pp. ix, xii, &c.), and which cannot, in existing circumstances, be handled conclusively. We have no clear evidence, in fact, for any estimate of the earlier developement, nor can one with any confidence emphasize 'the moral limitations of early prophecy', as is done on p. xii. It is by no means agreed that Nathan's parable can be used to illustrate the age of David, and when the editors point to Micaiah's prophecy in 1 Kings xxii 19 sqq., it is ignored that the form of deception there attributed to Yahweh meets us again in Ezekiel (xiv 9), and probably also in Jeremiah (xx 7). In general, attempts to trace the beginnings and early course of Israelite institutions and ideas, whether in this volume or elsewhere, must inevitably remain inconclusive so long as they ignore the fact that the study of a small portion of Palestine during a relatively brief period of time cannot be confined to an investigation, however minute, of a few carefully redacted canonical writings.

STANLEY A. COOK.

EUSEBIANA.1

Eusebius Werke: [Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, herausgegeben von der Kirchenväter-Commission der königl. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Bände 7, 11 (2), 14].

Erster Band: Über das Leben Constantins, Constantins Rede an die heilige Versammlung, Tricennatsrede an Constantin: von IVAR A. HEIKEL (Leipzig, 1902).

Dritter Band (zweite Hälfte): Theophanie, die griechischen Bruchstücke und Übersetzung der syrischen Überlieferung: von Hugo Gressmann (Leipzig, 1904).

Vierter Band: Gegen Marcell, Über die kirchliche Theologie, die Fragmente Marcells: von Erich Klostermann (Leipzig, 1906).

DR HEIKEL'S previous work, De Praeparationis Evangelicae Eusebii edendae ratione (Helsingfors, 1888), and the valuable assistance he rendered to Dr W. R. Paton's Plutarchi Pythici Dialogi Tres (Berlin, 1893) had proclaimed him an expert in Eusebius, and had aroused high expectations of the value of his editorial work. It may at once be said that they have been fully realized. Despite distance from great libraries and repeated illnesses he has achieved a work worthy to stand by those produced in the great centres under the most favourable conditions. The long introduction of over a hundred pages discusses the manuscripts, the indirect tradition, the quotations made by Eusebius from himself, and the editions. There are also chapters entitled 'On the purpose and character of the work "On the life of Constantine", 'Some Notes on the work "On the Life of Constantine", 'Concerning the Edicts and Letters of Constantine', 'The Religious Views of Constantine on the Basis of his own Writings', 'The Speech to the holy Synod', 'The Indexes of Chapters', 'The Thirty-years' Address to Constantine'. The introduction thus appears sufficiently comprehensive. The indexes are no less so. Nearly a hundred pages are taken up with an index of passages quoted from the Old and New Testaments,

¹ An apology is due for the delay in the publication of this Chronicle. Mr C. H. Turner, who had long hoped to write it, has been compelled by pressure of other duties to resign the hope: hence its appearance over the signature of the present writer. One 'Eusebianum', the Onomastikon (ed. Klostermann, Berlin, 1904), will be included by him in a coming chronicle of Hieronymiana. An account of Schwartz's Kirchengeschichte has been deferred till the appearance of the third volume.

Christian and profane authors, another of proper names, and a long one of words and matters. This last is a valuable contribution to Greek lexicography. The solid merit of the edition of the Vita Constantini and the Oratio ad sanctum coetum is not solely due to skill in emendation, but to the much more satisfactory discovery of the best manuscript, Vaticanus 140 (saec. xi), previously unused. In all, fourteen manuscripts of these treatises are known to the editor, but only one other is as old as the Vatican MS, namely Mosquensis (or, as Heikel prefers, Moscoviensis) 50. The relations between the MSS are confused to such a degree by cross-influence that the construction of a genealogy has proved impossible. The excellence of V appears on almost every page, and in a most striking manner at times, namely, where it alone, or in company with / (the Moscow MS), has preserved some passages lost in the other MSS, one actually thirty-one lines long. alone will at once shew that Heikel has antiquated all previous editions and that his is indispensable to all students of Eusebius. Even V. however, suffers when brought face to face with the indirect tradition. and all our MSS appear to descend from an archetype that has been worked over. The oldest and best MS of the Laus Constantini is at Paris, no. 1431 (saec. xi), and was used by Heinichen. tradition is important. Book II cc. 24-42 of the Vita Constantini are preserved in one MS of the tenth century (Laurentianus LXX 20), and in two of the eleventh, as well as in some later copies. This form represents a purer tradition than the MSS proper. Both forms appear. however, to have some common defects. It is impossible to restore the text of Eusebius exactly throughout. It was soon after the original publication of the work that the recension represented by VI, &c., was made, since we find that quotations in Socrates and Theodoret approximate more to their form than to that in the extract, and are further not always right where they disagree with VI, &c. The one place where the Sibylline Oracles are quoted is not in favour of the character of the manuscripts of Eusebius. Heikel's section dealing with Eusebius's selfquotations is interesting and instructive; they are shown to be rather The historical and stylistic parts of the introduction free on the whole. are admirable, an unexpected gift in a critical edition, and will immensely lighten the study of this author. The exposition of the marked contrasts in style between Eusebius's own work and the Constaninian documents therein incorporated is a masterpiece. papier' (p xv) never had any real existence (Traube Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen I p. 101). On p. xix l. 12 for 'A.' read 'F.' Readers should not overlook the 'Nachträge und Berichtigungen' at the end of the volume, nor the important review by G. Pasquali in the Gött. gel. Anz. for 1909, pp. 259-286.

THE Theophany has, as is well known, survived complete only in a Syriac translation. This translation is of the most exactly literal character, and, as the sole manuscript in which it is preserved dates from February of the year 411, is the most perfect substitute for the original we could have had. Samuel Lee of Cambridge published the Syriac text in 1842, and an English translation in the following year. Gressmann provides us with an introduction, the Greek fragments with critical apparatus, a German translation of the Syriac with critical apparatus, and useful indexes of scripture passages, self-citations by Eusebius, names, words, and matters, &c. As Lee's editions are now probably rather scarce, even the English reader will find it well to purchase this translation. The introduction discusses the genuineness of the Theophany, and decides for it, dating it earlier than the Laus, with which it stands in some relation. All the surviving fragments of the Greek are preserved in the catena of Nicetas of Heraclea on Luke's Gospel and the Epistle to the Hebrews. Nicetas abridged and otherwise altered after the manner of his class. Of this Catena the following MSS of value are known to the expert Sickenberger, Vat. 1611 (saec. xii), Paris 238 (saec. xiii), Vindob. theol. Nessel 71 (saec. xii-xiii), and Paris Coisl. 201 (saec. xiv-xv). The first is the most important, and was used by Mai, without much care or intelligence. Some supposed fragments of our treatise existing in it are rightly rejected by Gressmann as corresponding to nothing in the Syriac. The important subject of Eusebius's borrowings from himself is discussed as it deserves. More than half of the Laus Constantini is contained in the first three books of the Theophany. The fifth book of the Theophany is almost a replica of the third book of the Demonstratio Evangelica. Finally, the citations from other authors incorporated in the Theophany are nearly all to be found in the Praeparatio Evangelica, or in the Historia Ecclesiastica. The following is the order of the composition of the first mentioned works 1: Demonstratio, Theophany (about 333), Laus. The character of the Syriac version is fully considered. In its supreme determination to be exactly literal it does violence to the Syriac language. translator at the same time was not an absolute master of the Greek language, nor is our MS of the translation by any means an absolutely correct rendering of an absolutely pure Greek text, despite its early date. The question of the dependence of Eusebius on earlier authors for his matter is lightly touched on, especially in connexion with Philo, π ερὶ π ρονοίας, with which a considerable number of parallels are The biblical quotations are reproduced exactly from the

¹ On this and other questions connected with Eusebius the reader is advised to consult the article (or rather, treatise) entitled *Eusebius* in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopādie*, by E. Schwartz (Bd. vi, 1908).

634 THE JOURNAL OF THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

Greek, and, as the result of an exact comparison, the editor is able to tell us, against Mr Conybeare, that there is not the slightest trace of knowledge of the Peshitta in the whole translation. As the MS curiously dates from the very year in which Rabbula's episcopate at Edessa began, we may hope that the last nail has now been driven into the coffin of a second-century Peshitta. Unfortunately, the Gospel verses which bear a striking form in the Diatessaron or in the Old Syriac are not quoted in the Theophany, so that it does not seem possible to say whether the translator was in any way influenced by the use of either or both of these.\(^1\) This, however, is rather a question for the Syriac expert.

KLOSTERMANN has taught us to expect first-rate work from him, and in his volume containing the Contra Marcellum, the De Ecclesiastica Theologia, and the collected fragments of Marcellus he has worthily maintained his high reputation. His introduction is simply divided into three parts, concerned with author and date, manuscripts, and editions. He defends, successfully we think, against Mr Conybeare the claim of Eusebius of Caesarea to the authorship of the Contra Marcellum. Readers will recall Conybeare's attempt to father it on Eusebius of Emesa, an attempt characterized by all his well-known vigour and ingenuity. The only manuscript authority for the text is the Venetus Marcianus 496, which has been variously attributed to the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. The other five later manuscripts are judged to be descended from this. The editio princeps was Richard Montagu's of 1628, while Gaisford's, the first to use the Venice MS, appeared in 1852. Nolte's edition of 1857 was made without knowledge of Gaisford's work and of the leading MS. Of the three Gaisford's is unquestionably the best, but can be considerably improved, as Klostermann's edition shews. In the absence of abundant early manuscript authorities for the texts of Greek Fathers there is little chance of such work as this being improved, till we have a worthy Thesaurus of the Greek language. Admirable indexes of Scripture and other quotations, proper names, words and matters are provided at the end of the volume, a separate set for each of the two writers, Marcellus Trifling misprints have been noticed on pages xxv and Eusebius. and 225.

¹ Von Soden, in his *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* Bd. i p. 1496, gives a few instances which, in his opinion, are to be explained as due to the influence of the Old Syriac.

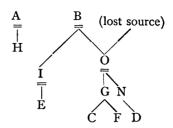
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΚΗΣ ΠΡΟΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗΣ

AOFOI IE: Eusebii Pamphili Evangelicae Praeparationis Libri xv ad codices manuscriptos denuo collatos recensuit Anglice nunc primum reddidit Notis et indicibus instruxit E. H. GIFFORD, Tomi IV (Oxonii, 1903).

THE latest literary productions of the long and active life of Archdeacon Gifford were an edition of the Euthydemus of Plato and the present work, surely the most sumptuous in our department which the present century has seen. Corresponding to the magnitude of the task are the printing, paper, and appearance generally of these beautiful volumes. The Greek original is contained in the first and second, along with lists of the manuscripts, a discussion of their interrelations, two facsimiles of pages of the Bologna MS, the apparatus criticus, and indexes of writers quoted, of scriptural passages, and of names and matters, &c. The third volume, which is issued in two parts, contains the English translation, preceded by an introduction, and followed by an index of proper names and matters, almost thirty pages long. This introduction is divided into eight sections, concerned respectively with the author, the date, the occasion, the method, the style, the contents, quotations, and conclusion. The last volume contains the notes and an index of Greek words.

The present notice is in a very real sense a mere chronicle of the appearance of the book. To review a work of over 2,700 octavo pages would require many pages of the JOURNAL. Only a few points of interest can be here alluded to.

The text is based on complete collations of four MSS, Parisinus 451 (saec. x) (A), of which Gaisford had only an imperfect collation, Venetus Marcianus 341 (saec. xv) (I), of which Gaisford's collation did not extend beyond the last ten books, Bononiensis 3643 (saec. xiii) (O), unknown to former editors, and Parisinus 465 (saec. xiii) (B). A, the oldest, is also on the whole the best, but it contains only the first five books. The manuscripts and their interrelations are described by Dr Gifford with sufficient clearness. In this portion of the work he had the valuable researches of Schwartz and Heikel on which to base his own, and he is in almost entire agreement with their conclusions. Two words of criticism alone may be advanced. It would have been better to provide the usual genealogical tree of manuscripts, but, since it has been omitted, the present chronicler has thought it might be a convenience to readers to have it presented here.



The other remark, obvious at once on seeing the genealogical tree, is that it is rather curt to dismiss the question of relationship between the A family and the other by saying the latter is 'non eiusdem cum A et H cognationis'. In other words, Dr Gifford has not been zealous to pierce behind the veil of A B and O to an ultimate archetype of all three. To him that archetype was probably the Eusebian autograph, and in this view he may have been right. On p. viii l. 7 from foot, for 'xliv' read 'xl'; on p. x l. 25, for 'annis' read 'annos'; on p. xxiii l. 7 from foot, for 'Codicum' read 'Codicem'. On the question of Eusebius's literary honesty Gifford adopts the mediating view of Freudenthal. One of the most interesting parts of the introduction is that dealing with the relation between the MS A, one of the famous Arethas codices, and its companion, the Clarkianus of Plato. It is clearly shewn that the one has been corrected from the other.

Two types are used for the text, a large one for the words of Eusebius himself, a smaller for the words quoted from other authors. Opposite the beginning of each such extract is the name of the author in capitals. Immediately below the text the sources of these quotations are exactly indicated according to the places where they are to be found in modern editions. At the foot of the page is the apparatus criticus. almost superfluous to remark that this edition is a great advance on all the previous editions. The names of the excellent scholars who collated the manuscripts for Dr Gifford are a guarantee of the accuracy of the collations, and the reader is here provided with all available materials for the constitution of the text. Well may the future Berlin editor exclaim, Pereat qui ante me mea dixit! His work will be not only enormously lessened, but rendered practically superfluous by the appearance of the present edition. The scripture references are noted with care, but an undoubted instance of quotation from 2 Timothy i 10 at p. 69 d (Vig.) has been overlooked. In the index of vol. ii p. 502 for 'Matth. iv 5' read 'Matth. v 5', and on p. 504 'Abraamus' offends the eye: Dr Gifford was so consummate a Greek scholar that he may be pardoned for not knowing that 'Abraham', 'Habraham' are the only allowable Latin forms.

The English translation is from every point of view an entirely satis-

factory feature of this great edition. Few even of our best classical scholars can read the Greek Fathers with ease, and such help is rather a necessity than a luxury. Greek verse has been turned into English verse, and altogether the translation reads excellently. The volume containing the translation is prefaced, as we have said, by an introduction. There can be no doubt that Dr Gifford is right in considering 'Eusebius, son of Pamphilus', as the only possible translation of Eiocéβιος ὁ Παμφίλου. This style may either have been his legally, as the adopted son and heir of Pamphilus, or may be an honorary form, invented by himself as an outward sign of his reverence for the memory of Pamphilus. The date of the *Praeparatio* is fixed at about 312 to 314 A.D. The quotations made by Eusebius are classified under the heads of (a) fragments of poetry, (b) historical fragments, (c) philosophical fragments.

The notes, printed in a smaller type than the text, take up about half the space of the latter. They vary greatly in character from one another, being at times lexical, at times linguistic, sometimes textual, sometimes exegetical, most often perhaps illustrative. As an example of the first kind of note we may cite that on $\pi\rho\delta\sigma\phi\nu\xi$ (p. 137), where Gifford remarks that Liddell and Scott give a reference only to Herodian, though the word occurs three times in the *Praeparatio*: he might have added a fourth example from the Laus Constantini c. 15. Some of the most telling notes are textual, as, for instance, where he successfully defends the οὐδὲν δὲ οἷον of 158 C even against Heikel, the παραιρήσει of 260 A, also against Heikel, and, by apt reference to the Septuagint, the $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \theta \epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu$ of 358 B, this time against Viger. In 154 D the form δαιμονικός as better than δαιμονιακός might have been illustrated from Latin: the best MSS of the earliest Latin Christian writers similarly give daemonicus, not daemoniacus. At 287 B the use of ἐπιβάλλειν with a dative in the sense of 'contemplate' is compared with the notorious ἐπιβαλων ἔκλαιεν of Mark xiv 72, perhaps unjustifiably, but any possible light on this verse is welcome. The notes are never too long, and illustration is never overdone. Many fresh illustrations will occur to the careful reader, which the editor has omitted, not because he did not know them, but because he has been determined at all costs to keep the notes as brief and as helpful as possible. References to such recently published works as Bacchylides, Oxyrhynchus and British Museum Papyri, Deissmann's Bible Studies, and this JOURNAL prove that Dr Gifford read to the very last. The whole work is one which reflects high honour both on Dr Gifford and on English scholarship.

A. SOUTER.

RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

Church Quarterly Review, April 1909 (Vol. lxviii, No. 135: Spottiswoode & Co.). H. H. Jeaffreson Modernism—The origin and development of the moral ideas—E. Talbot An American diocese—E. Armstrong A Spanish university: the Oviedo tercentenary—F. G. Kenyon The numeration of New Testament manuscripts—A. Pearson (the late) The ethics of division—F. R. Tennant The grounds of belief in God—Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney and Sark—The resurrection-body: a study in the history of doctrine—J. Cooper The problem of re-union in Scotland—Short notices.

The Hibbert Journal, April 1909 (Vol. vii, No. 3: Williams & Norgate). Credo—J. H. Muirhead Is there a common Christianity?—J. W. Buckham Christianity among the religions—Ibn Ishāk Islām, the religion of common sense—J. A. Hutton The message of Mr. G. K. Chesterton—W. James The philosophy of Bergson—V. Scudder The social conscience of the future (II)—P. T. Forsyth The insufficiency of social righteousness as a moral ideal—A. Brown The over-emphasis of sin—C. J. Keyser The message of modern mathematics to theology—P. J. Maclagan Christianity and the Empire in Rome and in China—B. H. Alford Variations between Matthew and Mark—F. J. Paul On two dislocations in St John's Gospel—Discussions—Reviews—Bibliography.

The Expositor, April 1909 (Seventh Series, No. 40: Hodder & Stoughton). H. A. A. Kennedy Apostolic preaching and emperor worship—W. M. Calder A fourth-century Lycaonian bishop—J. Stalker Studies in conversion: II Constantine the Great—A. E. Garvie The righteousness of God—A. Carr Covenant or testament? a note on Hebrews ix 16, 17—A. Deissmann Primitive Christianity and the lower classes—W. M. Ramsay Luke's authorities in Acts i—xii—J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan Lexical notes from the papyri.

May 1909 (Seventh Series, No. 41). F. R. TENNANT The positive elements in the conception of sin—J. Ll. Davies Competition and Co-operation—J. H. Moulton Some criticisms on Professor Harnack's 'Sayings of Jesus'—G. B. Gray The excavations at Gezer and religion in ancient Palestine—W. H. Turton How the Resurrection narratives explain one another—W. M. Ramsay Luke's authorities

in the Acts, chh. i-xii—J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan Lexical notes from the papyri.

June 1909 (Seventh Series, No. 42). W. M. RAMSAY Historical commentary on the First Epistle to Timothy—K. LAKE The date of Q—A. E. GARVIE The sanctification of man—J. STALKER Studies in conversion: III St Augustine—G. MILLIGAN Paulinism and the religion of Jesus—E. C. Selwyn The carefulness of Luke the prophet—J. H. MOULTON and G. MILLIGAN Lexical notes from the papyri.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, April 1909 (Vol. xiii, No. 2: Chicago University Press). S. J. Case The resurrection faith of the first disciples—F. G. Hencke The gift of tongues and related phenomena at the present day—H. P. Smith The red heifer—W. H. Ward A fragment of the cosmologic argument—P. Frazer A recent chapter in the modernist controversy: the history of the Wahrmund incident—P. Smith Recent progress in the study of Luther—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, April 1909 (Vol. vii, No. 2: Princeton University Press). A. Lang The Reformation and natural law—B. B. Warfield Calvin's doctrine of the knowledge of God—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue Bénédictine, April 1909 (Vol. xxvi, No. 2: Abbaye de Maredsous). A. Wilmart Trois nouveaux fragments de l'ancienne version des Prophètes—G. Morin Un traité pélagien inédit du commencement du ve siècle—R. Ancel Le procès et la disgrâce des Carafa: XV La défense; XVI La sentence et l'exécution—J. Chapman La date du livre d'Elchasai—G. Morin Notes sur un manuscrit des homélies du Pseudo-Fulgence—V. Berlière Lettre de D. le Clerc, bénédictin de Saint-Maur, à D. Blampin sur l'édition de S. Augustin—Comptes rendus—Notes bibliographiques—V. Berlière Bulletin d'histoire bénédictine.

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Analecta Bollandiana, April 1909 (Vol. xxviii, No. 2: Brussels, 22 Boulevard Saint-Michel). H. Delehaye Sanctus: I Le mot sanctus dans la langue païenne: II Le mot sanctus dans la langue chrétienne: III A qui revient le titre de Saint—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques — A. Poncelet Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecarum Romanarum praeter quam Vaticanae: Appendix V: Inventio et miracula S. Secundini martyris Atinensis = Index sanctorum: Addenda et emendanda: Index bibliothecarum 2.

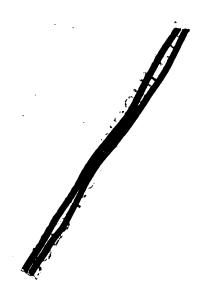
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(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, June 1909 (Vol. x, No. 2: Giessen, A. Töpelmann). P. Corssen Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des Römerbriefes—F. SPITTA Die Hirtengleichnisse des vierten Evangeliums II—K. Erbes Zeit und Ziel der Grüsse Röm. 16, 3–15 und der Mitteilungen 2 Tim. 4, 9–21. I—H. WINDISCH Der Apokalyptiker Johannes als Begründer des neutestamentlichen Kanons—Miszellen.

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, June 1909 (Vol. xxx, No. 2: Gotha, F. A. Perthes). Seeck Urkundenfälschungen des 4. Jahrhunderts—von Schubert Beiträge zur Geschichte der evangelischen Bekenntnis- und Bündnisbildung 1529/30 (Fortsetzung) — Bibliographie.

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